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**DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR
COMMEMORATION VOLUME**

PUBLISHED BY THE COMMITTEE, 1936.

**DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR
COMMEMORATION VOLUME**

**THIS VOLUME
OF ESSAYS AND PAPERS**

**Written by his Friends, Pupils and Admirers
is presented to**

Rājasēvāsakta RAO BAHADUR

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH.D., F.A.S.B.

ON HIS SIXTY-SIXTH BIRTHDAY

15th April, 1936.



Rājasērāsakta Rao Bahadur
Dr S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Ph D., F.A.S.B.
Honorary Correspondent, Archaeological Survey of India.

ஷாலியரண் சார்க்ருஷ்ண சாமியடிதானமஃதே
பூஜிதமாம் பொருளைப் பூப்பதினாள்—ஊர்ஜிதமாம்
தேங்கமலை வெண்கமலை தேங்கமலை போரிலைமை
தேங்கமலை வெண்ணாது சீர்

(Pandit T. G. Narayanaswami Pillai's *Māṇakkarmālai* 1902.)

Foreword

The idea of commemorating the services of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in the field of historical research by presenting a volume of Commemorative essays to him on the completion of his 65th year and on the occasion of his 66th birthday, 15th April, 1936, led to the issue of the following appeal early in 1935.

'We, the undersigned, bring to your kind notice that *Rājasēvāsakta* RAO BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH.D., F.A.S.B., formerly Professor of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras, completes his sixty-fifth year on the 15th April, 1936; and we propose to present him on the occasion a Commemoration Volume of Papers contributed by scholars both in India and abroad, engaged in the field of Indian historical and archæological learning and research. We need hardly dwell upon the appropriateness of the memorial, having regard to the long and excellent record of original work and direction of research which the Professor has to his credit, and to the pioneer character of his labours in the field of South Indian historical research.

'We invite you to extend your hearty co-operation in this work and request you to contribute a paper on a topic connected with Indian History and Culture, before the end of 1935.'

Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt.,
Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University.

Mr. Syama Prasad Mukherji,
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

Dr. Surendranath Sen,
Calcutta University.

Dr. P. K. Acharya,
Allahabad University.

Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji,
Lucknow University.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar,
Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona.

Dr. M. H. Krishna,
Mysore University.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali,
*Indian Historical Records Commission,
Calcutta.*

Dr. R. C. Majumdar,
Dacca University.

Dr. B. C. Law,
Calcutta.

Prof. Md. Habib,
Muslim University, Aligarh.

Prof. Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan,
Allahabad University.

Prof. Sita Ram Kohli,
Lahore.

Prof. P. P. S. Sastri,
Presidency College, Madras.

Mm. Dr. Ganganath Jha,
Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University.

Prof. K. Sherwani,
Osmania University.

Dr. P. J. Thomas,
Madras University.

Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari,
Annamalai University.

Prof. V. Rangacharya,
Presidency College, Madras.

Prof. K. Ramanujachariar,
Cuddalore.

Mr. G. Srinivasachariar,
G. S. Press, Madras.

Dr. B. Bhattacharya,
Oriental Institute, Baroda.

The Rev. H. Heras, S.J.,
Bombay.

Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar,
Madras University.

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon,
Madras University.

Mr. Muhammad Husayn Nainar,
Madras University.

Mr. V. Venkateswara Sastrulu,
Editor, 'Federated India,' Madras.

Prof. S. K. Bhuyan,
Gauhati.

A Committee consisting of Prof. V. Rangacharya, Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari and Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, was organised for editing the papers received.

The response from the scholarly public was very encouraging, and seventy papers were received ; besides several appreciations of the Professor's services. These papers have been arranged in six sections, the names of the authors being given in the alphabetical order in each section.

The Committee beg to acknowledge the great obligation which they feel towards the contributors, and render thanks to them for their ready sympathy and hearty co-operation. They do not hold themselves responsible for the views of the contributors. The difficult task of printing the volume has been done with commendable skill as well as rapidity by the *G. S. Press*, and the Committee express their gratitude to them. Every care has been taken to go through the proofs with thoroughness ; but it is possible that there are slips or misprints. The indulgence of the readers is requested, having regard to the shortness of time and other difficulties incidental to a work of this kind.

Life and Works of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar

Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar was born at the little village of Sakkottai about a mile to the south of the railway station at Kumbhakonam. The village is so called because a fort was erected there in honour of Shahji, the father of the celebrated Sivaji. Even before it was known as Shājikōṭ (corrupted colloquially into Śākkōṭṭai), it had been the seat of a colony of learned Brahmans set up, in the village, in the name of the famous Raghunātha Nāyakkan of Tanjore, in consequence of which it had been known as Raghunāthapura. The place boasts indeed of a much earlier antiquity as, even in the days of the Tēvāram hymnists, it had been the seat of the Śaiva temple of Amṛta-ghaṭēśvara, the Tirukalayattāṇ-kūdi of sacred literature. Krishnaswami was the third of four children, and he was born on the 15th of April, 1871. On the death of his father in 1882, the family was left with slender resources. His elder brother however secured a job as the Headmaster of a Lower Secondary School in the Bangalore Cantonment, and he educated him at Bangalore.

After passing the first examination in Arts as its best student in St. Joseph's College, Krishnaswami entered the Central College, Bangalore, 'for the acquisition of the Degree in Physics.' Krishnaswami felt that the quality of his success in it did not satisfy his ambition for distinction. He therefore devoted himself to post-graduate studies in Mathematics. It may be mentioned that, while he was engaged in these studies, he was appointed by the Principal to officiate in the place of a member of the staff who had all of a sudden to go on sick leave. A timely vacancy in the Central College in the post of a teacher led to his appointment as such, and after about two years he was, to his regret, transferred to a mofussil school. He made the best of a bad opportunity, however, and from this time gave up Mathematics and turned to History. Even when appointed to a Science Teacher's post, first at Chickmagalur, and then at Kolar, he continued the study of History, and took his M.A. Degree in it in 1899.

His success in the M.A. Degree substantially offered the chance for a rise in the official ladder. Krishnaswami had worked for five years in High Schools, and had won the golden opinion of Mr. Bhabha, the Inspector-General of Education, who marked him out for a Headmastership. Just at this stage, his M.A., thesis on the *History of Mysore under the Wodeyars* was published, with the University's permission, in the *Madras Review* of May 1900; and this, together with the high opinion of him entertained by Principal Cook of the Central College, led to his being transferred to the latter institution when the post of History

Lecturer happened to fall vacant. The late Professor F. W. Kellett wrote to him to continue the good work, whatever might be his life's lot. He took advantage of his transfer to the Central College, therefore, to devote the hours which he could spare after teaching to the work of research.

Ever since 1889, Krishnaswami Aiyangar had been in contact with the late V. Venkayya, of the Madras Epigraphical Department. A near neighbour of Krishnaswami's, the latter used to discuss with him problems connected with Tamil literature suggested by the works of eminent scholars like the late Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai. Stimulated by the example of Venkayya and his chief, Dr. Hultzsch, who were just then beginning to publish the early volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Mr. K. prepared in 1900-1 two papers on the Chōla Ascendancy and the Chōla Administration which received praise from Dr. Hultzsch himself. Dr. Hultzsch advised him to continue to give real scope to his intelligence in interpreting the historical value of inscriptions after their publication by the Department.

About 1903 Mr. Krishnaswami came into touch with Mr. L. C. Innes, an ex-judge of the Madras High Court and the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, who had been engaged for a score of years in the study of Tamil literature and who had just published an article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* on the Age of Kamban. Justice Innes had identified Karikāla of the Śaṅgam literature with his much later namesake Kulōttuṅga I; and this and similar questions made him devote himself to the elucidation of Tamil literary history. The result was a paper on the *Augustan Age of Tamil Literature*, wherein he maintained that it must be assigned to the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era. It was published in a revised form as the introductory part of a general series of contributions on the celebrities of Tamil literature in the *Indian Antiquary* at the instance of the late Dr. J. F. Fleet and Sir Richard Temple. Mr. Krishnaswami followed this up with a paper on the *Life and Times of Rāmānuja* in the *Wednesday Review*, which was, we are told, of help to Justices Sir S. Subramaniya Aiyer and Sir Ralph Benson in deciding a case involving the rights of the Govindarāja shrine at Chidambaram.

In 1904 Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar delivered a lecture before the South Indian Association, Mylapore, on the *Making of Mysore*, under the chairmanship of Justice Sir S. Subramaniya Iyer. In 1908 he was elected as its President, a place held before him by Prof. M. Rangacharya and Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, and to be held later on by Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai and others. The Presidential Address which he delivered in 1908 on the *Chōla Empire in South India* was a succinct review of the history of the Chōlas from 900 to 1250.

In the same year Krishnaswami Aiyangar was made one of the Professors of English in the Central College. He then took an important step in co-operating with Mr. F. J. Richards, I.C.S., and the late Rev. Fr. A. M. Tabard, to found the Mythic Society which has since done much for the consolidation and publication of historical research in Mysore. On Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar fell the brunt of the literary and administrative work of the infant society, as he was its first Secretary and Editor of its journal. Thanks to the encouragement he received from Principal Tait, Mr. Krishnaswami rendered yeoman service to the Mythic Society for five years. In 1912 Mr. K., was nominated a Fellow of the Madras University and he continued to serve in the Senate without any break till his retirement in 1929.

Meanwhile, in 1910 Mr. Weir became Inspector-General of Education in Mysore and appointed Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar as his Assistant. Timely service was rendered to him by Canon Sell, of the S.P.C.K., Madras, in the publication of his papers in a single volume in 1911 under the title of *Ancient India*. The work was commended highly by Mr. Weir, and he purchased a hundred copies for Government and distributed them amongst the educational institutions of the State. It is indicative of great credit to the administrative capacity of Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar that, when Mr. Weir died subsequently, the work of the Department was entrusted to him more or less directly, and he for a time acquitted himself with credit till he was transferred back to the Central College as Professor of English.

Just at this stage, the Government of India granted to the Madras University for higher education Rs. 65,000. The University was asked to frame a scheme for the proper utilisation of that sum. There was a controversy in the Senate as to whether scientific research or the study of the history and languages of India, of South India in particular, was to be provided for. The smallness of the resources available and the establishment of the Indian Institute of Research at Bangalore, led to the appropriation of the grant to research in Indian culture. A Chair of Comparative Philology, a number of Dravidian Readerships, and a Chair of Indian History and Archæology were accordingly created, side by side with the establishment of a Chair for Economics and the organisation of the University Library. Thanks to the efforts of Sir John Wallis, the then Vice-Chancellor and Sir J. H. Stone, the Syndicate appointed Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar to the post, after negotiating with the Mysore Government for the loan of his services, and he took charge of the office on 1st November, 1914. It may be of interest to note that seven years later, when Sir John Wallis retired from the office of Chief Justice, he wrote to the Professor who had just then published his *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders* ;—"Before I go I wish to thank you for the advance copy of your new book which appears to break new

ground, and is in continuation of the good work you are doing in connection with South Indian History. In my opinion you have fully justified your appointment to the University chair and I am very glad to have been a party to it as Vice-Chancellor."

Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar found on his assumption of office, work which, though new, stretched clearly before him. He chalked out indeed, three lines of work. In the first place he used to deliver every year a series of advanced lectures to the students of the Honours classes in the main on chosen topics of Indian History. Secondly, he supervised and trained University Research Students. Thirdly, he himself engaged in research work and published the results whenever ripe. The first of the advanced lectures concerned Vijayanagar and in the coming years practically the whole of the Hindu period down to the foundation of Vijayanagar was dealt with in those 'ordinary' lectures. Under the second plan he guided during his fifteen years of office the work of five Research Students allotted to him. The works of these included the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* by the late Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati; the *History of the Nayaks of Madura* by Mr. R. Satyanathan now in the Annamalai University; the *History of the Pallavas of Kāñchi* by Mr. R. Gopalan, now in the Imperial Library; and lastly the *Hindu Administrative Institutions* by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar now in the Madras University. Two Research Fellows, besides these, Mr. C. V. Narayanan of the Presidency College, and Dr. A. Appadurai, of the Loyola College, worked respectively on the *Early History of Śaivism* and the *Economic Condition of South India from the 12th to the 16th Centuries*.

Under the third head the Professor delivered a number of special lectures which have been published in one form or another. These were :

1. The Antiquities of Mahābalipuram.
2. A little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History.
3. Beginnings of South Indian History.
4. Early History of Vaishṇavism in South India.
5. South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders.
6. Rājendra, the Gangaikonda Chōla.
7. The Origin and Early History of the Pallavas.
8. The Vākātakas and their Place in Indian History.
9. King Krishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagar.
10. Maṇimēkalai in its Historical Setting.

The activities of Prof. K. were not confined to the Madras University. In 1919 he was appointed Reader of the Calcutta University, and, as such, delivered his lectures on Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture. One lecture delivered before the Mysore University was published as a monograph on Krishṇadēvarāya of Vija-

yanagar. He attended many Oriental Conferences and contributed papers like 'the Early History of Vaishnavism', 'the Sātvatas', 'the Buddhism of Mañimēkalai', etc. In 1924 the Madras University invited the Oriental Conference and, for its session in December that year, the Professor acted as the local Secretary of the Conference. When the Conference was subsequently given a constitution, he was appointed as one of the General Secretaries, which office he held till he resigned in 1933. Similarly, he took great interest in the Indian Historical Records Commission. In its fourth session in Madras, he acted as Secretary of the Committee presided over by Sir Charles Todhunter, and was rewarded for his success with the issue of a special G.O. in appreciation of his work (5th March, 1924). The Professor has since been first a corresponding member, then a full member of the Commission, taking part regularly in its sessions. In 1921 Prof. K. Aiyangar was nominated, through the recommendation of the Director-General of Archæology, as one of the honorary correspondents of the Archæological Survey of India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal elected him one of their Fellows in 1931. The same year he presided over the First Historical Congress at Bombay, under the lead of the Bombay Historical Research Society. He was also invited to the International Congress of Orientalists to several of which he used to contribute papers. He was again nominated on the basis of his work, honorary correspondent of the *Institut Historique et Heraldique De France*. This Society granted their Great Silver Medal for his work, "Mañimēkalai in its Historical Setting". At the invitation of the India Society, Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar acted as the Regional Secretary for the Exhibition of Modern Indian Art held recently in London. The small selection of Exhibits sent in from here came in for much appreciation by the judges appointed by that body. In 1935, he was appointed one of the two Vice-Presidents of the South India Archæological Society just then founded at Madras. Later, he opened the Historical Exhibition in the Poona All-India Modern History Congress. Lastly, he presided over the Oriental Conference in its Mysore session in December, 1935.

Amongst the miscellaneous works of the Professor may be mentioned his Source Book & Reading Book on Indian History for Messrs Cooper & Sons, Bombay; his monograph on Penugonda for presentation to His Excellency Lord Willingdon on one of his visits to that place; and his contribution on the history of South India down to Vijayanagar times, in Vol. III of the Cambridge History of India. The Professor revised Vincent Smith's Oxford Students' History for vernacular editions, and edited for the University the Historical Inscriptions of South India by Mr. Robert Sewell. He delivered, in 1934, the Sir William Meyer Lectures on Hindu Administrative Institutions with particular reference to South India.

Another most important line of work in which the Professor has worked is Journalism. In addition to the charge of the Journal of the Mythic Society, he held the office of Joint Editor, *Indian Antiquary*, for more than ten years, in collaboration with Lt.-Col. Sir Richard Temple, Mr. S. M. Edwards, and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham. In 1923, he took the responsibility, from Mr. S. A. Khan, now Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan of the Allahabad University, of the editing and publishing of the *Journal of Indian History* which has just entered its 15th volume and has won its place as a leading journal of Indian Historical research.

One of the witnesses before the Sadler Committee, Prof. K. impressed the members with his scheme of work ; and when the Madras University established a number of Committees for effecting reforms in the light of recommendations made by that Committee, he took a most active part, and contributed to the transformation of the old examining University into a teaching one in accordance with the new University Act. He was then permitted by His Highness the Maharaja to retire from Mysore service on full pension as a special case and without prejudice to his occupying the Chair of Indian History and Archæology in the Madras University. This generosity on the part of His Highness enabled him to hold his office at Madras during a third tenure of five years, and he retired from it on 1st Nov. 1929.

Throughout this period the Professor has been uniformly active. The list given in the Appendix contains, excluding minor contributions, reviews, controversies, and other miscellaneous writings, 125 papers and publications till 1936. It is thus obvious that, as Mr. Sardesai observes, the Professor's career has been an inspiring example, and deserves to be cherished and suitably commemorated ; and we can only hope with Shafaat Ahmad Khan that "the doyen of Indian Historians may live long to enjoy the fruits of his hard-earned labour and may he continue to burn the torch of learning as brilliantly as he has done in a long career of continued and strenuous activity."

As the poet Murāri says, the highest reward a man of learning could look for is the esteem of his compeers.

चेतश्शुक्तिकया निषीय शतशशस्त्रमृतानि क्रमात्
वान्तैरक्षरमूर्तिभिः सुकविना मुक्ताफलैः गुम्भिताः ।
उन्मीलत्कमनीय नायकगुणग्रामोपसंवल्गन-
प्रौढालंकृतयो लुठन्ति सुहृदांकण्टेषुहारस्त्रजः ॥

(Murāri Kavi: *Anargharāghavam.*)

V. RANGACHARYA
C. S. SRINIVASACHARI
V. R. R. DIKSHITAR

Appreciations of Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar

*Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dākshinātyakalānidhi Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar,
Madras.*

‘முயற்சி திருவினையாக்கும்,’ ‘முயற்சி யுடையோர் இகழ்ச்சி யடை யார்’ என்னும் முதுமொழிக்கு இலக்கியமாக விளங்குபவர்களுள் ஸ்ரீமான். ராவ்பகதூர் டாக்டர் எஸ். கிருஷ்ணசாமி ஐயங்காரவர்கள் ஒருவரென்பதைப் பலரும் அறிவர். இவர்களுடைய இளமைக்காலத் தொடங்கி இவர்களு டன் நான் பலமுறை பழகியிருக்கிறேன். இவர்களுடன் செய்யும் ஸல்லா ப்பேசு நல்ல பொழுது போக்காகவும் பயனுள்ளதாகவும் இருக்கும். சரித்திர விஷயங்களிலும் சிலாசாஸனங்களிலும் இவர்கள் உழைத்து ஆராய்ச்சி தக்க ஆதாரங்களுடன் பதிப்பித்திருக்கும் வெளியீடுகள் பல. பங்களூரிலும் சென்னை ஸர்வகலாசாலையிலும் இவர்கள் விரிவுரையாளராக இருந்து பல உபநிபாகமான காரியங்களைச் செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். சிலமுறை இவர் களுடைய உபநிபாஸங்களைக் கேட்டிருக்கிறேன். மாணக்கர்களுக்கும் ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்களுக்கும் அவை மிக்க பயன்படுவனவாக இருக்கும்.

இவர்களுடைய பேருழைப்பு இந்நாட்டின் பல மாகாணங்களிலும் பிற நாடுகளிலும் பலபடப் பாராட்டப்பெற்று வருவதை யறிந்து நான் அடிக்கடி சந்தோஷிப்பதுண்டு. இன்னும் சில மாதங்களில் இவர் விஷயமா கச் சென்னையில் ஒரு கொண்டாட்டம் நடத்த ஏற்பாடு செய்திருக்கிறார் கள் என்பது தெரிந்து மிகவும் மகிழ்ச்சி யடைகிறேன். இவர்கள் இன் னும் பல்லாண்டுகள் சுகநிலையாக இருந்து பல ஆராய்ச்சி நூல்களை வெளி யிட்டுத் தேசத்துக்குப் பயனளித்துக்கொண்டு விளங்கும்படி செய்வித்தரு ளும் வண்ணம் சர்வேசுவரனைப் பிரார்த்திக்கிறேன்.

தியாகராஜ விலாஸம் }
திருவட்டிஸ்வரன் பேட்டை }
11—8—1935.

இங்ஙனம் :
வே. சாமிநாதையர்.

Principal Tait of the Central College, Bangalore (Retired)
(Now in Edinburgh).

I have always considered that Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar showed great courage when he decided forty years ago to devote his abilities to historical and archaeological research. A few years before he took his decision, an incident had occurred, which may serve to show how much these studies were neglected. An inscription had been copied in the Chitaldroog District, which no one in Southern India could decipher. A copy was sent to Vienna, and an expert there deciphered it and pronounced it to be an Asoka edict. At that time a young scholar taking up such studies had little prospect of material reward. He had no aids to study in the shape of a library, or in the stimulus of fellow-workers. Only courage, sustained by a genuine love of learning, could have enabled him to remain faithful to his decision for twenty years, during which his ordinary work left him little leisure for his favourite pursuits. It was not until 1914 that his appointment to the newly-established professorship of Indian History in the University of Madras gave him favourable conditions to work under.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar never, I think, rose to as high a grade in the Mysore Education Department as he deserved. More than once, the benevolent intentions of the head of the Department towards him were thwarted. Soon after he joined the service, the Inspector-General of that time wished to make him the headmaster of a High School, but the principal of the Central College (which still had a High School attached to it) desired to retain him. Probably more rapid promotion would have come to him, if he had been allowed to go. At a later date he was selected by a later Inspector-General as his assistant. Here he displayed such ability and such fairness of mind that the Inspector-General (the late Mr. John Weir a very able administrator and a very good judge of men) formed a very high opinion of his capacity for administrative work. But for Mr. Weir's lamented death in 1911, it is probable that he would have secured for his assistant the position in the Department for which he intended to recommend to him.

Of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's work in the Central College, Bangalore, where we were associated for a number of years, I cannot speak too highly. I always found him singularly helpful as a colleague. A certain shrewd monarch described one of his ministers as "never in the way and never out of the way," and I think all who were associated with Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in any joint task would recognise how well the description fits him. The late Mr. John Weir found him a pattern of quiet efficiency, both rapid and sure, in the despatch of busi-

ness, and deserving of the fullest confidence. All who know him well will admit that he is essentially reasonable, and has the gift of quiet persuasiveness which seldom fails to bring converts to the reasonable view.

Mr. G. S. Sardesai,

Editor of the Peshwas' Daftar for the Bombay Government, Poona.

. . . When many years ago I ploughed my lonely furrow trying to put into Marathi garb a connected story of India's past, I found myself entirely in the dark as regards any reliable data for the history of South India and the rich stores of its past glory. I now remember how now and then I began to notice occasional contributions of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar that appeared in papers and magazines particularly on the history of Vijayanagar which I was then required to study in connection with the Bahamani Kingdom in order to grasp the conditions that led to the rise of Shivaji. Grant Duff had characterised the Maratha upheaval as a sudden and unforeseen conflagration sweeping through the dry forest lands of the western mountains before the rains set in. This explanation, unhistorical as it was, did not satisfy my curiosity and on looking deeper into the subject I was led into the study of the great Hindu opposition led by Vijayanagar to the rapid expansion of Mohamadan sway into the far south. In this way my attention came to be drawn to the writings of this learned Doctor and I must say my whole view of Maratha history was profoundly influenced by them. I then realized that we could not study the Marathas by themselves and neglect the pregnant issues offered by the indigenous Hindu civilization of peninsular India. Here was scholarship impersonal. Before I came to know the doctor personally, my curiosity had been already satisfied and I ever remained on the look out for fresh researches coming out from the erudite scholars hailing from the south. More recently I avidly studied to my great advantage in the columns of the *Journal of Indian History* the sad but glorious career of the two Hindu Ministers of Golkonda, Madanna and Akkanna, delineated by the Doctor with a wealth of circumstantial detail which alone could give them a life-like charm.

Fresh vistas of knowledge and research were opened by the Doctor in quick succession so that readers like me began to be convinced that what obtained as current history was no authentic history at all and that a proper, full and reliable history of India could only be constructed by tremendous co-operative labours of distant but devoted scholars, those of the north exploring the stores of Persian and Urdu and those of the South handling the rich heritage lying hidden in Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil and other languages. One realizes how research is inter-related and how no single scholar however learned can achieve much without

the help of workers in other fields. The unity of India's past culture can thus be made to serve the present political needs of our nation through the instrumentality of history which scholars like our friend are slowly but surely constructing.

Another point that strikes me in this connection is the great necessity there is of Indians helping themselves as much in the field of history as in other subjects of national regeneration. Indians alone can study and accurately interpret the records and materials of India's past. Many earlier histories written by a number of eminent western scholars have become obsolete if not entirely misleading.

In conclusion I strongly feel that Dr. Aiyangar's career has been an inspiring example to many of us and deserves to be dearly cherished and suitably commemorated particularly as, we know, such examples of devotion and scholarship are few and far between. I wish him a long life full of health and spirits even yet to carry to completion the numerous topics to which his life-long labours have given rise.

Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan. Stanley Road. Allahabad.

I am delighted to hear that the many friends of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar have decided to bring out a Commemoration Volume in honour of his sixty-fifth year. Dr. Aiyangar is one of the most brilliant historians of India, and his contributions will be deemed to be of great importance to the true understanding of periods of Indian History which had hitherto been strangely neglected by his predecessors. His monumental work on the various aspects of the Vijayanagar Empire will form a landmark in the evolution of Indian historiography, and Indian scholars are under a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Aiyangar for his vigorous initiative and solid industry in a subject which is of absorbing interest not merely to the student of Southern Indian History but also to scholars of Northern India. Dr. Aiyangar started his investigations amidst circumstances which would have appalled an ordinary man; but he prosecuted his design with a combination of tact and persistence which extorted the admiration of all who had the pleasure of being associated with him in his enterprise. Like Gibbon, he dreamed of his *magnum opus* in the spring time of his scholarly career, and no sooner did he get the opportunity than he set about realising the *grande passion* of his life. Historians are united in praising the magnificent execution of the intellectual ideals of his youth—in a series of monographs of the highest value to every student of Indian history. The *Forgotten Empire*, "F.E.", is now as vivid and real to us as India of the twentieth century, while the administrative and political implications of that period are being realised by us only in the present age. I do

not wish to deal further with a topic which will form the subject of several articles by persons who are better qualified than myself. But I cannot refrain from pointing out the positive conception of the solidarity of Southern India which the thorough researches of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar have succeeded in developing. It is a noble contribution to the evolution of our splendid heritage and later historians will start with this basic idea in their search for our forgotten annals.

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has contributed in a striking degree to the true understanding of mediaeval India. His brilliant work on South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders has introduced an entirely new conception in our interpretation of mediaeval India. By applying his solid commonsense, minute knowledge of the geography of Southern India and enormous industry, he has reconstructed the history of the thirteenth and fourteenth century India and removed numerous misunderstandings and misconceptions.

The output of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's scholarly activities is enormous and its quality is as good as its quantity. Upon everything that he has written are stamped thoroughness and solidity. He has also shown in his person a rare devotion to learning and a singular capacity for making and retaining friends. At a critical time he came to my rescue and took over the Journal of Indian History with alacrity and zeal. He adopted my child, nursed it, fondled it with true paternal affection, and the baby has now developed into a strong self-confident youth.

Dr. Aiyangar must have experienced many difficulties in keeping up the standard of the Journal, but it must now be plain to the meanest intelligence that he has emerged victorious out of a struggle of eleven years and established it on a secure and firm basis.

May the doyen of Indian historians live long to enjoy the fruits of his hard-earned rest and may he continue to burn the torch of learning as brilliantly as he has done in a long career of bracing and strenuous activity. Amen !

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॥ श्रीः ॥

आ शो र्वा द पञ्च क म्

By

PANDIT V. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA
Epigraphist, Tirupathi Devasthanam.

कर्णरसायनमिन्धे यन्नाम सुधीशमण्डले ललितम् ।
कृष्णस्वाम्यय्यङ्गारित्यार्यवरश्चिरं सुखं जीयात् ॥

आशैलेन्द्रादचलतनयापादविन्यासधन्या-
दालङ्कान्तं सकलविबुधैर्मन्यपाण्डित्यभूमा ।
ये च द्वीपा धरणिवलये भान्ति तत्रत्यविद्वे-
द्भ्यात्मीयोल्लसदुरुयशाः सोऽयमार्यश्चकास्तु ॥

पाण्डयाश्चोलाः प्रथितयशसः पल्लवा ये तथान्ये
तेषां तेषां प्रथितचरितग्रन्थनिर्माणदीक्षः ।
सोऽयं श्रीमान् विमलधिषणः सर्वसिद्धान्तवेदी
जीयान्नानाविरुदमणिभिर्भूषितः साधुवृत्तः ॥

भूपालेन्द्रैर्मनितो विश्वविद्याशालास्थाने तत्त्वसारोपदेष्टा ।
श्रीमानिन्धे शिष्यभाग्यप्रसारो नानाविद्याशुक्तिमुक्ताकलापः ॥

आसमुद्रमवनीतलौकसामेधमानयशसां विपश्चिताम् ।
अग्रगण्यपदवीं भजन्नसौ भातु नित्यमुखसंपदुज्ज्वलः ॥

विश्वविद्यालयोदारविबुधो विमलाशयः ।
कृष्णमार्यसुधीः श्रीमान् चिरं जीयान्महीतले ॥

पञ्चषष्ठितमवार्षिकोत्सवोल्लासभाग्यमुदारधीः सुधीः ।
कृष्णमार्यधरणीसुरोत्तमो भातु सर्वसुहृदर्थसिद्धये ॥

Royal Prerogative in Ancient India

By

DR. B. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., PH.D.

Baroda.

THE investigation into the question of royal prerogatives in Ancient India is one of the most fascinating studies in the whole range of Nīti and Dharmaśāstra literature. But very little work has been done in this direction, probably because the idea of 'prerogative' is a recent one, being associated with what is called constitutional government, which, according to modern notions, was non-existent in ancient times in spite of what Mr. Jayaswal and others say to the contrary. But the question is sure to come to the forefront under the new Federal System, and it is not waste of time to find out whether we can compile a list of royal prerogatives from ancient sources. Sir Jadunath has shown the way in the recent edition of his 'Mughal Administration'; he has tackled the apparently impossible subject of the prerogatives of the Mughal emperors, who were noted for their exercise of autocratic powers. Even to-day whenever rules are broken, or any unlawful measures are taken, it is nick-named the "Moglai regime". If Sir Jadunath can circumscribe the prerogatives of the 'Moglai regime' in a list of sixteen, I wonder why we cannot make an attempt to compile a similar list from our old books. The present paper does not make an attempt to exhaust the subject; it merely suggests a new line of study which may be taken up by any of our many young scholars for intensive research.

The task is, indeed, very difficult; because we rarely meet with a direct reference to the prerogatives of early kings in old literature, but there are many passages which *indirectly* hint at their existence. Below is made an attempt to compile such a list from such indirect as well as direct references.

The prerogative is a special power which can be exercised by the King, and by no one else in the kingdom. To arrest a man without a warrant and detain him without trial, is a prerogative of the King. It has to be done in the name of the King, and must exist in the King, even though the execution may be done by some one else. This is one aspect of the question of prerogatives. Another aspect, which is purely personal, consists of certain high privileges enjoyed by the King alone; for instance, the King's person cannot be arrested; he is not liable for crime, tort or felony; his goods cannot be distrained; and so forth. In

2 KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR COMMEMORATION VOLUME

English Law, Prerogatives are classified under five heads, such as (1) Personal, (2) Political, (3) Judicial, (4) Fiscal and (5) Ecclesiastical. This is a very convenient method, and the few prerogatives I have succeeded in collecting may be similarly classified :

A. PERSONAL.

1. *The subjects cannot exist without a King.*

Among the personal prerogatives, this may be placed first. It is obtained from a direct reference in the Śukranīti (ŚN.) p. 22 (Jivān-
anda Edition), viz. :

न तु नृपविहीना : स्युर्दुर्गुणा ह्यपि तु प्रजाः ।

2. *The King is a perfect being.*

According to Western notions, the King is incapable of doing any wrong ; and if any such thing occurs, it has to be attributed to the negligence of his counsellors. He is the King by the grace of God, and as such he is regarded as perfect. The same idea can be traced in Sanskrit literature, where the King is said to be made up of the elements of eight Hindu divinities such as Indra, Anila, Yama, Agni, Arka, Varuṇa, the moon, and Kubēra. cf. ŚN. op. cit. p. 17.

इन्द्रानिलयमाकाणामग्नेश्व वरुणस्य च ।

चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निहृत्य शाश्वतीः ॥

From this it may safely be concluded that, according to Indian concep-
tions, the King was, and is, a perfect being.

3. *The King acts at his own sweet will.*

This is quite obvious since an autocratic King is under no obliga-
tions. If an authority is required, one may be given from ŚN. op. cit.
p, 606.

नृपं स्वच्छन्दगामिनम् ।

The Dharmaśāstras, under the circumstances, could only appeal to the King's moral sense and his religious feelings, in order that he might not take actions which were contrary to the precepts of Dharmaśāstra, which in no way were constitutionally binding upon him.

4. *The King has right to a royal standard, royal throne, sceptre, canopy, carriage, and to the use of special liveries :—*

Certain personal things (as insignia to royalty) have been ascribed to a King from very early times,—at least the time of Kauṭilya. From his Arthaśāstra (AŚ.) we get the following quotation :—

उन्नभृङ्गाख्यजनशिबिका ग्रीह्मेष्टयेषु च विशेषार्थम् । (p. 123)

This may be supplemented by the information obtained from the *Sukra-nīti* as well as the *Yuktikalpataru* of Bhōja.

5. *The King has a right to the following additional paraphernalia :*
 (1) bed, (2) pulpit, (3) umbrella, (4) fly-wishk, (5) pitcher,
 (6) drinking bowl, (7) fan, (8) mirror, (9) distinctive dress,
 (10) litter and (11) chariot.

In later times, the number of personal things associated with the King increased, and a good account of these is obtained from the *Yuktikalpataru*, p. 72, e.g.

छत्रध्वजसिंहासनयानादभ्यो यदन्यत् स्यात् राज्याङ्गं तदुपकरणं...
 चामरश्चाथ भृङ्गारः चपकश्च प्रसाधनीम्
 वितानश्चाथ शय्या च व्यजनं दर्पणाम्बरम् ।

6. *The King can arrest any person.*

This prerogative is indirectly referred to in an interesting passage in the *Mānasollāsa* (MNS.) G.O.S. vol. 1. p. 91, along with several others. The passage runs as follows :—

अनुग्रहे निग्रहे च दाने चादानकर्मणि प्रवृत्तौ च निवृत्तौ च ग्रहणे मोक्षणे
 तथा स्वयं समर्थो यो राजा.....

From this it follows that the King has a right : (1) to reward or (2) to punish ; (3) to grant gifts or (4) to resume them ; (5) to start a project and (6) to stop it ; (7) to arrest a person or (8) to set him at liberty. In fact, this single verse enumerates eight different royal prerogatives of a personal, fiscal and political nature. The arrest of a person, with or without reason, was a wrong without remedy.

7. *The King can bestow gifts and honours, special decorations and liveries of honour.*

This is one of the recognized privileges of Kings from times immemorial, and we can gather ample evidence from Sanskrit literature. Below are given some quotations :

- (1) *ŚN. op. cit. p. 20.*

दानैर्मानैश्च सत्कारैः स्वप्रजारञ्जकः सदा ।

- (2) *Ibid. p. 116.*

यथालङ्कारवस्त्राद्यैः स्त्रियो भूष्यास्तथा हि ते ।

- (3) *Ibid. p. 126.*

तान् सर्वान् पोषयेत् भृत्या दानैर्मानैः सुपूजितान् ।

(4) *Ibid.* p. 224.

दानेर्मानैश्च सत्कारैः सुपूज्यान् पूजयेत् सदा ।

8. *The King is the cause of time and maker of good and evil practices.*

The ŚN is explicit on this point, as indeed it is on other points relating to the subject of prerogatives. This prerogative may be taken either under the head "Personal" or under "Ecclesiastical". The relevant passage is quoted below (ŚN op. cit. p. 17).

कालस्य कारणं राजा सदसत्कर्मणस्त्वतः ।

9. *The King is the cause of customs, usages and movements.*

This is borne out by ŚN (p. 6)

आचारप्रेरका राजा ह्येतत् कालस्य कारणम् ।

10. *The King is the protector of the poor.*

As *patriae potestas*, the King is the natural guardian of all poor and destitute people, including the old and helpless persons. Kauṭilya does give this impression, but ŚN (p. 37) is more explicit :

तस्माद्राजा नृशंस्येन पालयेत् कृपणं जनम् ।

11. *The King has a right to abdicate in favour of his son at the close of life.*

This is not recognized as a prerogative, though, being a special privilege, it ought to be considered as such. ŚN. p. 615 :

स्वायुषः स्वल्पशेषे तु सत्पुत्रे स्वाम्यमादिशेत् ।

But Śukra does not favour this abdication in early ages, or when the King is strong and healthy. cf. *ibid.* p. 614.

जीघन् सन् स्वामिता पुत्रे न देयाप्यखिला क्वचित् ।

B. POLITICAL.

12. *The King is the sovereign authority.*

This prerogative can be extracted from the ŚN p. 491 where it is said :

अस्वतन्त्राः प्रजाः सर्वाः स्वतन्त्रः पृथिवीपतिः ।

13. *The King is the fountain of policy.*

For this we have again to refer to the verse in the MNS, vol. I, p. 91, where it enumerates eight different prerogatives. There it is mentioned that a King can start a project and stop it.

प्रवृत्तौ च निवृत्तौ च.....।
स्वयं समर्थो यो राजा.....॥

From this we can infer that the King has a right to inaugurate policies. If a search is made, many such passages will be found which have a direct or an indirect bearing on this point Cf. for instance AS, p. 260.

राजा.....नयस्याधिष्ठानम् ।

14. *The King has a right to the allegiance of his subject.*

This can be inferred from the passage in SN, p. 22 already quoted :

न तु नृपविहीनाः स्युर्दुर्गुणा ह्यपि तु प्रजाः ।

Further evidence of this prerogative is furnished by RNP (see No. 20), p. 23:—

आह्वा नृपाणां परमं हि तेजो यस्तां न मन्येत स शस्त्रवध्यः ।
श्रूयाच्च कुर्याच्च वदेच्च भूभृत् तदेव कार्यं भुवि सर्वलोकैः ॥

15. *The King is the fountain of honour.*

The existence of this prerogative in Ancient India may be inferred indirectly from such passages as—

दानेनैश्च सत्कारैः सुपूज्यान् एजयेत् सदा ।

SN. p. 224.

16. *The King has a right to conclude treaties with other kings.*

According to SN a treaty is defined as under :

याभिः क्रियाभिर्बलवान् मित्रतां याति वै रिपुः ।
सा क्रिया सन्धिरित्युक्ता.....॥

SN. p. 563.

17. *The King has a right to levy tribute from subordinate kings.*

The existence of this can be inferred from such passages as :

हतराज्यस्य निचितं कोशं भोगार्थमाहरेत् ।

SN. p. 603.

18. *The King can appoint councillors and other officers as his servants.*

The existence of this is already borne out by AS, p. 322 :

मन्त्रिपुरोहितादिभृत्यवर्गमध्यक्षप्रचारं.....राजैव करोति ।

It incidentally follows from this that the King can create new offices with new fees, even though it may mean "taxation without representation".

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19. *The King can create a new law, and a new offence.*

The existence of this prerogative is evidenced in the pages of any Niti work in Sanskrit. Kauṭilya says that King's edict is of the highest authority in Law : cf.

धर्मश्च व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम् ।
विवादार्थश्चतुष्पादः पश्चिमः पूर्वबाधकः ।

op. cit. p. 150.

20. *The King has a right to build forts and defences.*

The *Rājanītiprakāśa* (RNP) of Mitra-Miśra lays down that the King should build forts of one kind out of the six.

तत्र दुर्गे नृपः कुर्यात् पण्णामेकतमं बुधः ।

p. 199.

Similar quotations may be obtained from any Niti work.

21. *The King has a right to the coining of money.*

Kauṭilya makes the existence of this quite evident. Mint officers were required to issue coins to the public in return for bullion (AŚ p. 103). Fines were imposed for manufacture of counterfeit coins and for the tenderer of such coins, proving clearly that the coining of money was a special privilege of the King (op. cit. p. 248).

22. *The King has a right to regulate weights and measures.*

In the time of Kauṭilya we find that there were special officers called the Superintendents of weights and measures, who were required to manufacture and stamp the weights. Fines were imposed for using unstamped weights and measures (AŚ p. 104, 127) as also false weights (op. cit. p. 148).

23. *The King has a right to prohibit importation of injurious articles.*

The existence of this prerogative was recognized in AŚ p. 112.

राष्ट्रपीडाकरं भाण्डमुच्छिन्द्यादफलं च यत् ।

C. JUDICIAL.

24. *The King is the fountain of Justice.*

For the existence of this, stress may be laid on a passage in AŚ. p. 150.

नश्यतां सर्वधर्माणां जारा धर्मप्रवर्तकः ।

25. *The King can set a person at liberty.*

A reference may be made for this to MNS, vol. I, p. 91.

ग्रहणे मोक्षणे तथा ।

स्वयं समर्थो यो राजा..... ॥

26. *The King has the right of priority in the recovery of debts.*

Kautilya says : " Even in the case of a debtor going abroad, he shall pay his debts in the order in which he borrowed, or shall first pay his debts due to the King or a learned Brāhmaṇa ". (AŚ Trans. p. 215) Kātyāyana seems to support this view of Kautilya in the well-known verse : —

नानर्णसमवाये तु यद्यत् पूर्वकृतं भवेत् ।

तत्तदेवाग्रतो देयं राज्ञः श्रोत्रियतोऽनु च ।

(Kane : Vyavahāramayūkha, p. 183)

27. *Adverse possession does not apply to King's property, open deposits, pledges, treasure troves, boundaries, and palaces.*

cf. AŚ, p. 191 : — ' न भोगेन हरेयुः । उपनिधिमाधि निधि निक्षेपं स्त्रियं सीमानं राजश्रोत्रियद्रव्यानि च ।

Dr. Shamasastri's translation : " The same shall obtain with regard to open deposits, pledges, treasure troves, boundary, or any property belonging to kings or priests ".

28. *The King can pardon offences.*

ŚN. p. 79 compares the King with the mother who forgives all offences :

यथा.....क्षमयिष्यपराधानां माता ।

The MNS refers to the King's power to arrest or to release a person.

ग्रहणे मोक्षणे तथा । स्वयं समर्थो यो राजा.....

p. 91

29. *The King has the right to forfeit the property of a person for a grave offence.*

The chapter in AS, " Replenishment of the Treasury," is replete with examples where properties are confiscated for grave offence whether real or faked, showing that the right of forfeiture really exists in the King. Also refer to MNS, Vol. I, p. 91:—

आज्ञारूपेण या शक्तिः सर्वेषां मूर्धनि स्थिता ।

प्रभुशक्तिर्हि सा ज्ञेया..... ॥

D. FISCAL.

30. *The King is the owner of the soil.*

This is a purely Indian idea, though there are scholars to dispute this. But Mitra Miśra is clear on this point, when he says :

भूस्वामी तु स्मृतो राजा ।

RNP. p. 271.

31. *The King is the protector of the treasures and all possessions of the State.*

cf. SN, p. 77.

कोशानां रक्षणे दक्षः स्यान्निधीनां धनाधिपः ।

32. *The King is entitled to a share of people's wealth.*

cf. SN. p. 19.

स्वभागोद्धारकृत् ।

33. *The King has a right to impose a tax upon his subjects.*

All Nīti works stand witness to the existence of this prerogative. Let us take a few examples from the RNP.

p. 249.

योगक्षेमं च सम्प्रेक्ष्य वणिजो दापयेत् करान् ।

p. 260.

तथा वीक्ष्य नृपो राष्ट्रे कल्पयेत् सततं करान् ।

p. 260.

पञ्चाशन्भाग आदेयो राज्ञा पशुहिरण्ययोः ।

p. 261.

आददीताथ षड्भागं द्रुमांसमधुसर्पिषाम् ।

p. 263.

दशाष्टषष्ठं नृपतेभागं दद्यात्कृषीवलम् ।

Obviously, examples of this kind can easily be multiplied.

34. *The King can levy tolls, carriage cess, and road cess.*

The existence of this can be deduced from such quotations as :

प्रत्यन्तेषु तराः शुल्कमातिघाहिकं वर्तनीं च गृण्हीयुः ।

AŚ. p. 127.

35. *The King is the owner of treasure troves and ownerless property.*

¶ This is borne out by all Dharmaśāstra and Niti works, from which a few quotations may be cited in support.

RNP. p. 266.

प्रनष्टस्वामिकं रिक्तं राजा उपह्वं निधापयेत् ।

..... परतो नृपतिर्हरेत् ।

भूमौ चिरनिखातं द्रव्यं निधिः । तं राजा लब्ध्वा.....

यद्भूम्यां वर्तते धितं तन्नृपस्य न संशयः ।

(Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa, Sārakāṇḍa III. 264)

36. *The King has a right to alienate State lands at pleasure.*

The existence of this is so well proved by the numerous copper plate inscriptions discovered in all parts of India that it scarcely requires any other evidence in support.

37. *The King has a right to resume a gift given before.*

There can scarcely be any dispute on this point. The MNS (p. 91)

..... दाने चादानकर्मणि ।

स्वयं समर्थो यो राजा..... ॥

clearly says and attributes the power of resumption to the King. In AŚ. p. 355 it is laid down that there are five kinds of gifts, and it enumerates among them "the continuance of a gift given before", and considers this as a kind of gift. This clearly shows that the King had power to resume gift at will, whether it be land or of any other privilege.

E. ECCLESIASTICAL.

38. *The King is the supreme governor of Dharma.*

cf. ŚN. p. 6.

राजदण्डभयाल्लोकः स्वस्वधर्मपरो भवेत् ।

also AŚ. p. 150.

नश्यतां सर्वधर्माणां राजा धर्मप्रवर्तकः ।

39. *The King is the founder of religion and destroyer of irreligion.*

cf. ŚN. p. 74.

धर्मप्रवर्तकोऽधर्मनाशकः ।

40. *The King is the sole protector of Dharma and the social system.*

cf. AŚ. p. 9.

चतुर्वर्णाश्रमो लोको राज्ञा दण्डेन पालितः ।

स्वधर्मकर्माभिरतो वर्तते स्वेषु वर्त्मसु ॥

41. *The King has a right to forbid improper proceedings of ascetics.*

It is sometimes contended that the ascetics do not come within the jurisdiction of the State, but this does not seem to be the case, at least not in Ancient India. I give only one instance from AŚ. p. 191.

प्रव्रज्यामु यथाचारान् राजा दण्डेन वारयेत् ।

This shows clearly that it is within the powers of the King to forbid improper proceedings of the ascetics when these threaten the security of the State. Many more instances can be quoted, but this may be considered sufficient for our present purpose.

This concludes the short list of prerogatives I have been able to collect. I do not claim this list to be either perfect or complete. But this subject appears to be not only interesting but also very useful, and I hope that some one will come forward to write an original thesis at no distant date, since materials seem to be quite plentiful.

The Sasanian Conquest of the Indus Region

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THE Indus region, for reasons easily understandable, has since times of yore been coveted by conquerors issuing from Iran or even from more remote parts; and during long stages of its history it has been under Western domination, and has had only loose connections with the real sub-continent of India.

The older periods of Indus history are naturally wrapt in obscurity. Archæology has so far been able to record few greater discoveries than the unearthing of the Mohenjo Daro civilisation,—a civilisation which dates back at least to C. 2500 B.C.¹ However, as long as the script of the seals and the connection—ethnical and linguistic—of the Mohenjo Daro people with other races remain obscure, historical research will not be able to reach any conclusions concerning the oldest political status of the Indus valley. The splendid Indus culture may have succumbed to Aryan invaders from the North-west—which, however, does not seem very probable to the present writer—or it may have been destroyed by a people unknown to us. But whatever may have been the real conditions of that remote period, it seems at least possible that the ruins of Mohenjo Daro represent the tangible result of a very early conquest of the Indus region by Western clans.

The connections between the Assyrians and the Far East also seem wholly obscure. Classical authors, such as Arrian,² seem to think that all land to the west of the Indus was subject to the Assyrians, and then to the Medes. In another work³ Arrian speaks of the warlike attempts by Queen Samiramis on the Indians and of her flight from their borders; while Justin (1, 2, 9) simply says that, before the time of Alexander, Semiramis alone had entered the land of the Indians. Xenophon, in his *Cyropaedia* 1, 5, 3, mentions a message sent by some Assyrian

1. Such a date seems to be suggested by the discoveries of Professor Frankfort at Tell-Asmar, recorded in the *Annual Bibl. of Ind. Arch.* VII (1932, pub. 1934), p. 1 ff. The dates advocated by Sir John Marshall and his collaborators seem rather high.

2. *Indica*, 1 ff.

3. *Anabasis* VI, 24, 2-3.

king to the Indians. A cylinder preserved in the British Museum tells us that Sennacherib, King of Assyria (C. 700 B. C.), tried to introduce cotton-shrubs into his gardens at Nineveh.⁴ This certainly points to a certain connection with India, but cannot, of course, be taken as proof of an Assyrian overlordship over the Indus province. However, the allusions of classical authors to Assyrian conquests in the East make it fairly probable that Assur had at least some political connections with the Indus valley.

That Darius I (521-486 B.C.) conquered the Indus region is a well-established fact. And that the Achaemenians held political sway over that province as well as over the Kabul valley down to the very fall of their dynasty, seems obvious from the presence of Indian troops and elephants on the Persian side in the battle of Gawgamela (330 B.C.) According to a passage in Arrian⁵ the troops came from the extreme North-west and marched with the Bactrians, while the squadrons of elephants were drawn from the very province of Sindh. Alexander again did not attempt his conquest of India simply from vain-glorious motives; the Greeks, from the time of Herodotus on, were well aware of the immense tribute drawn by the Achaemenians from their Indian provinces.⁶ And it may have been strongly tempting to the world-conqueror to add those regions to his dominions. That he also considered himself the legal successor of the Achaemenians is proved by his marriage with Statira, a daughter of Darius III, and in this way he had a right also to their Indian realm.

However, while there is sufficient light on the conditions of the Indus region from the conquest of Darius right down to the time of Alexander, much doubt attaches itself to the connections of Cyrus with the West of India. If it be true that the Assyrians and Medes held some sort of sway over the Indus valley, it seems obvious that Cyrus, their immediate successor and one of the world's greatest generals, should have attempted to renew their Eastern conquests. It has been even suggested that Cyrus did not meet his fate during the campaign against the Massagetae so romantically described by Herodotus. Ctesias, who perhaps knew better, tells us that he was actually killed in warfare against the Derbikes, a people bordering upon India. These knotty questions cannot, however, be discussed here, and we shall be justified

4. Cp. *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1909, p. 339 ff. (and *Annual Bibl. of Ind. Arch.* VII, 7).

5. *Anabasis* III, 8, 3 ff.

6. According to Herodotus III, 94, this tribute amounted to no less than 360 talents of gold sand (about one million Sterling).

by quoting a few recent publications dealing with the subject.⁷ If asked for a personal opinion, valueless though it may be, we should feel rather inclined to believe that Cyrus did really fail during an attempt to conquer the Indian borderlands.

The Indian provinces of the West, after the death of Alexander, soon recovered their freedom from foreign overlordship.⁸ Seleucus I, although undoubtedly the ablest of Alexander's generals, did not meet with success in his campaign against Chandragupta; and his capable son Antiochus I apparently did not repeat his Indian adventure, though he upheld friendly relations with the Mauryas, and is undoubtedly the *Antiyoka* mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions.⁹ The Seleucids who followed were far too much occupied with their Western provinces to be able to invade the East. And when Antiochus III in C. 206 B.C. had come to terms with Euthydemus of Bactria, he only paid a short visit to the Upper Indus valley where he saw an otherwise unknown king called *Sophagasenus* (*Subhāgasēna*) who apparently was willing to salute him as his overlord. With this short campaign ends the connection of the successors of Alexander—for the Bactrian Greeks could scarcely be regarded as such—with the Indus provinces.

The relations of the Arsacid dynasty, as far as the present writer is aware, remain obscure. The philosopher and the magician Apollonius of Tyana, according to Philostratus or rather to his source, travelled through the Arsacid empire in the 40's A.D.¹⁰ For quite a long time he visited the then great king at Babylon and even got a letter of recommendation, from him to the Satrap of the Indus province. It is however expressly stated that he was not a subject of the Arsacid ruler; and this seems to make it probable that the political connection between Persia and Western India was at that time entirely severed. During its later period of existence the Arsacid realm suffered from political dissensions and weakness, and it seems wholly incredible that its rulers should at that time have attempted any conquest of the Indus valley.

7. Cp., *inter alia*, Jackson C. H. I. Vol. I, p. 329 ff; Camelli *Revista Indo-Greco-Italica* VI (1922), 281 ff; as well as a small article by the present writer in *Zeitschrift f. Indologie* II (1923), 140 ff. Something may be found also in the article *Ahl. Proc. Am. Phil. Assn.* 63, p. xli f.

8. The story of these events is well described in C. H. I. Vol. I, p. 427 ff.

9. In B. S. O. S. VI (1931), 303 ff, the present writer has tried to prove that the *Antiyoko nāma Yonarāja* mentioned in Rock-Edd. II and XIII is in reality Antiochus I (d. 262-261 B.C.), and not Antiochus II (d. 246 B.C.). The consequences of such a suggestion are set out at some length in the article just mentioned.

10. Cp. the present writer's pamphlet, *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (Upsala 1934), p. 31 ff.

The case seems to stand otherwise with the great Sasanian dynasty that occupied the throne of the King of Kings about 225 A.D. The late Vincent Smith quite correctly suggested¹¹ that the closely contemporaneous downfall of Kushān and the Āndhra dynasties in about 226 A.D. most probably must have been connected with the rise of Sasanian power and a Persian invasion of Western India. But he added that no direct proofs of the historical existence of such an invasion were forthcoming. In a later article,¹² however, Smith, by an ingenious combination of a hitherto unobserved passage in Firishta with the find of a coin collected many years earlier in the Jhelum district of the Punjab, proved that an invasion of the Indus region was probably undertaken by Ardashir Pāpakān, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty (225-241 A.D.). This leads to the conclusion that his successors may have held sway over the countries bordering upon the river Indus. For such a contention some other small indications seem to me to be forthcoming.

Kālidāsa, in describing the *digvijaya* of Raghu, also has some lines dealing with the Persians¹³ which, in this connection, seem worthy of attention. After telling us how Raghu had conquered Aparānta (Konkan) and made Mt. Trikūṭa his town of victory (*jayastambha*) he continues :—

Pārasīkāms tatō jētum pratasthē sthalarartmanā |
Indriyākhyān iva ripūṃs tattvajñānēna samyamū || 60 ||
Samgrāmas tumulas tasya pāśchātyair aśvasāadhanaih |
Sārṅgākūjitavijñēyapratijōdhē rajasy-abhūt || 62 ||
Bhallāpavarjitaś tēshām śirōbhih śmaśrulair mahīm |
Tastāra saraghāvijyāptaih sa kshaudrapaṭalair-iva || 63 ||
Apanītaśirastrāṇāh śēshastam śaraṇam yayuh |
Praṇipātapratīkārah samrambhō hi mahātmanām || 64 ||
Vinayantē sma tadyōdhā madhubhir vijayaśramam |
Āstīrṇājina ratnāsu drākshāvalayabhūmishu || 65 ||

Passing from Konkan northwards by *landway* which can only mean by the way of Kāthiāwār—Raghu must have given battle to the Persians in the Lower Indus valley. In the dry and dusty region he fought their armies chiefly consisting of cavalry. Their warriors grew beards and wore steel-helmets; and Raghu's own soldiers after the battle gave themselves up to drinking grape-wine which must have been imported from Persia or Afghanistan. After having defeated the Persians,

11. Cp. *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed., p. 273, and *Oxford History of India*, p. 138.

12. Cp. *J. R. A. S.* 1920, p. 221 ff.

13. *Raghuvamśa* IV, 60 ff.

Raghu marched due north, and then came upon the Huns and the Kambojas.

The description of the Persians is quite accurate. As Kālidāsa cannot have possessed a historical knowledge of the conditions of Raghu's time—if ever Raghu was a historical person—he must, of course, be alluding to the conditions of his own period. This passage consequently seems to prove that, in the fifth century A.D., the Persians were still in possession of the Indus province, and that, to the north of this province, i.e. in the Panjāb and further north, were the Hephthalites or White Huns. Such were probably the conditions during the time of Skandagupta when the Huns had partly overrun Persia and were entering India from the North-west.

In this connection, the present writer may, perhaps, be allowed to bring into remembrance that, some years ago in a short notice,¹⁴ he drew attention to the name *Parnadatta*, which, from an Indian point of view, is simply unintelligible. Such was the name, according to Jūnagadh inscription, of a man whom Skandagupta appointed to be governor of Surāshtra (Kāthiawār). *Parnadatta*, according to my humble opinion, is nothing but an Indianization of a Persian *Farnadāta*, the existence of which is proved by the Greek transcriptions *Pharandates* or *Pherendates*.¹⁵ This seems to prove that Kāthiawār did no more belong to the Persians but to the realm of the great Guptas. Still the Persian element must have been strong among the upper classes there, as Skandagupta appointed as governor a man of undoubted Iranian descent.¹⁶

Byzantine literature, with which the present writer is, of course, only superficially acquainted, may contain some passages which would point to a Persian dominion in the Indus valley. It has, however, scarcely been sufficiently sifted from such a point of view. Anyhow, Cosmas Indicopleustes, who most probably visited India at the very beginning of the 6th century A.D.,¹⁷ in a passage of his *Christian Topography*¹⁸ tells us this: "Now Sindu is the very beginning of India. For the river Indus . . . empties into the Persian gulf and has different mouths, one belonging to Persia, another to India." *Sindu* may be identical with Diul-

14. J. R. A. S. 1928, p. 904 f.

15. J. R. A. S. 1931, p. 140 f.

16. The son of *Parnadatta*, however, was called *Chakrapālita* (Fleet, *Gupta inscr.*, p. 5 f.), a name that can have no Iranian connections, unless it be a somewhat obscure translation from Persian.

17. His visit to India and Ceylon has been put to doubt by great authorities such as Lassen and Tennent, while others (like Yule) hold the undoubtedly correct view that he really went there.

18. Ed. Winstedt (1909), p. 322, 23-26.

Sind¹⁹ which is known from quite an early time or it may not ; anyhow it must mean a port situated within the Indus Delta. And at the time of Cosmas—practically about 500 A.D.—the left side of the river apparently belonged to India, the right one to Persia. That would mean that at this period the Sasanians still kept sway over the regions to the West of the Indus.

I have tried to scan the *Bellum Persicum* of Procopius, who wrote slightly later than Cosmas, for any possible references to Sasanian dominion in Western India, but have not been able to find any. There is, however, in l. 20 an allusion to an overwhelming commercial influence of the Persians in Western India in the early 6th century. Procopius tells us that Justinian, the Byzantine emperor (527-565 A.D.), saw with consternation the drain on the purses of his subjects caused by the monopoly of the silk trade established by the Persians. He, consequently, tried to persuade the Christian king of Abyssinia to let his subjects buy large quantities of silk in the Indian ports. "But", continues Procopius, "it was not possible to the Abyssinians to buy silk from the Indians, as Persian merchants were always hanging about the ports where the Indian vessels first put in, living as they do in the next neighbourhood ; and these Persians are accustomed to buy the wares wholesale". According to Cosmas, Ceylon was at this time the general port of exchange whither the Chinese junks brought silk and other products of the Far East. The Ceylonese then distributed the silk, cloves etc., to the ports on the Western coasts of India as far as the abovementioned Sindu. Apparently, the Persian merchants were crowding to these ports ; and they may, of course, have been much nearer to them if Persia was at this time in possession of all land to the West of the Indus.

Sasanian literature, unfortunately, has been preserved to us only through later and often very untrustworthy sources. And so far nothing seems to have been unearthed from Pahlavi or later Persian literature alluding to the topic which is here occupying our attention. However, Professor Hersfeld in his great work on *Paikuli*, from various reasons, which for lack of space it would be quite impossible to repeat here, has concluded that the Sasanians *did* really conquer the Indus valley, and at one time held sway even over a large part of Western India, where the then reigning Śaka Satraps recognised them as their overlords.²¹ Professor Hersfeld does not seem to think that Ardashīr I (225-241), vastly extended as were his conquests, did really subdue these parts of India. That was done during the great campaign which his

19. Cp. Yule-Burnell *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd Ed., p. 320.

20. Ed. Dindorf I, 106 f.

21. *Paikuli* I, 39, 42, 43.

greatgrandson Bahrām II (276-293 A.D.), carried on against the Śakas. The learned author is certainly right in supposing that *Śaksthāna* did at this time not mean Sistān only but also the Lower Indus region, Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt and even Mālhwā. Personally I have the impression that the names or titles of the Indian Śaka Satraps, which Professor Hersfeld has read into the great Paikuli inscription, are very uncertain and little to be relied upon. But on the whole there can be little doubt that the main theory is right, and that the earlier Sasanians held sway over not only the Indus valley but also over considerable parts of Western India. These parts—Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt and Mālhwā—were re-conquered some time between 390-400 A.D. by Chandragupta II who, however, seems to have left the Sasanians as *beati possessores* of the Indus Province.

I shall now try shortly to sum up what seems to me to have been the probable stages of the rise and down-fall of Sasanian dominion in Western India.

1. Ardashīr I (225-241 A.D.) may well have invaded the Panjāb and laid that province temporarily under his realm.

2. Bahrām II (276-293 A.D.) conquered the whole of *Śakasthāna*, and claimed overlordship over the Śaka Satraps of Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt and Mālhwā. According to Professor Hersfeld these Satraps are mentioned in the great Paikuli inscription as waiting on the Shahānshāh Narseh upon his ascension of the throne (293 A.D.)

3. The Sasanians probably held sway over this Greater *Śakasthāna* until about 390-400 A.D. when Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt and Mālhwā were reconquered by Chandragupta II. This tallies quite well with the passage from Kālidāsa quoted above where the Pārasika dominion is situated between the Hindu lands in the south (i.e. the Gupta realm) and the kingdom of the Huns in the North.

4. The Lower Indus region—at least to the west of the river—was probably held by the Sasanians until their downfall by the middle of the 7th century A.D. The Arabs, some-what more than half a century later, arrived as their successors in Sindh.

These scrappy notes are not meant to contain any solution of a very intricate historical problem. They are only meant as a very small token of the author's admiration for Professor Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's unceasing labours in the vast field of Indian historical research.

[The Editors have to record, with profound sorrow, that the talented scholar who wrote the above article—it seems to be almost the last one he wrote—is no more. The field of Indian historical scholarship has indeed lost a great worker; and the Editors very much regret that the author has not lived to go through the proofs of his article, as the views presented in it seem capable of discussion.]

Vedic Monotheism

By

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MODERN scholarship for the most part postulates only a gradual development, in Indian metaphysics, of the notion of a single principle, of which principle the Several Angels (*dēvāh*, *viśvē dēvāh*, etc.) are, as it were, the powers, operative aspects, or personified attributes. As Yāska expresses it, "It is because of his great divisibility (*māha-bhāgyāt*) that they apply many names to him, one after another. . . . The other angels (*dēvāh*) come to be (*bhavanti*) sub-members (*pratyāṅgāni*) of the one essence (*ēkasyātmanaḥ*) . . . their becoming is a birth from one another, they are of one another's nature ; they originate in function (*karma*) ;¹ essence is their origin. . . . essence (*ātmā*) is the whole of what an angel is" (*Nirruktā VII*, 4). Similarly the *Bṛhad-Dēvatā*, I 70-74 : "Because of the magnitude of the essence (*māhātmyāt*) a diversity of names is given (*vidhīyatē*) . . . according to the distribution of their spheres (*sthānavibhāgēna*). It is inasmuch as they are powers (*vibhūtiḥ*, cf. *Bhagavad-gīta X*, 40) that the names are innumerable. But the shapers (*kavayah*) in their incantations (*mantrēṣu*) say that the *dēvatas* have a common source ; they are called by different names according to the spheres in which they are established. Some say that they are participant therein, and that such is their derivation ; but as regards the aforesaid Trinity of world-rulers, it is well understood that the whole of their participation (*bhaktiḥ*) is in the essence (*ātmā*)."²

1. It is in fact Viśvakarma, the doer of all things, that gives their "names," that is to say, their individual being, to the Angels, and is therefore called *dēvā-nām nāmadhāḥ*, *X*, 82, 3.

2. An ontology of this kind is not properly to be called pantheistic or monistic. This would only be legitimate if, when the essence has been analysed into its many aspects, there were no remainder ; on the contrary, the whole of Indian scripture, beginning with the *Rig Veda*, consistently affirms that what remains exceeds the whole of that which suffices to fill up these worlds, and that the source remains unaffected by whatever is produced from it or returned to it at the beginning or end of an aeon. The view that all this is a theophany does not mean that all of him is seen ; on the contrary, "only a quarter," so to speak, of his abundance (*RV. X*, 90, 3) suffices to fill up the worlds of time and space, however far they may extend, however long they may endure.

Cf. Whitney, in Preface to the English version of Guénen, *Le Homme et son Devenir selon le Vedānta* : "It is to be hoped that this book will give the *coup de*

The foregoing passages illustrate the normal method of theology in any discussion *De divinis nominibus*, when a recognition of the various operations of a single principle gives rise to the superficial appearance of a polytheism. In Christianity, for example, "we do not say *the only God*, for deity is common to several" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I.q.31, a-2c) ; still, "To create beings belongs to God according to his own being, that is his essence, which is common to the three Persons. Hence to create is not peculiar to any one Person, but is common to the whole Trinity" (*ib* I, q. 45, a. 6c.); and it is well understood that "Although the names of God have one common reference, still because the reference is made under many and different aspects, these names are not synonymous. . . . The many aspects of these names are not empty and vain, for there corresponds to all of them one single reality represented by them in a manifold and imperfect manner"³ (*ib*. I, q. 13, a. 4 *ad* 2). In the same way, Plotinus: "This life of the ensouled stars is one identical thing, since they are one in the all-soul, so that their very spatial movement is pivoted upon identity and resolves itself into a movement not spatial but vital" (*Enneads*, IV, 4, 8).

That these conceptions of the identity of the First Principle with all its powers are current in the *Brāhmanas* and the *Atharva-Vēda* is well known. There may be cited, for example, *Śatupatha Brāhmaṇa* X,5,2,16. "As to this they say, 'Is then Death one or many?' One should answer, 'One and many'. For, inasmuch as he is That (Person

grāce to the absurd and well-nigh unaccountable prejudice which persistently depreciates the Vedic doctrine on account of its alleged 'pantheism.' This parrot-cry"; and Lacombe, in Preface to Greusset, *Les philosophies Indiennes*, 1931: "Il ne faut pas conclure, à notre avis, que le Vedānta soit pantheiste ou même moniste, surtout au sens que ces mots ent chez nous. Il se nomme lui-même *advaita*, non-dualiste. Sa préoccupation d'assurer la transcendance de Brahman non moins que son immanence, de maintenir l'intériorité de son Ggloire, est manifeste. Position irréductible"; and my *New Approach to the Vedas*, Note 42.

It may be added that similar objection can be made to the word "Monotheism" in the title of the present essay. *Tad ēkam* in RV. X, 129, 2 is much rather "First Principle" than "only God". It is as "only God", with aspects as many as the points of view from which he is regarded, that "That One" becomes intelligible; but what That one may be in itself can only be expressed in terms of negation, for example, "without duality".

As to the rendering of *ātman* by "essence", which I adopt here and elsewhere: essence (*ātman*) is that by which a thing is; name or idea (*nāma*) is that by which a thing is what it is; aspect or mode (*rūpa*) that by which it is as it is. Thus *nāmā-rūpa* is the integration of soul and body, *ātman* the ultimate subject.

3. Cf. *Jaiminiya Up. Brāhmaṇa*. III, 1, where the Spiritus (*vāyu*) is called "the one entire Angel (*ēka . . . kṛtsnā dēvatā*), the rest are semi-angels".

in the Sun), he is one ; and inasmuch as he is multiply-distributed (*bahudhā vyāriṣṭiḥ*) in his children, he is many", cf. with *ib.* 20 : "As he is sought unto, so he becomes" (*yathōpāsātē tad ēva bhavati*) ;⁴ and *Atharva Vēda*, VIII, 9.26 "One Bull, one Prophet, one Home, a single Ordinance, one simplex Yakṣa in his ground, one Season that is never emptied out," and 1.12.1.Agni "One energy whose procession is three-fold."

It is more often overlooked that the same point of view is so explicitly and so repeatedly affirmed in the *Ṛg Vēda* as to leave no room for any misunderstanding. A full discussion of the Vēdic formulation of the problem of the one and the many would require an extended study of Vēdic exemplarism. Space is not available for this at the present time, but we may call attention to the expression *viśvam ēkam*, "integral multiplicity", in *ṚV*, III, 54.8. All that we propose now is to assemble some of the most conspicuous of the Vēdic texts in which the identity of the one and the many is categorically affirmed ; adding that, even were none of these explicit statements available, the law expressed in them could have been independently deduced from an analysis of the functions attributed to the various powers, for although these functions are characteristic of particular deities, they are never entirely peculiar to any one of them.⁵

Familiar passages, often dismissed as "late," include *ṚV*. I, 164, 46. "The priests refer in many different ways (*bahudhā vadanti*) to that that is but one, they call him Agni, Yama, Mātariṣvān : they call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni, who is the heavenly eagle Garutman" ; X, 114, 5, "Ecstatic shapers (*viprā kavayah*) conceive of him in many

4. Just as in later literature the deity may be addressed as "Thou that dost take the forms imagined by thy worshippers".

5. Max Muller invented the term "henotheism" to describe this method, which he apparently imagined to have been peculiar to the Vēdas. Christianity, as a matter of fact, is "henotheistic" in so far as it affirms that whatever is done by any one of the Persons is done by all, and *vice-versa*. A fully developed "henotheism" is even more characteristic of Stoicism and of Philo, cf. Bréhier, *Les Idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, 1925, pp. 112, 113 ; "La conception de dieux myrionymes, d'un dieu unique auquel sous ses différentes formes s'adressent les prières des initiés était familière au stoïcisme . . . de même que dans les hymnes orphiques, la toute-puissance de chaque Dieu n'empêche pas leur hiérarchie, de même ici (that is, according to Philo) les êtres sent classés bien souvent hiérarchiquement comme s'il s'agissaient d'êtres distincts". Here also, then, we meet with that superficial appearance of polytheism by which the apologist of some other religion than that under discussion is so conveniently deceived, the Muslim for example, when he calls the Christian doctrine of the Trinity "polytheistic".

ways (*bahudhā kalpayanti*) the eagle that is one"; and X, 90, 11, where, after the First Sacrificers have divided up (*vyadadhuḥ*) the person, the question is posed in *brahmōdaya* fashion, "How many-fold did they think him out"? (*katidhā vyakalpayan*). It is precisely this goal (*artham*) of being made to dwell in many places (*bahudhā nivīṣṭa*) that Agni dreads, as he lingers in the darkness (*tamasi kṣēsi*, X, 51, 4-5), although in fact even while he proceeds he still remains within (*anu agrañ carati kṣēti budhnaḥ*, III, 55, 7=*kṛṣṇe budhne*, IV, 17, 14=*vṛṣabhasye nīle*, IV, 1, 12, etc., etc.). As Eckhart expresses it, "the Sun remains within as essence and goes forth as person the divine nature steps forth into relation of otherness, other but not another, for this distinction is rational, not real." "To the Shapers he is manifested as the Sun of men" (*āvīr . . . abhavat sūryō nṛṇ*, I, 146, (4)).

Equally explicit, however, are the statements scattered through the other books. In particular he is often said to have two different forms, according to his being in the Day or Night, and this is "as he wills," *yathā vaśam* (RV. III, 48, 4; VII, 101, 3; of X, 168, 4 and AV. VI, 72, 1). When this is expressed as "Now he becometh sterile (*starīr u tvād bhavati*), now begets (*sūtē u*)", VII, 101, 3, the latter expression, like his designation as *sūh* in I, 146, 5 is as much as to say *savitā bhavati* "he becomes Savitr." Cf. III, 55, 19 and X, 10, 5 where *Tvaṣṭṛ* and *Savitṛ* are identified by apposition. In RV III, 20, 3 and 7, Agni and Indra are called polynominal (*bhūrīṇi-nāma*, *puru-nāma*), and in II, 1, Agni is addressed by the names of nearly all the powers and there are countless passages in which Indra is a designation of the Sun. In VIII, 11, 18, Agni is "to be seen in many different places, or aspects." Although his semblance is the same in many places (*purutrā hi sadṛṣṇ asi*, VIII, 11, 18, cf. I, 94, 7), yet his becoming is manifold (*purutrā . . . abhavat* I, 146, 5), and he is given many names, for "Even as he showeth, so is he called" (*yādr̥g ēva dadṛṣē tādr̥g ucyatē*, V, 44, 6) of which *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, X, 5, 2, 20 cited above is hardly more than a paraphrase.

In many cases the verb *bhū*, to "become," as it occurs in the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Nirukta* texts already cited, is employed in the *R̥g Vēda* to denote in the same sense the passing over from one name and function to another. For example, RV. III, 5, 4 "Agni becometh (*bhavati*) Mitra when enkindled, Mitra the priest, and Varuṇa, Jātavēdas," of IV, 42, 3 "I, Varuṇa am Indra," and V, 3, 1-2, "Thou, Agni, art Varuṇa at birth, becomes (*bhavasi*) Mitra when enkindled, in thee, O Son of Strength, abide the Several Angels; Indra art thou to the mortal worshipper. With respect to maidens thou becomest Aryaman, and as Svadhāvan bearest a secret name" (*nāma . . . guhyam*, probably as Trita, of I, 163, 3 "Trita art thou by the interior operation," *asi trito guh-*

yēna vratēna). Again, RV, III, 29, 31 "As Titan Germ he might Tanū-napāt,⁶ when born abroad is Narasāṁsa, when fashioned in the Mother he becometh Mātariṣvān, the gale of the Spiritus in its course." That Spiritus is indeed Varuṇa's own essence (*ātmāte vāta*, VII, 87, 2), and the breath of *vāc* (X, 125, 8); a gale whose form is never seen, but is the essence (*ātmā*) of all the Angels, moving as it listeth (X, 168, 4 Cf. *lux hominum*, John, I, 4). *Vāc* herself, the eternal Mother, is divided by the Angels, and made to dwell in "multifarious stations" (*mā dēvā vyadadhuh purutrā bhūriṣṭhātrām bhūryā-vēsayantīm*, X, 125, 3).

To the foregoing passages, in which the diversified effects of what is really a single operation are considered, may be added RV. VI, 47, 18, "He is the counter-form of every form, it is that form of his that we should look upon; Indra, by virtue of his magic powers proceeds as multiform" (*rūpaṁ rūpaṁ pratrūrūpaṁ babhūva tad asya rūpaṁ cakṣaṇāya, indrō māyābhīḥ pururūpa īyatē*), a passage closely corresponding to Eckhart's "single form that is the form of many different things," resuming the scholastic doctrine of exemplarism: and whereas in X, 5, 1, Agni alone is *ṛtupati* in RV. VI, 9, 5, "The Several Angels with one common mind and common will unerring move upon the single season" (*ekam ṛtum*, cf. *ēka ṛtu* in AV. VIII, 9, 26, cited above), closely corresponding to St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, III, q. 32, a. 1 ad 3, where what is done by any one of the Persons of the Trinity is said to be done by all, "because there is one nature and one will".

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa VIII, 7, 2, 10, "Yonder Sun strings these worlds upon his essence as upon a thread, *Bhagavad-gīta* VII, 7, "All this is threaded upon me," and X, 20 "I am the essence seated in the heart of all beings," merely repeat the thought of RV. I, 115, 1, "The Sun is the essence (*ātman*) of all that is moving or at rest." In X, 121, 2, *Hiranyagarbha* (Agni, *Prajāpati*), is called the "giver of essence" (*ātmā-dā*), and it is in this sense that Agni in I. 149, 3, is "of hundred-fold essence" (*śatātmā*).

It is thus clear enough that the *Nirukta* and the *Bṛhad Dēvatā* are fully justified in saying that the Angels are participant (*bhakta*) in the divine essence; even the phraseology of the Vēdic *mantras* is retained by the expositors. The reference to "participation" leads us to the

6. The name Tanūnapāt, "Son of Himself", formulates the well-known doctrine that "Agni is kindled by Agni" (RV. I, 12, 6), according to which in ritual the new *Gārhapṭya* must be lit from the old. Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, III, q. 32, a. 1 ad 1, "the taking itself (i.e. the assumption of human nature, taking birth) is attributed to the Son", i.e. it is the Son's own act as well as that of the other Persons.

consideration of Vēdic Bhaga, later Bhagavān. Bhaga is not a personal name, but rather a general designation of the active power in any of his aspects, as the "Free Giver," or "Sharer-out," who makes his *bhaktas* to participate in his riches. These riches can be only the aspects of his essence, for assuredly we cannot think of deity as possessing anything more than what he himself is ; "sharing out himself, he fills these worlds full" (*ātmanam vibhajya pūrayati imān lōkān*). This last is indeed an Aupaniṣada text (*maitri Up. VI, 26*), but the concept is Vēdic. Bhaga is, in fact, referred to by apposition as the "Dispenser" (*vibhakṭr*, RV. V. 46, 6); and *bhāga* is "share" or "dispensation," as in II, 17, 7, addressed to Indra, "I pray thee, Bhaga . . . measure out, bring forward, give me that share (*bhāgam*) whereby the (inveterated) body is restored ;" VIII, 99, 3, "Depending upon him, as upon the Sun, the Several (*viśvē*, sc *dēvāh*) have participated in what is Indra's ;" I, 68, 3, where in a laud addressed to Agni, the Several (*viśvē* sc. *dēvāh*) are said to "participate in thy deity" (*bhajanta dēvatvam* ; VII, 81, 2 has the prayer at dawn, "May we be associated in participation" (*sam bhaktēna gamēmamahi*). From these passages it is sufficiently plain that *bhaga* is "dispenser," he who freely spends himself ; *bhāga* the "share" or "dispensation" received ; *bhakti* the act of participation ; and *bhakṭa* the designation of the participant who shares in the gift.

The vexed problem of the "origin of the *bhakti* movement" need never, perhaps, have been posed, if renderings such as these had been retained in the translation of later texts, especially that of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. It is true that the *bhakti-mārga* is also the *prēma-mārga*, the passive "Way of Love" as distinguished from the *Jñāna-mārga*, the active "Way of Gnosis ;" but that the expressions *bhakti-mārga* and *prēma-mārga* have a common reference does not make them synonymous (expressions are only "synonymous" when they refer to the same thing *under the same aspect*). It is true that "participation" implies "love;" and *vice-versa*, since a love that does not participate in the beloved is by no means "love," but rather "desire." Love and participation are nevertheless logically differentiated conceptions, each of which plays its own part in the definition of the devotional act ; and when the two expressions are confused in an equivocal rendering, not only are these shades of meaning lost, but at the same time the evidence of the continuity of the Vēdic with the later thought is concealed, and an unreal problem is evoked.

We then wish to express ourselves as in full agreement with the views of Edgerton, who concluded that "Everything contained in at least the older Upaniṣads, with almost no exceptions, is not new to the Upaniṣads, but can be found set forth, or at least *very* clearly

foreshadowed, in the older Vēdic texts" (*Journ. Am. Or. Sec.*, XXXVI, 197), and those of Bloomfield, who argued "that *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* are for the least part chronological distinctions; that they represent two modes of literary activity, and two modes of literary speech, which are largely contemporaneous . . . Both forms existed together, for aught we know, from the earliest times; only the redaction of the *mantra* collections seems on the whole to have preceded the redaction of the *Brāhmaṇas*. . . . The hymns of the Rig Veda, like those of the other three Vēdas, were liturgical from the very start. This means that they form only a fragment . . . late texts and commentaries may contain the correct explanation" (*ib.* XV, 144); also *ib.* XXIX, 288, where with reference to the oldest parts of the *Ṛg. Vēda* he calls it "the last precipitate, with a long and tangled past behind it of a literary activity of great and indefinite length."

We are in agreement with Jeremias, when he says (*Altorientalisches Geisteskultur*, Vorwort): "Die menscheitsbildung ist ein einheitliches Ganzes, und in den verschiedenen Kulturen findet man die Dialekte der einen Geistesspraches;" with Scharbau (*Die Idee der schöpfung in der vedischen Literatur*, 1932, p. 168, Note 166), "die Tiefe und Grosse der theologischen Erkenntniss des *Ṛgvedas* keineswegs hinter 'der des Vedānta Zurücksteht;" and finally with Sāyaṇa, that none of the Vēdic references are historical.

It is precisely the fact that the Vēdic incantations are liturgical that makes it unreasonable to expect from them a systematic exposition of the philosophy they take for granted; if we consider the *mantras* by themselves, it is as if we had to deduce the Scholastic philosophy only from the *librette* of the Mass. Not that this would be impossible, but that we should be accused of reading into the Mass meanings that could not possibly have been present to the mentality prevailing in the "Dark Ages," of yielding, as Professor Keith expresses it (who cannot himself be accused of any such weakness) to "our natural desire . . . to find reason prevailing in a barbarous age." In fact, however, the *mantras* and the Latin hymns alike are so closely wrought, their symbolism is employed with such mathematical exactitude (Emil Male speaks of Christian symbolism as "calculus"), that we cannot possibly suppose that their authors did not understand their own words; it is we who misunderstand, if we insist on reading algebra as though it were arithmetic. All that we can learn from literary history is that the doctrines which are taken for granted in the *mantras* were not perhaps published until after a certain amount of linguistic change had already taken place; we may find some new words, but we do not meet with new ideas. It is our own fault if we cannot see that Mitrāvaruṇau, of

whom the latter is "the immortal brother of the mortal" former, are none other than the *apara* and the *para* Brahman to whom the Upaniṣads refer as mortal and immortal respectively.

Just as in relation to the Babylonian liturgies there must also have existed a "wisdom literature . . . not written, to be repeated in the temples" (Langden, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 11), and as it must be assumed that there existed the concept of a "single God . . . (whose) various aspects were not yet considered separate deities in the Sumero-Accadian pantheon" (Frankfort, in *Iraq*, I, 1934, p. 47), so in the case of the Vēdic liturgies, where the occurrence of the concepts of a "One, that is equally spirited, despirated" (*ānīt avāta*, X, 90, 2), and of Agni as "being and non-being in one" (*śatasat* X, 5, 7) cannot be called surprising. We see then in the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, *Bhagavad-gīta*, and even in Buddhism, nothing but an ultimate recension and publication of what had always been taught, whether to initiates or in those circles the existence of which is implied by the *brahmōdaya* form of many hymns, and by such Brāhmans as that one who in RV. X, 71, 11 is referred to as expounding the lore of genesis (*vadati jātavidyām*), and whom we may assume to have been, like Agni himself, a "comprehender of the generations of all things" (*viśvā vēda janimā* VI, 15, 13, cf. IV, 27, 1).

Maratha Vakils with the British at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras

(In the 18th Century.)

By

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Satara.

SHIVAJI Bājirāo and Māhādājī were the three great persons who successively raised the Marātha power from the position of a petty Jāhagīr to a powerful empire which in the latter half of the 18th century was spread over a considerable portion of India. The Marātha power had then become so powerful as to interfere with success in the political affairs of almost all the States in the whole of India, and for this purpose had to spread a vast network of embassies throughout India especially when the capable Prime Minister, Nānā Phadanavīs, was in power. The duty of the ambassadors was apparently to work as representatives of the Pēshwas and safeguard their interests, but they had also to furnish from time to time all the information—political as well as non-political—about the courts in which they were posted.

In addition to the regular Vakils or Residents, as these were called, some news-writers were appointed, whose business it was to report, independently of the Vakils, news of the courts to which they were attached. Their position was somewhat inferior to that of the Vakils. Sometimes men of tact were sent to foreign courts to accomplish only a particular purpose, and they were asked to report upon their missions. Consequently, it is often difficult to distinguish the regular Marātha Residents from the news-writers or casual envoys.

The Pēshwas appointed Vakils and news-writers not only at foreign or non-Marātha headquarters but also the courts of their own Sardārs. The foreign rulers included both those who were politically independent like the English, the French, the Portuguese, and the Nizām, Hyder and Tipu, and (in a way) the Mughal emperor and those who had to pay tribute to the Pēshwas, like the rulers of the Rajput states. The Marātha Sardārs were of course the Sindhia, the Holkār, the Gaikvād, and Bhonsalē who sometimes tried to throw off their allegiance to the central authority.

The correspondence carried on regularly by these persons was naturally in Marāthi. In the long list of such persons we find a few names of non-Marāthas like Lālā Sēvakrām, the Marātha Vakil at Calcutta and Vyankaṭrām Piḷḷai, the Vakil at Pondicherry; but even these were intimately connected with Maharāshṭra and wrote their letters in

Marāthi. Fortunately, a number of the letters of these Vakils addressed to the central authority at Poona have been found, and they contain very useful historical information, sometimes not available in any other historical records. Attempts, however, must be made to discover letters written from the Pēshwa's Secretariat to these persons, which may be found with their descendants.

The names of a large number of Marātha Vakils are known from the Marāthi documents. The famous Hingne brothers at the Mughal emperor's court at Delhi, Shamji Gōvind Takle, Kṛishṇarāo Ballāl and his son Gōvind Kṛishṇa Kalē at the Nizām's court at Hyderābād, Vyankatrāo and Kṛishṇarāo Nārāyan Jōshi with Hyder and Tipu at Mysore, Narō Shīvdēva, Sadāshiv Dinkar, Appājirām Dabholkār and Dhondo Bhimarāo with the Sindia at Gwalior; Viṭhal Shamrao and Keso Bhikaji Datar with the Holkar at Mahēshvar; Gaṇēsh Sambhāji Amritrāo Appāji Gaṇēsh Hari and Narō Shamrāj with the Gaikwād at Baroda; Bāburāo Vishwanāth Vaidya, Shrīrām Sadāshiv and Narō Hari with the Bhonsalē of Nagpur; Bhikaji Nārāyaṇ Palande and Sadāshiv Shamrāj Aśvalkar with Ali Bahādur, Lakshmaṇa Sāmbhāji, Kṛishṇāji Jagannāth and Sadāshiv Ballāl in the Rajput courts of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur respectively. Then we have the names of Gaṇēsh Trimbak, Nārāyan Viṭhal and his son Viṭhal Nārāyaṇ Dhumē with the Portuguese at Goa; and of Shāmrāo Yādav, Gōpāl Ballāl, Chintāmaṇ Hari and Vyankāṭram Piḷlai with the French at Pondicherry.¹ Shivaji Ranchod, Ranchod Kṛishṇa and his son Raghunāth Ranchōd, Lālā Sēvakrām and his son Lālā Gulabrām, and Janārdan Shivrām were some of the well-known Residents with the English at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in the 18th century.

It is perhaps advisable to give here a brief account of a few of the Marātha Vakils with the English: Of the Bombay Residents a few words can be given of Shivaji Ranchod, Ranchod Kṛishṇa and Raghunāth Ranchod. In their attempts to establish their power on the west coast of India the Marāthas frequently came into conflict with the Siddi, the English and the Portuguese. The Marātha affairs with the English began since 1661 when Shivaji invaded Koṅkana and attacked the British factory at Rājapur. Each power had to appoint its own agent in the court of the other to look after its own interests. Sufficient information of the Marātha Vakils with the English at Bombay of the early period of the Marātha history is not available.² But in the time of the Pēshwas, the names of three Vakils Shivaji Ranchod, Ranchod Kṛishṇa and his son Raghunāth Ranchod were well known. They were Sarasvat Brāhmins and belonged to a 'Sanjhgiri' family of Bombay. The

1. For names of Maratha Vakils at different courts in Southern India, see Proceedings of meetings of Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm., Vol. VI, 59.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, 91.

earliest mention of Shivaji Ranchod as a Vakil is found in the year 1752.³ Ranchod Kṛishṇa, who was probably a nephew of Shivaji Ranchod, is mentioned, in a letter of 1758, along with his assistant Sadāshiv Rāmchandra. Some of the Ranchod's letters, dated in the years 1780 and 1784, have been found. An extraordinary feature of his letters is that he sometimes made use of disguised names in order to render them unintelligible if they fell into wrong hands. These can well be compared with the cypher letters of Warren Hastings. The key of some of the names is found in his letters, but the meaning of some others is not yet known. Ranchod uses the names of the *Grahas* like Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu to denote David Scott, Thomas Goddard, General Draper, and Governor Hornby of Bombay. Similarly he uses the names of *Rāshis* like Simha. Kanyā, Tulā and Kumbha to mean Poona, Madras, Surāt and England respectively, and the names of *tithis* like Saptamī to mean Fateh Singh Gaikavād. Ranchod Kṛishṇa coined peculiar words like Śoṇitapur, Vajrayōga and Mrityuyōga to mean Bombay, the Dutch and a horse soldier respectively.

His son, Raghunāth Ranchod, succeeded him to the post in about 1785. His letters, dated from 1786 to 1794, throw very interesting light on the British affairs at Bombay in those days. Raghunāth does not use the disguised names of his father in his letters; but his letters show him to be a man of keen observation. He gives exact details not only about the numbers, training and description of the English troops, but also of the financial condition of the Bombay Treasury and the personal characteristics of the various Governors of Bombay with whom he had to deal. His letters show, among other things, that Nānā Phadnavīs was fond of purchasing European goods. Raghunāth Ranchod's yearly salary seems to have been only Rs. 542, including the contingent expenses. He continued to work in his post until the Pēshwa Bājirāo II appointed one Rāmchandra Kṛishṇa in his place on 1st April, 1797.

The most noteworthy of the Vakils at Calcutta were Lālā Sēvagrām and Lālā Gulabrām. By the Regulating Act of 1773 the Governor of Bengal became the Governor-General and had powers over the Governors of Bombay and Madras. By the treaty of Purandhar, signed on 1 March, 1777, between Poona and the Governor-General through his agent, Colonel Upton, the Marāthas came into political contact with the English at Calcutta. Thinking it necessary to have their Vakil at Calcutta they appointed one Lālā Sēvagrām to the post. Sēvagrām belonged to a Kāyastha family of North India. His father was Lālā Tuljarām, and his grandfather was Lālā Kripārām, both of whom had been already in the Marātha service as their agents at the Jaipur court. Sēvagrām's uncle

(Lālā Bhavānidās) and granduncle (Lālā Bhagirath) were also in the service of Shāhu Chhatrapati of Sātāra. Thus, the connection of Sēvakrām's family with the Marāthas extended over at least three generations. On the death of his father, Sēvakrām was appointed as the Pēshwa's agent at Jaipur, where he worked for three years from 1770 to 1773. In the days of the Barbhais he came to Poona, and was employed as a Silēdār and clerk at the Pēshwa's Secretariat. On his appointment as the Calcutta Vakil, he left Purandhar on 12 March, 1777 with a high-class dress of honour and an elephant named *Fateh Lashkar* and a horse for Warren Hastings, and three horses for the three Councillors. Sēvakrām fulfilled the responsible task very creditably from 1777 to 1790, as is seen from some of his letters published by Parasnis in the *Itihāsa-saṅgraha*. His letters are in Marāthi in the Modi script, and though they contain a few incorrect Marāthi words they reflect much credit on Sēvakrām's knowledge of Marāthi. Sēvakrām began his career as Vakil with a pay of Rs. 800 per year, which was subsequently raised to Rs. 2,300 and again to Rs. 3,600 per year. But as he frequently wrote in his letters that this too was insufficient for him, since he had to spend much to maintain his high position, he was given the honour of a palanquin and an *aṣṭāgīr*. Sēvakrām had two sons Chimanlāl and Gulabrām. The former used to stay at Poona, and the latter with his father at Calcutta, and was appointed to his father's post on his death about 1792. Gulabrām served as a Vakil at Calcutta at least up to 1793.

With regard to the Vakils at Madras attention is drawn here only to Janārdan Shivrām. The political connection of the Marāthas with the Madras Presidency began since the time of Shāhaji, father of Shivaji about 1636. It is not known when exactly their connection with the English at Madras began, and what Marātha Vakils were appointed at their court in the early days of the Marātha power.⁴ But one Janārdan Shivrām was a prominent Vakil at Madras in the time of the Pēshwa Mādhavrāo II. Nothing is known of the family to which he belonged, though he was no doubt a Mahārāshṭra Brāhman. This much is known, that his father was a Shivrām, and his grandfather was Krishṇāji. His letters written from Kalahasti and Chinnapatan (i.e., Madras) and dated from 1780 to 1791 have been preserved in the Sātāra Museum. Two of his English letters written to Lord Macartney, the Governor of Madras, in 1785, have also been found.⁵ Janārdan Shivrām's letters are very valuable and contain useful details, and sometimes hitherto unknown information, on the political affairs of Hyder and Tipu, the Nizām, the Nabob of Arcot, the Nāiks of Veṅkaṭagiri and other Zamindars of Southern India, the French, and the English in the Madras Presidency.

4. Proceedings of meetings of Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm., Vol. VI, 58.

5. Journ. Ind. Hist., Vol. XI, 234.

A Note on Some Administrative Terms in Ancient India

By

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THE early centuries of the Christian era appear to have been marked by a complete change in the official nomenclature of Northern India, which probably betokens a thorough overhauling of the bureaucratic administrative organisation. While the most characteristic official or administrative titles in the Arthaśāstra are saṁnidhātā, samāhartā, pradēṣṭa, nāgaraka, sthānika, gopa and adhyakṣas of various classes, and those in the Aśokan edicts are mahāmātras, pradēśikas, rājukas, yuktas, etc., the corresponding titles among the North Indian dynasties of the first six centuries of the Christian era comprise the following :—

Kumārāmātya—(Allahabad pillar inscr. of Samuḍragupta, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 1, ; Karamḍāṇḍā inscription of Kumāragupta I, *Ep. Ind.*, X 15 ; Dāmodarpur plates of *ibid*, *Ep. Ind.* XV 7 ; Bihar pillar inscr. of Skandagupta, *Gupta Inscrs.* No. 12 ; Amauna grant of Mahārāja Nandana, *Ep. Ind.* X12 ; Sunāo Kālā inscr. of Saṁgamsiṁha, *Ep. Ind.* X 16 ; *Marshall's Classified List of Bhīṭā Seals and Sealings*, Nos. 32 and 35, *Ann. Rep. A. S. R.* 1911-12 ; *Bloch's Classified List of Basārḥ Seals*, Nos. 3, 4, 6, 8 and 22, *Ann. Rep. A. S. R.* 1903-4 ; *Spooner's List of Basārḥ Seals*, No. 200, *Ann. Rep. A. S. R.* 1913-14).

Daṇḍanāyaka—(*Bloch's List of Bhīṭā Seals*, Nos. 44—51 ; *Muṇḍeśvarī* inscr. of Udayasena, *I. A.* XLIX p. 21).

Balādhikṛta—(*Bloch's List of Basārḥ Seals*, No. 12).

Uparika—(Dāmodarpur plates of Kumāragupta I, *Ep. Ind.* XV ; Bihar pillar inscr. of Skandagupta, *Gupta Inscrs.* No. 12 ; Sohwal grant of Sarvanātha, *Ep. Ind.* XIX 21 ; Dāmodarpur plate of Budhagupta, *Ep. Ind.* XV ; *Bloch's List of Basārḥ Seals*, No. 200).

Sāndhivigrahika—(Allahabad Inscr. of Samudragupta ;
Khoh grant of Sarvanātha, *Gupta Inscr.* No.
31 ; Sunao Kālā grant of Saṃgamasimha,
etc).

We find, above all, a group of titles with the prefix mahā—attached to them. Thus a mahādaṇḍanāyaka occurs in a North Indian inscription of Huviṣka found at Māt. The Nāsik inscriptions of the Śātavāhana kings introduce us to a number of such titles in vogue in Western India in the 2nd century A.D. Such are mahāsenāpati (Inscr. of Vāsiṣṭiputra Pulumāyi and along with the feminine mahāsenāpatnī in the inscription of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇī, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 8, Nos. 3 and 24, respectively), and probably mahāśvāmika (Inscr. of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇī, *ibid.*, No. 4). The Prākṛit inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍā (*Ep. Ind.* XX) point to a number of similar titles in use under the Ikṣvākū dynasty of the Telugu country about the 3rd century of the Christian era. Reference is made in these inscriptions to mahāsenāpati (with the feminine mahāsenāpatnī), mahātalavara (along with the feminine form mahātalavarī) and mahādaṇḍanāyaka. The Kānākherā inscription, which has been provisionally read as dated in 241 Śaka (= 319 A.D.) and which, in any case, has been palaeographically assigned to the early Gupta period, commemorates a mahādaṇḍanāyaka Śaka called Śrīdharavarman (*JRASB*, XIX, p. 343f). Finally, the early Gupta records (4th and 5th centuries A.D.) make frequent references to such titles as mahādaṇḍanāyaka (Allahabad *prśasti* ; Bhitā Seal, No. 43 ; Bloch's *List of Basārḥ Seals*, No. 17, etc.), mahāpratihāra (*Bhitā Seals* No. 52 ; Alina grant of Dhruvabhāṭa, *Gupta Inscr.* No. 39 ; etc.), mahāśvapati (*Bhitā Seals* No. 32), mahābalādhikṛta (Majhgāwān grant of Mahārāja Hastin, *Gupta Inscr.* No. 23 and Sowhāl grant of Sarvanātha, *Ep. Ind.* XIX 21), mahāsāndhivigrahika (Khoh and Majhgawan grants of Māhārāja Hastin, *Gupta Inscr.* Nos. 22 and 23 ; Khoh and Sowhāl grants of Mahārāja Sarvanātha, *Gupta Inscr.*, Nos. 28-29 and *Ep. Ind.*, XIX 21), not to speak of mahākṣapaṭalika (Alina grant of Dhruvabhāṭa, *Gupta Inscr.* N. 39, etc.) and mahākārtākr̥tika (Wālā grant of Dhruvasena I, *IA*. IV., etc.).

It follows from the above that the group of titles prefixed by mahā—was spread at this period in North, East, West and Central India. Their designations evidently show an attempt to create a superior grade of officers or titles over and above the ordinary ones. As far then as the nomenclature indicates, we have here a deliberate effort to introduce more efficient and systematic organisation of the administrative machinery than had sufficed for the North-Indian dynasties of the preceding epoch. Of the origin and development of this interesting transformation, our imperfect records do not permit us to give a sufficient explanation.

A word may finally be said about the significance of the title mahā-daṇḍanāyaka above-mentioned. This term has been rendered as 'a military title' (Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 16n.), 'judge' (Bloch, *Ann. Rep. A. S. R.* ; 1903-4, p. 109), 'Chief Officer of Police' (Marshall, *Ann. Rep. A. S. R.*, 1911-12, p. 54) and 'a high, probably judicial officer' (Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI) ; cf. Marshall's rendering of daṇḍanāyaka as 'an officer of police' in *Ann. Rep. A. S. R.*, 1911-12, p. 55 and D. R. Bhandarkar's rendering of the same as 'a police officer' in *Ann. Rep. A. S. R.*, 1914-15, p. 82. It is true that the term may refer etymologically to a judicial as well as a military title, as *daṇḍa* is used to mean both the army and the judicial rod of punishment ; cf. the two-fold meaning of daṇḍanāyaka in Petersburg Dict. s. v. and the references quoted there. To these we may add the very impersonal sense of daṇḍanāyaka in the great Jaina lexicon (*tantrapālake rāṣṭrarakṣake bhūpāle svarāṣṭracintākartari*). But, in fact, the only technical sense of daṇḍanāyaka known to the lexicons (cf. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, II 9 and *Kalpadrakośa*, I 6, v. 17) is commander (*senānī*). It is also significant to notice that Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra* (XVII, 49) uses the synonymous term daṇḍamukhya in the sense of general. Even the *Pāiyasaddāmahāṇṇavo* gives for daṇḍanāyaka the alternative meaning of *senāpati* or *senānī*. We may, therefore, conclude that mahādaṇḍanāyaka means something like a commander-in-chief. In what relation this officer stood to the mahābalādhikṛta and mahāsenāpati of the records, it is, however, unfortunately not possible in the present state of our knowledge to explain.

Satiyaputra of Asoka's Edict II

By

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In Aśōka's Rock Edict V it is stated that he instituted the order of *Dharma-mahāmātras*, the Supervisors of the Law, in the 13th year of his coronation. Being directly his officers, they could be employed only within the proper limits of his empire, and not outside. The edict further states that they were set to work among the Yavanas, Kambōjas, Gandhāras, Rīṣṭikas, Paitēnikas, as also those others the Aparāntas. These peoples, as well as the different countries they inhabited, would thus seem to have been certainly included within Aśōka's empire as it stood at that time. Now, the Yavanas are of course the Greeks,¹ but not those that lived in the far-off Attica or Sparta or Macedonia, nor those others of Syria, which had been a Greek kingdom ever since its conquest by Seleucus in B.C. 312, nor even those living in the much nearer Bactria, which was one of the subordinate provinces of the Seleucidan kingdom of Syria until it became independent in c. 250 B.C., i.e., sometime after the date of this Edict, as we shall presently see. The Greeks of this Edict are yet others who lived on the outskirts of modern India in the provinces of Aria (Herāt), Arachosia (Kandahār), Gedrosia (Makrān) and the Paropanisadei (Kābul), which were wrested by Chandragupta, the grandfather of Aśōka, and annexed to his empire when he had defeated Seleucus in c. 305 B.C.,² and the Greeks in those provinces were undoubtedly the subjects of Aśōka. Further, from the Gīrnār inscription of Rudradāma, we know that the Greek prince, *Yavanarāja*, Tushāsphā governed the Gīrnār country subordinate to Aśōka.³ Kambōjā¹ and Gandhārā⁴ are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, and they have been also mentioned likewise in the plural as the names

* The author uses ch for च in this article and chh for छ [Ed.]

1. Greek settlements on the north-west of India are mentioned in the *Mahā-Bhārata* (*Bhishma*: IX. 65)—

Uttarāschāparā Mlēcchhāh krūrā Bharata-sattama |

Yavanās-Chīna Kambōjā dāruṇā Mlēcchha-jātayah ||

2. Vincent Smith: *Aśoka* (p. 15), *Early History of India* (p. 158).

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII. p. 47 ff—*Aśōkasya* Mauryasya kṛitē *Yavana-rājēna* Tushāsphēna . . .

4. Kāsmīrāḥ Sindhu Sauvīrā Gāndhārā Darśakāstathā ||

(*Bhishma*, IX. 53).

not of countries, but of peoples, among the *Soḷasa mahā-janapadā*, sixteen great peoples or sixteen powers, in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.⁵ Gandhāra however is not the modern Kandahār, as Prof. Rhys Davids thought,⁶ but it is evidently the country lying on the either side of the Indus, comprising the two provinces of Pushkalāvati on the west and Takshaśilā on the east of that river.⁷ Kambōja perhaps lay to the west of Gandhāra. The next name is differently spelt in the different versions of the Edict, as Rastika in Śāhbāzgarhī, Raṭhika in Mānsehrā, Rētika in Gīrnār, and Laṭhika in Dhauli, while it does not occur in the Kalsi text. The *Risṭikas* are mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁸ along with the Vidarbhas of modern Berar, evidently therefore as a southern people. The next name Paitenikas or Pitinikas or Pitenikas in all likelihood stands for the people of Pratishṭhāna or Patiṭṭhāna (*prati = pati pai pi*), which is Ptolemy's Baithana and the modern Paīṭhan in the Nizam's dominions, lying to the south-west of Berār. The next word is also differently spelt as Aparānta, Aparata, Aparātā, Apalāntā, and Apalāntā. Some scholars⁹ have translated it as the people on the western (*apara*) frontier (*ānta*), while others¹⁰ as those on the Western Coast. Though no doubt the word *Aparāntā* can be rendered both ways, here however it is preferable to take it otherwise as meaning the people of the *Aparānta* country, as it is so obviously means, when standing, as it does, beside the names of several other peoples. The name Aparānta occurs in the *Mahābhārata*¹¹ and in Kautilya's *Artha-Śāstra*,¹² while in the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*¹³ and Varāhamihira's *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*¹⁴ it is expressly stated to be a country lying in the west. In the *Avadāna-kalpalātā*¹⁵ it is spoken of as *Śrōṇāparāntaka*, and its chief town *Śūrv(p)āraka*, i.e., Sopārā, also been mentioned by name. It is thus a country on the West Coast evidently lying to the south of the

5. Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India* (p. 23).

6. *Ibid.* (p. 28).

7. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (p. 559).

8. Vidarbhan—*Risṭikāmschaira ramyān*—*Māhishakānapi*

(*Kishkindhā*, XLI, 10).

9. Vincent Smith: *Aśōka* (p. 168).

10. D. R. Bhandarkar: *Aśōka* (p. 284).

11. *Aparāntaḥ Parāntāscha Pañchālās-Charmamaṇḍalāḥ*

(*Bhīṣma*, IX, 47).

12. Mysore Ed. 1919: *Daśārnāśch-Aparāntāscha dvipānām Madhyamāḥ matāḥ* || (p. 50); *Mādhurām—Aparāntakam Kālīngam Kāsikam Vāṅgakam Vāt-sakam Māhishakam cha kārpaśikam śrēṣṭhamiti* | (p. 81).

13. *Aparāntika Haihyāscha Śāntika vipraśastakāḥ* (Chap. 58).

14. *Aparasyām diśi . . . Aparāntaka Śāntika Haihaya Praśastādri vōkkāṇāḥ* || (XIV, 20).

15. Chap. XXXVI, vv. 3, 44, 61.

Vindhya mountain, and from the fact that one of the inscriptions of Aśoka is from Sopārā,¹⁶ at almost the northern end of of Aparānta, it is conclusive that Aparānta was the western frontier of the southern position of his empire. This Edict V is obviously of a later date than his 13th regnal year as reckoned from his coronation, and these were the different peoples who lived at the time of this Edict at least on the north-western, southern and south-western frontiers of his empire.

Rock Edict XIII opens with Aśoka's poignant remorse for the Kalinga war he had waged in his 8th regnal year. He then finds solace in the conquest he has again achieved by the Law (*dhamma-vijaya*) both here in his own kingdom and also as far as even all the Asiatic borders¹⁷ which are hundreds of leagues off—*Saveshu cha amiteshu Ashashu pi yojanaśateshu*—where dwells the Greek king Antiochus Theos of Syria (261-246 B.C.), and besides him are the four other kings Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247 B.C.), Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon (277-239 B.C.), Magas of Cyrene (285-258 B.C.) and Alexander of Epirus (272-258 B.C.),¹⁸ and further adds that everywhere in the said countries they follow his instructions, and even where his envoys do not go, those others too follow and will follow the Law. He moreover says that this Edict was set up in order that his sons and grandsons, whoever they be, might not think of making any further world by conquest. This Edict therefore can not well be much later than his 8th regnal year as the tragedy of the Kalinga conquest is still so painfully fresh in his mind, whereas in his Edicts III and IV of his 12th regnal year or in Edict V dated later than his 13th year, there is neither any reference to that conquest nor to any concomitant remorse so that he would seem to have successfully overcome his grief in the meantime, no doubt by means of the practice of the Law. This Edict XIII may therefore be appropriately assigned to his 10th regnal year, and as such it would seem to be one of his earliest Edicts. Furthermore as this Edict does not mention Diodotus of Bactria, who became independent of Syria in c. 250 B.C. and was thus the first king of Bactria,

16. Smith: *Aśoka* (p. 129).

17. I entirely agree with Mr. Jayaswal (*Indian Antiquary*, XLVII. p. 297) that *a-Shashu* has to be interpreted as one word, *Ashashu*, denoting *Asia*, and not as two different words, *a Shashu* (Skt. *ā shatsu*), meaning 'up to, or as far as, six', as it has been usually explained. The (locative) plural *Ashashu* would obviously refer to the different countries or peoples of Asia, and the subsequent word '*yojanaśateshu*' evidently meaning 'hundreds of leagues off' duly suggests their extreme remoteness from Aśoka's central capital.

18. Smith: *Aśoka* (p. 43); *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (p. 502).

though he was not only much nearer home than any of those 5 other Greek rulers, but his kingdom was almost contiguous to that of Aśoka in its trans-Indian provinces, the date of this Edict will have to be placed between 261 B.C. of the accession of Antiochus Theos and c. 250 B.C. of Bactrian independence.

It need hardly be said that Aśoka waged no other war nor made any further conquest after the Kalinga event; and it is thus not inconceivable under the circumstances that he must have willingly loosened or let go his hold on the subject-peoples so that some or several of them may have eventually asserted their independence and broken away from his empire. In such a case, as might be expected, it would be those peoples who were farthest from the central government, i.e., those that lived on the extreme frontiers of the empire, that would take the first step in that direction. Now Edict XIII clearly mentions not only the Yonas, Kambojas and Pitinikas, who, as we have seen, were still included in his empire when Edict V of later than his 13th regnal year was put up, but also some others such as Nābhapanitis of (in) Nābhaka, Bhōjas, Andhras and Pulindas, who are also stated to be living then 'here in the king's dominions'—'*idha rajavisayamhi*'. The *Mahābhārata* mentions a people *Nabha-kānanas*¹⁹ along with the undoubted Southerners, the Kārṇāṭakas and the Kuntalas. Bhōjas are well known as a people living on the West Coast, and the *Mahā-bhārata* mentions Bhōjakata in or near Surāshṭra.²⁰ Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned among the Southern people, as descended from, or connected with, perhaps the Vedic seer Viśvāmitra, in the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*.²¹ Also the *Rāmāyaṇa*²² mentions the Andhras, and the *Mahābhārata*²³ both the Andhras and the Pulindas.

19. Kārṇāṭakā Mahishakā Vikalpā Mūshakāstathā |
Jhillikāḥ Kuntalāschaiva Sauhṛidā Nabhakānanāḥ ||

(*Bhishma*, IX. 59).

20. *Sabhā*, XXI. 62-63.

21. Etēndhrāḥ Pundrāḥ Śabarāḥ Pulindā Mūtibā ityudantyā bahavō bhavanti
Vaiśvāmitrā dasyūnām bhūyisṭhāḥ || (VII. 18).

22. Tathāivāndhrāmscha Pundrāmscha |
Chōlān Paṇḍyāmscha Kēralān ||

(*Kishkindhā*, XLI. 12).

23. Pulindāmscha raṇē jivā yayau dakṣiṇataḥ puraḥ |

(*Sabhā*, XXXI. 16);

Andhrāms-Tālavānāmschaiva Kalingānushṭrakarṇikān |

(*Ibid.*, XXXI. 71)

Andhrāmscha bahavō Rājannantargiryāstathaiva cha ||

(*Bhishma*, IX. 49);

Tathāiva Vindhya-Chulikāḥ Pulindā Valkalaiḥ saha |

(*Ibid.*, IX. 62).

Before marking these subject-peoples, the said Edict also mentions some other Southerners, whose names stand between those of the five Greek kings of the furthest Asia and those of his subject-peoples.

nicha Choḍa Paṁda ava Tāmbapaṁniya ;
nicham cha Choḍa Paṁḍiya a Tāmbapaṁniyā
nicham Choḍa Paṁḍiyā avam Tāmbapaṁniyā.

The general sense of these passages no doubt is—'And downwards (or in the South) *Choḍa—Paṁḍiyas* up to (or as far as) *Tāmbapaṁnī*.' These names are mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,²⁴ *Mahābhārata*,²⁵ *Arthaśāstra*,²⁶ and the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*;²⁷ and it goes without saying that *Choḍa—Paṁḍiya* stands for the Southerners, the *Chōlas* and the *Pāṇḍyas*, and *Tāmbapaṁnī* may mean either the river of that name in the present Tinnevely district, as is so obvious from the quotation from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where it has been described as a great river infested with sharks and adorned with sandalwood forests or in case it is taken as the whole name of the island called 'Tāmra', spoken of in the above quotation from the *Mahābhārata*, it may mean the island of Ceylon. The order, in which these three names are mentioned in these passages of this Edict, evinces the geographical truth that *Pāṇḍya* lies next to *Chōla*, and *Tāmbraparṇī*, whether it is the river or the island, lies next to *Pāṇḍya*.

The most noteworthy grammatical features of these passages are that (1) inasmuch as the first word *Choḍa* in *Choḍa—Paṁḍ(iy)ā* is apparently not an inflected word, they would seem to form an obvious *Dvandva* compound, (2) *Tāmbapaṁniyā* is undoubtedly the instrumental or ablative singular of the feminine noun *Tāmbapaṁnī*, and (3) it is governed by the *avyaya* *ava* (*S*), *a* (*M*) or *avam* (*K*). Of these *avyayas* *a* evidently stands for the Skt. preposition *ā*, when with the following ablative the whole phrase means 'as far as, or up to, *Tāmbapaṁnī*.'

24. *Tāmbraparṇīm grāha-jusṭām tarishyatha mahā-nadīm |*
ā chandana-vanaś-chitraiḥ . . . ||

(*Kishkindhā*, XLI. 17)

Yuktaṁ kavāṭam Pāṇḍyānām gatā drakshyatha vānarāḥ |
 tataḥ samudramāsādyā . . . || (*Ibid.*, 19). See also f.n. *supra*.

25. *Dvīpam Tāmrāhvayam chaiva parvatam Rāmakam tathā ||*
Pāṇḍyamscha Dravidāmschaiva sahitām-Chōḍa-Kēralaiḥ ||

(*Sabhā*, XXXI, vv. 68, 71)

26. *Tāmbraparṇikam Pāṇḍyakavāṭakam . . . cha mauktikam |* (p. 75).

27. *Karṇāṭaka . . . Chōlāḥ |* (XIV. 13); . . . *sa-Tāmbraparṇī vijñeyāḥ ||*
 (*Ibid.* 16); *Simhalaka . . . Tāmbraparṇī-Pārasavāḥ |* *Kaubēra-Pāṇḍyavāṭaka-*
Haimā . . . || (LXXX. 2).

But the case with *ava* and *avam* however is different. Whether *ava* is taken as a prefix as in classical Samskrit, or as a preposition *ava* on *avas* as in Vedic Skt., with a subsequent ablative it means 'down from' and never 'as far as',²⁸ and the passage would thus be hardly sensible in that it would then mean 'and downwards (or in the south) the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍyas down from Tāmraparṇī' indicating that the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya countries lay beneath, i.e., to the south of, Tāmraparṇī, which, as is obvious, involves a physical impossibility. We shall have therefore to find out such other equivalent for the apparent doublets *ava* and *avam*, as would make it possible to interpret the passage in accordance with the geographical fact of the relative position of Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Tāmraparṇī, whether the last is the river or the island of that name. Now from the word *ava-kapam* in Rock Edict IV, which has been explained as *Yāvat-kalpam*, meaning 'till the end of time' or 'to the end of the cycle'²⁹ it might seem that *ava* in our passage too might be *Yāvat*. But then *Yāvat* invariably governs the accusative, as also is evident in the compound *ava-kapam*, whereas the word in our passage governed by *ava* is obviously an ablative. So we shall have next to think of either of the Skt. adverbs *avāk* or *arvāk*, both of which are local as well as temporal. Of these again *avāk*, meaning 'downwards, below,' is out of the question, as in that case too the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍyas would be placed below Tāmraparṇī whereas with *arvāk*, meaning 'hitherwards, on this side, up to, until, as far as',³⁰ the ablative phrase at once means 'hitherwards of, on this side of, up to, or as far as, Tāmraparṇī' and makes correct sense substantiating the actual fact of Tāmraparṇī as the immediate boundary of the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya country. In other words it means that the Pāṇḍya country, which is the southern of the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya countries and is named next before Tāmraparṇī, extended up to, or as far as, Tāmraparṇī, whether the latter is the river or the island, and lay on *this* side of it i.e., on the side nearer to the speaker, which is of course the north-eastern side. The change from *arvāk* to *ava* and *avam* is clearly explained by that of Skt. *sarva* (all) to *sava*, e.g., in *sava-loka-hitaye* of the Edict IV, as well as that of *samyak* (rightly, duly, properly, entirely) to *sama* and *saman*³¹ in the separate Kaliṅga Edict II—*mahāmātā sasvataṁ sama yujisaṁti*, and *mahāmātā sasvataṁ samam yujeyū* (Jaugaḍa 13) = which means, and can only mean 'Mahāmātras will, or

28. Macdonell: *Vedic Grammar*, (pp. 419, 422).

29. Woolner: *Aśoka Text and Glossary*, Part II. p.

30. *Ṛig-Vēda*: I. 47. 10, VII. 91. 6, VIII. 8. 23; *Manusmṛiti*: V. 59, VIII. 30; *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti*: II. 173.

31. Also cf. *divani* (Edict. IV: S & M) for Skts. *divyani*; and *vapaṭa* and *vapuṭa* (Edict V: S & M) for Skt. *vyāṭa*.

shall, duly (*sama*, *samam*) strive without ceasing (*sasvataṃ*)³². From the significant way in which the Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas have been mentioned next to the independent Greek rulers and before, but apart from, those other peoples living 'here within the king's dominions', it is conclusive that they were obviously beyond the limits of Aśōka's empire and were therefore independent at that time. Nevertheless he sent his envoys (*dutā*), no doubt his envoys of the Law, to these people, just as he did to the far-off Greek kings; for from the negative statement in the next passage, *yatra pi devanaṃ priyasa dutā na vrachamti*, even where his envoys do not go, it is quite certain that they did go to the countries of the Greek rulers as well as to those of the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. Furthermore, the specific mention of the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas in the south (*nicham*) must suffice to suggest that they cannot have been indifferently mentioned as any two independent peoples in the south, but must have been mentioned with the same significance; and if so, it could hardly be any other than that they were the immediate southern neighbours of Aśōka, or in other words the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya countries were then immediately adjacent to the southern bounds of his empire, for if there were any other interjacent states, which were also independent, they would have been certainly visited by his envoys and duly mentioned in this Edict prior to the names of Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya.

There is no reference to the Kalinga conquest nor the consequent remorse of Aśōka in Rock Edict II, as in Edict XIII, wherefore Edict II must of course be posterior to Edict XIII. Moreover the subject treated of in Edict II is not religion, but sublime compassion which is a universal feeling which the spirit of true religion, and not of fanaticism or sectarianism, ultimately begets; wherefore Edict II is also later than Edict V which was issued when he was busy with the establishment of the order of the supervisors of the Law within his empire. Now this Edict II mentions only the Greek king Antiochus of Syria among the foreign Greek rulers, while the others are spoken of merely as 'those other kings who are the neighbours of that Antiochus'. This statement naturally implies that other names must have already once at least been mentioned elsewhere, and as such, again, this Edict would be necessarily later than Edict XIII, where all of them have been mentioned by their names. It is just possible that between these 2 Edicts, one or more of them may have been dead, and as perhaps when Edict II was inscribed it was not known which of them had died and by whom

32. Mr. Vincent Smith was probably thinking of the Skt. word *śrama*, when he rendered, and wrongly rendered, *sama* and *Samam* as restraint or torture (Asoka p. 195).

such of them had been succeeded, the only Greek king Antiochus Theos, who presumably was certainly known to have been still living and ruling at that time, was duly mentioned, while other uncertain names had of course to be left out. Now Magas of Cyrene (285-258 B.C.), and Alexander of Epirus (272-258 B.C.) are known to have died in 258 B.C., and Antiochus Theos (261-246 B.C.) himself died in 246 B.C., wherefore Edict II will have to be placed between 258 and 246 B.C. Then again in this Edict too there is no reference to the much nearer Greek ruler Diodotus, who in c. 250 B.C. became the first independent king of Bactria,³³ and whose kingdom, as we have said, immediately bordered on Aśoka's empire in the north-west, wherefore this Edict will have to be placed between yet closer limits, 258 and 250 B.C.

In this Edict II it is noteworthy that (1) the Choḍas and the Pāṇḍiyas, who are here again said to be Aśoka's neighbours, are spoken of as two separate peoples in at least the Gīrnār, Kālsī and Jaugaḍa versions, where each of those two names is distinctively mentioned in the plural, and (2) while thus these two names are found in the plural, exactly as the several different peoples living within his empire have been mentioned in Edict XIII, the next names Sātiyaputra and Kerala-putra who are also mentioned among the neighbours are each of them not only in the singular but exhibit a peculiar compound formed with 'putra' or 'puta' affixed to the names evidently of those respective countries—

*Ye cha aṃta yatha Choḍa Pāṇḍiya Satiyaputro Keraḍaputro Taṃ-
bapaṇṇi . . .*

*Ye cha aṃta atha Choḍa Pāṇḍiya Satiyaputra Keralaputre Taṃ-
bapaṇi . . .*

*evamapi prachamtesu yathā Choḍā Pādā Satiyaputo Kelalaputo ā
Taṃbapaṇṇi . . .*

*Ye cha aṃta atha Choḍā Pāṇḍiya Sātiyaputo Kelalaputo Taṃba-
paṇṇi . . .*

e vā pi aṃta Choḍā Pāṇḍiyā Satiyapute ā Taṃbapaṇṇi . . .

From this marked difference in the nomenclature of these four independent states, it seems unavoidable to conclude that the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas were once the subjects of Aśoka living within his empire

33. Bactria is mentioned as Bāhlika in the *Mahābhārata* (*Bhishma IX*)—

Bāhlikā Vāṭadhānāscha Abhirāḥ Kālatōyakāḥ || 47 ||,

Abhisārā Ulūtāscha Śaivalā Bāhlikāstathā || 54 ||,

and its adjectival form Bactrian is found as *Bāhlayēya* in *Arthasāstra* (p. 79)—
Sāmūraṃ Chīnasī Sāmūli cha Bāhlayēyāḥ |

at least at the time of his accession, and being therefore used to be called as such, exactly as his other subjects have been in Edicts V and XIII, they were still continued to be so called for some time yet by sheer force of habit even after they had asserted their independence. As a matter of fact we know from the ancient Tamil classics³⁴ that there was actually a Mauryan conquest of South India during the reign of Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta, and consequently the Mauryan empire at the time of Aśoka's accession must have extended in the south as far at least as the Tāmraparnī river, which was then the natural limit of Pāṇḍya, and therefore included the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya countries. When thus these two countries were comprised within his empire, they were perhaps clubbed together and formed a single administrative unit : that is why their names still appears as a composite *Dvandva* compound in Edict XIII even after they had become independent. In that case they must have seceded just before the date of Edict XIII as their joint name was yet in use then as before, and their assertion of independence therefore may well be assigned to his 8th or 9th regnal year, i.e., as shortly after his Kalinga conquest. Soon after they had become independent, each or either of them would, naturally enough, strive to get the upper hand over the other, and since after his Kalinga war Aśoka would wage no other, he would neither assert himself to bring them back into his empire nor could he establish a better understanding between them otherwise than by means of the Law by deputing his envoys of the Law, whom, taking pity on his whilom subjects, as is but natural with him, he did send thither as stated in his Edict XIII.

But the case is different with Sātiyaputra and Keralaputra. The use of the singular in each case suffices to denote that while neither of them could mean the people, each of them was a distinct political unit under its own king, if, as is admitted by many scholars, the words with the affix *putra* or *puta* stand for the Sātiya-king and the Kērala-king rather than for those countries themselves.³⁵ In Edict XIII Aśoka mentions the different Greek rulers by their names (and in this Edict II also he does likewise with the name Antiochus) without however mentioning the respective countries ruled over by them, whereas here in Edict II he mentions the rulers Sātiyaputra and Keralaputra not by their proper names but as rulers of their respective states. The reason seems to be that while he as well as his predecessors certainly had constant communication with the countries of those far-off Greek kings, neither

34. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar : *Beginnings of South Indian History* (pp. 81-103).

35. The name *Keralaputra* however has been well preserved in the much later *Periplus* where it occurs as *Kerobothra* (Schoff's Ed. Text p. 44 and notes pp. 208-9).

perhaps were these two states ever included within his empire nor perhaps did they fall within the range of such communications. In other words, even if they had been once comprised with the Mauryan empire during the reign of Chandragupta, as is just possible, they must have soon thereafter regained their independence, presumably before the Chōlas and the Pāṇdyas asserted theirs, or perhaps even before Aśōka's coronation, so that they were hardly connected with his empire. Then again these states have been described as *ā Tāmbapam̐(n)ī* in at least the Gīrnār and Jaugaḍa versions. Now the word *Tāmbapam̐(n)ī* here is obviously the feminine accusative singular, and the preposition *ā* with the accusative means *to*, i.e., *up to*, expressing the goal;³⁶ and the whole passage thus means 'up to, or as far as Tāmraparṇī', clearly indicating Tāmraparṇī as the limit of Kērala, which is the latter of the two names and stands closest to that next name Tāmraparṇī. From Edict XIII we have just seen that Tāmraparṇī was the immediate limit of the Pāṇḍya country. Accordingly Tāmraparṇī would be the immediate boundary-line between Kērala and Pāṇḍya, which would therefore be situated on its opposite sides. Now, as is so manifest, both Kērala and Pāṇḍya are bounded by the sea on their south, and Kērala at least is also bounded by the sea on the west, whence it must follow that Tāmraparṇī was the eastern boundary of Kērala and the western boundary of Pāṇḍya; and consequently Tāmraparṇī must lie within the Indian peninsula itself and not without. It is thus beyond doubt the river of that name in the Tinnevely district flowing between the original Pāṇḍya and Kērala countries, and never the island of Ceylon situated outside the peninsula. The river Tāmraparṇī has been mentioned here not only as the dividing line between the Chōla-Pāṇḍya group on one side of it and the Sātiyaputa and Kēralaputa group on the other, but perhaps also because it was the ultimate limit of Aśōka's empire (as is nearly evident from its significant mention in Edict XIII) before of course the Chōlas and the Pāṇdyas asserted their independence just some years ago, and was thus till then at least intimately associated with it; and since thus it has been mentioned in this Edict evidently as the dividing line between Pāṇḍya and Kērala, the four countries mentioned in it had to be named not in their regular geographical sequence from east to west, but as they stood in relation to it, Chōla and Pāṇḍya lying on one side of it and Sātiya and Kērala on the other.

It need hardly be repeated that these four countries were independent and were thus not included in Aśōka's empire. Further they are expressly stated to be *am̐ta*, *am̐tā* and *pracham̐tesu*, which clearly indi-

cates that they stood immediately outside the borders of his empire and were thus indeed conterminous with it in its different direction. Because no other inscriptions of Aśoka have been so far found further south of those at Brahmagiri, Siddhāpur and Jatiṅga—Rāmēśvara in the present Mysore State, we are not justified in asserting that those places stood on the southernmost limit of his empire, which therefore extended no further. His inscriptions, it may be said once for all, are not boundary-stones marking the extreme limits of his empire. For as we have said Aparānta was included in his empire of which it was the south-western frontier province bordering on the Arabian sea. Now Aparānta, which is the northernmost province of the Coast region *Sapta Koṃkaṇa*, the Seven Koṃkaṇas, also called the *Paraśu-Rāma Kshētra* or the land reclaimed from the sea by Paraśu—Rāma, stretching from the Vaitaraṇī river in the present Thana district as far south as Cape Comorin, is said to begin from the said river, and in its restrictive sense it is generally identified with the northern Koṃkaṇa reaching down as far south as the southern limit of the Kolaba district, while in its extensive sense however it is identified with the whole of the Koṃkaṇa proper stretching further south and including the Ratnagiri district and Goa.³⁷ A fragment of an Aśokan Edict, as we have seen, comes from Sopārā, the ancient Sūrpāraka which lies some 33 miles to the north of Bombay and is thus nearly a hundred miles from the southern limit of the Kolaba district, and more than 200 miles from that of Goa. The Gīrnār Rock is nearly 50 miles from the Arabian sea, and the Dhauli Rock is perhaps equally distant from the Bay of Bengal, though it is certain that in either direction his empire must have extended to the coast. The southern limit of Aśoka's empire must have therefore lain far beyond the places where in the Mysore State his southernmost Edicts are now met with. There can thus be hardly any doubt that the southern bounds of his empire at the time of Edict II, as also as that of Edict XIII, verged in the east immediately on the Chōḷa country and in the proper south on the Pāṇḍya country so that there could be scarcely any room between them to contain any other independent state or states in the respective directions, while on the proper west it was bounded by the Arabian sea and had the southern limit of Aparānta for its south-western boundary. Consequently the only portion of India that was then independent of Aśoka and as such stood immediate-

37. The word *Peiratōn* in the parallel genitive plurals *Andrōn*, *Peiratōn* as occurring in Ptolemy's geography, seems to be evident clerical error for (A) *peira(-n)ton*, in which case they together mean 'of the Aparānta people.' If so in Lassen's Map of Ptolemy's India) *Indische Alterthumskunde III*), *Peiratai* (plural), i.e., (A)*peira(-n)tai* representing *Aparāntāḥ* (plu.) has been placed much lower to the south on the West Coast.

ly outside the pale of his empire, would be roughly a crescent having the southernmost extremity of Aparānta and the northernmost extremity of Chōla for its western and eastern ends, while of its two arcs, the inner formed the southern boundary of Aśōka's empire, and the outer as is obvious, was washed by the sea, and the crescent itself was further divided into its western and eastern halves by the river Tāmraparnī flowing between Kērala and Pāṇḍya. We shall have therefore to look for Sātiyaputra nowhere else than in the western half of that crescent : and as evidently there is hardly any room for it whether on the east or south or west of Keralaputra, and as also it may well be inferred from the obvious way in which the two groups on either side of the Tāmraparnī have been mentioned, that Sātiyaputra must be as symmetrically situated with regard to Kēralaputra as Chōla is to Pāṇḍya. Sātiyaputra must lie on the West Coast to the immediate north of Keralaputra exactly as Chōla lies on the East Coast to the north of Pāṇḍya. In other words Sātiyaputra must lie on the West Coast immediately between his Aparānta and the independent Kērala.

Besides the Aśōkan inscription found on the West Coast at Sopāra in the Thana district, there are sets of Buddhist caves in the Kolaba district as also further south on the West Coast in the Ratnagiri district in South Konkanā. Recently a statue of Buddha has been discovered at Colvale in Goa.³⁸ Whatever be the actual periods of these respective Buddhist remains, whether they belong to any early date after Aśōka or are much later, if only they would fairly suffice to point to the conclusion that the earliest introduction of Buddhism into those different provinces on the West Coast must have been effected during his reign and the beginning of Buddhism in that locality will have therefore to be assigned to that early date, Aśōka's Aparānta would seem to have extended further south and included also Goa. The same conclusion would be arrived at from Ptolemy's location of the Peiratai, and the Aioi ; for if, as we believe, his Peiratai stands for Aparānta (f.n. 37) and the Aioi for the Haiga or Haive country, i.e., the North Kanara district (as we shall presently see), Aparānta must have extended up to North Kanara and therefore included Goa. And Sātiyaputra would thus seem to have comprised the districts of North Kanara and South Kanara. But it might be objected that as from the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*,³⁹ Aśōka is known to have sent one of his missionaries, *thēra* Rakkhita, to Vanavāsa, i.e., the present Banavāsī, North Kanara, of which Banavāsī is at present the south-eastern sub-division, must have been included in his empire. If indeed the Ceylonese chronicle

38. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society* III (pp. 173-74).

39. *Mahāvamsa* XII 3-8 (Geiger's Translation, p. 82.)

does preserve genuine historical tradition correct even to the names of the different *thēras* and the respective countries to which they were sent, it also records that five of them were sent to the island of Laṅkā, i.e., Ceylon, which however was not comprised within Aśoka's empire. We also know from his Edict XIII that he sent his envoys of the Law, perhaps similar other missionaries, to the countries of the different Greek rulers in remote Asia as well as nearer home in South India to Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya, none of which however was subordinate to him. Furthermore according to the *Skānda Purāṇa* the Banavāsī, a division of North Kanara was a portion of the original *Nāgara-khaṇḍ* division of India, which it formed with the present Shimoga district of the Mysore State, while the Coast region of North Kanara itself belonged to another geographical unit, the *Sahyādri-khaṇḍa*, as the whole or the southern part of the *Paraśu-Rūma Kshētra* was also called.

Among the peoples enumerated in the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa* as situated in the tail of the Eternal Tortoise (LVIII. 37), facing eastwards (*ibid.* 4), and as therefore situated due west, are—

*Aparāntikā Haihayāscha Śāntikā Vipraśastakāḥ ;
Kōmkaṇāḥ Pañchanadakā Vamanāhyavarās-tatha || 34 ||*

and among the western countries (*aparatyām diśi*) mentioned in the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* (XIV. 27) are—

Aparāntaka Śāntika Haihaya Praśastādri Vōkkāṇāḥ ||

and the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa* further names Vanavāsaka (*Banavāsī*) and Kērala in the southern region as separate countries in the previous chapter,⁴⁰ and the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* likewise mentions them apart as southern countries (XIV. 12). Now the name *Haihaya* seems to stand unmistakably for the name *Haiga* or *Haive* of North Kanara, and it clearly answers to Ptolemy's *Aioi*, while his *Olokhoira* close by represents South Kanara.⁴¹ The Greek alphabet has no separate letter for

40. Pargiter's translation (pp. 331, 333 & 341).

41. *Olokhoira* is evidently a corrupt form of *Aluva-khēta*. The South Kanara district has been mentioned as *Aluvakhēda* 6000 in the *Māvali* stone inscription (*Epigraphia Carnatica* VIII: Sorab 10) of the reign of Rāshtrakūṭa king Prabhūta-varsha Gōvinda III (c. 800 A.C.). It is also mentioned as merely *Aluva* in *prapañcha-hṛidaya* (Trivandrum Skt. Series XLV pp. 3-4)—

Sahyapādē pāraśurama-bhūmih !

Sā Sapta-Kōmkaṇākhya |

*Kūpaka Kērala Mūsika Aluva Paśu Kōmkaṇa Para-Kōmkaṇa Bhēdena
dakṣiṇōttarāyāmēna cha vyavasthita ||*

i.e. The tract of Paraśurāma lies at the foot of the Sahya range; it is also called *Sapta-Kōmkaṇam* (i.e., Seven Kōm-Kaṇās); from south to north it comprises

Some Vaghela Rulers and the Sanskrit Poets patronised by them

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THE illustrious line of Vāghela princes traces its origin to Viradhavala's son Vyāghradēva who migrated to Northern India from Gujarāt in about 1233-1234 A.D. His son Karnadēva got the fort of Bandhogarh from his father-in-law, and Bandhogarh became the capital of the Vāghela rulers. After its destruction by Akbar in 1597, the town of Rewah was established as the capital by the then ruling prince Vikramāditya. (See—Rewah State Gazetteer, Vol. IV, Lucknow, 1907). Since then the State is known as the Rewah State.

In spite of many efforts that have been spent in unearthing the history of the Vāghelas, we know practically nothing of their social, religious and literary activities. The object of this paper is to throw some light—although very scanty—on the literary activity of some of the princes of this race.

I. VIRASIMHADEVA (1500-1510)

The earliest king whom we find praised as a patron of literature is Virasimhadeva. The poet who mentions him is Rāmacandrabhāṭṭa or Rāmacandra who wrote the *Rādhācarita* by his behest (Cat. Catal. III. 109-b and 107-b). In the following verse ascribed to Rāmacandra in the ms. of the *Sūktisundara* of Sundaradēva (No. 1237, Bhau Dāji's collection in the B. B. R. A. S.), we find Virasimha praised.

वैकुण्ठाभप्रकामः कमलयुतशिराः कुञ्जराकृष्टदृष्टिः
कोदण्डोदारनामाप्यमितपरिजनो विश्वविख्यातकीर्तिः ।
सुन्दर्यासक्तचित्तः समरणविजयी कङ्कणाहारयुक्तो
वीर श्रीवीरसिंह त्वमिव तव रिपुः किन्तु मुक्तादिवर्णः ॥

III. 2

This Rāmacandra seems to be identical with the author of the *Rasikarañjana* (printed in *Kāvya-mālā* Gucehaka IV) and the *Rōmā-valīśataka* who was the son of Lakṣmaṇabhāṭṭa and who wrote his own commentary on the *Rasikarañjana* at Ayodhvā in 1524. He was thus a contemporary of Virasimha, and possibly visited his court. Two

more anonymous verses are found in praise of Virasimha in the *Subhā-
ṣhītaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1911).

वीरसिंहारिनारीणामञ्जनाक्ताश्रुविन्दवः ।
उरोजे पतिता रेजुः सरोजे मधुपा इव ॥
यस्योच्छिन्ना न वेदा मनसि सदयता दूषणानामभावां
दक्षा दूरेऽणुदृष्ट्या जहति कठिनतां दानशक्तिर्गर्ष्टिा ।
आधत्ते यश्च कुन्दं शिरसि द्रवतां यश्च दूरीकृतार्तिः
स श्रीमान्वीरसिंह त्वमिष तव रिपुस्तत्र दम्भं प्रतीमः ॥

p. 126, v. 188.

From the style of the second verse, I suspect it to be that of Rāma-
candra whose verse 'वैकुण्ठाभप्रकामः', etc., is quoted above.

II. VĪRABHĀNU (1510-1555)

As a great patron of learning King Virabhānu is praised by the poet
Bhānukara or Bhānudatta, the author of *अलङ्कारनिलक*, *रसमञ्जरी*, *रस*
तरङ्गणी, *शृङ्गारदीपिका* *गीतगौरीपति* and *कुमारभार्गवीय*. I may add that
I have discussed in detail the question of the identity of Bhanukara with
Bhānudatta, and have identified his patron Virabhāna or Virabhānu
with Virabhānu of the Vāghela dynasty in my article "The Poet Bhānu-
kara" which is going to be published shortly in the *Annals of Bhandar-*
kar Institute, Poona.

According to Aufrecht (C.C. I, 468, 498 and 595), Virabhānu is men-
tioned by Mōhanadāsa, the author of the *Rasōdadhī* which he quotes
in his commentary on the *Mahānātaka*.

III. RĀMACANDRA (1555-1592).

One of the most illustrious rulers of this dynasty was Virabhānu's
son, Rāmacandra, who was a contemporary of Akbar, and who is men-
tioned by the Muslim historians as a great patron of arts and learning.
Tāna Sena was his court musician, and was sent by him to Akbar. It
is he whom Akabariya-Kālidāsa praises in the following two verses
found in the *Sūktisundara* of Sundaradēva.

तुङ्गब्रह्माण्डसिंहासनमिदमुदयश्चित्रमध्यास्य नित्यं
न्यञ्जदिव्यस्रवन्तीसितचमरचयं लालयन्दिग्वधूभिः ।
राकाचन्द्रातपत्रं दिनकरमुकुटं ग्राहयंल्लोकपाला-
न्निजित्येन्द्रं करीन्द्रं तव जयति यशश्चक्रवर्ती वधेल ॥
वेलामुल्लंघ्य हेलदलितधरणिभृद्वाहिनीकोटिपूरै
रुल्लेल्काबिलेन्द्रप्रबलजलनिधिः प्लावनायोज्ज्वले ।
स्यान्मग्ना मेदिनीयं प्रबलभुजबलप्रौढतच्चन्द्रहास
ज्वालाभिः संततंचेन्न दहति वडवावीतिहोत्रो वधेलः ॥

(For further light on Akabariya-Kālidāsa, see my article "The *Sūktisundara* of Sundaradeva" to be published in the January issue (1936) of the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*).

Akabariya Kālidāsa is, no doubt, a title of the poet whose real name is still a mystery. Some light might be thrown by the ms. of a hymn addressed to Jyāmanukha at Kāṇḍā (No. 5648 in the H. Pr. Śāstri's catalogue, VII, 1931). The hymn has 75 verses, the first 19 being devoted to **मङ्गलाचरण**. The description in the catalogue adds—"It ends with what seem to be an eulogy to Akbar in 6 verses (marked 1—6)." The last verse is **दस्तांभोजालिमाला**, etc. We know it definitely to belong to Akabariya-Kālidāsa to whom it is ascribed in the **रसिकजीवन** Gadadharabhaṭṭa (See—"The *Subhāṣitahārārāṇi* of Śrī Hari Kavi and some poets enjoying the patronage of Muslim rulers"—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, X, 1934, p. 484) and **पद्यरचना** of Lakṣmanabhaṭṭa (*Kāvya-māla* 89, p. 20, v. 27). This verse is followed by the following colophon which is corrupt and incomplete

श्रीकृष्णो जयति ।

इति अकबरीकबरीविलासकुसुमीभवत्पद्यान् ? गङ्गाधरोऽलिखदिसा ?
स्तांग श्री

Can we, on the basis of this, hazard the hypothesis that Gaṅgādharā was the real name of Akabariya-Kālidāsa? The question, however, requires more examination before anything definite can be said.

A poet, Rāmacandra (most probably different from his namesake mentioned above), praises Rāma-nṛpati and Rudracandra in the **पद्यरचना** (10.9 and 15.34). Now we know that Rudracandradēva was the king of Kumaon and a contemporary of Akbar. Rudracandradēva is the author of the **उपारामोदया नाटिका**, two mss. of which (Nos. 5356 and 5357) are noticed in H. Pr. Śāstri's Cat. VII. I am inclined to believe that the Rāma-nṛpati mentioned by this poet is no other than the king Rāmacandra.

IV. VIRABHADRA (1592-1593)

Although Rāmacandra's son Virabhadra did not enjoy the reign of even one full year, still as a Yuvarāja he seems to have distinguished himself not only as a patron of learning, but also as a learned man and author. He wrote the **कन्दर्पचूडामणि** (published at Rewah) in 1577 A.D. This work is based on Vātsyāyana's **कामसूत्र**. Another work which is attributed to him is **दशकुमारपूर्वकथासार** (H. Pr. Śāstri's Cat VII, No. 5384), which contains an abstract of the first part of Dāṇḍin's **दशकुमारचरित**. The second verse of the work is—

वघेलयुवराज-श्रीवीरभद्रगुणाब्धिना ।
स्फुटो दशकुमाराणां कथासारो विरच्यते ॥

The colophon at the end of the first chapter is—

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीरामचन्द्रदेवात्मजयुवराज श्रीवीरभद्रदेवकृते
दशकुमारपूर्वकथासारे प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

He patronised a certain Pradyōtana-bhaṭṭā-cārya who is the author of the **शरदागम**, a commentary on the **चन्द्रालोक** (published in the Kāshī Sanskrit series, No. 75, 1929). The colophon at the end of the work is—

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीरामचन्द्रदेवात्मजयुवराजवीरभद्रदेवादिष्टमिश्र-
श्रीबलभद्रात्मजसकलशास्त्रारविन्दप्रद्योतनभट्टाचार्यविरचिते चन्द्रालोकप्रकाशे
शरदागमे दशमो मयूखः समाप्तः ।

Another poet who was patronised by him is a certain Pradyōtana-Padmanābha-miśra, the author of the **वीरचम्पू** or **वीरभद्रचम्पू** in 7 *ucch-rāsas*. The ms. of the work is noticed by Peterson in his Report on the Search of Sanskrit Mss. 1882-1883, No. 101. The work was composed in 1578 A.D. (Vikrama Sainvat 1634) as is evident from the following verse—

युगरामर्तुशशाङ्कः [ङ्के] वर्षे चेत्रे मिते प्रथमे ।
श्रीवीरभद्रचम्पूः पूर्णाऽभूच्छ्रयमे विदुषाम् ॥

Padmanābha-miśra was the son of Balabhadra and the brother of Govardhanamiśra and Viśvanātha. He was a very learned man, and the following works are ascribed to him in Aufrecht's C.C. I, 322-a.

- (i) **किरणावलीभास्कर** (printed in the Sarasvati-bhavana text series, Benares)
- (ii) **तत्त्वचिन्तामणिपरीक्षा**
- (iii) **तत्त्वप्रकाशिकाटीका**
- (iv) **राद्धान्तमुक्ताहार** and its comm. **काणादरहस्य**
- (v) **वर्धमानेन्दु**, a comm. on Vardharmāna's **न्यायनिबन्धप्रकाश**
- (vi) **वीरभद्रचम्पू**, composed in 1578.

Here arises a question—Are Pradyōtana-Padmanābha and Pradyōtanabhaṭṭācārya, the author of *Śaradāgama*, identical? We see that both are the sons of Balabhadra and both have got the name Pradyōtana. Moreover, Bhaṭṭācārya is but a title and no proper name. From Aufrecht's account we learn that Padmanābha's brothers were Govar-

dhanamiśra and Viśvanātha. Unless it is established that Pradyotana was a family title and hence common to all the three brothers (in which case one of the three brothers might be the author of the *Śaradāgama*), I am inclined to believe that Pradyotana-Padmanābha and Pradyotana-bhaṭṭācārya are one and the same person.

V. BHĀVASIMHA (1660-1690).

About this king the *Rewah State Gazetteer* states, "He (Anūpa Siṁha) was succeeded in 1660 by Bhao Singh whose rule appears to have been uneventful." Fortunately we have now come into possession of more knowledge about this king who was a great patron of learning and who once went to Kashmir. From Kashmir he brought a copy of Sōmadeva's *Kathā-saritsāgara*. He got it revised by his court Paṇḍits and employed a certain Rūpaṇi-miśra to transcribe it. A ms. of this transcription is noticed in H. Pr. Śāstri's Catalogue, VII, No. 5398. Rūpaṇi-miśra was a very learned man. To his copy he has added 99 verses in which he gives the genealogy of Bhāvasimha and the names of his courtiers. He describes Bhāvasimha in the following verses—

काव्याख्यानकलाविदग्धधिपणः श्रीभावसिंहो नृपः
काश्मीराङ्गवन्मुखोद्भूतमिदं प्राप्योल्लसत्सद्वसम् ।
संशोध्यखिलपण्डितैः कृतचमत्कारं ततो रूपणि-
द्वाराऽलीलिखद्भुतार्थगहनं सर्वार्थसारप्रदम् ॥ ८७ ॥
वृत्त्या नृत्यप्रवृत्तत्रिपुरहरजटाजूटभिन्नायकेश-
व्रातप्रौढः शिखिस्तथवहलनभःसन्धिबन्धाद्गलन्तः ।
कल्याणं कल्पयन्तु क्षितिर्विबुधतरोर्भावसिंहस्य राक्षः
स्वर्गङ्गाबिन्दुसङ्घा जनकुतुककरा कारका (?) कैतवेन ॥ ८८ ॥

Read तारकाकैतवेन ?

Rūpaṇi mentions the following scholars at Bhāvasimha's court :—

Bālakṛṣṇa, Kiśōra, Gōvardhana-vājapeyin, Lālamaṇi, Chavi, and Kamalanayana.

शास्त्रारण्यसदाप्रचाररचनप्रख्यातकण्ठीरवो
धैर्य्यौदार्य्यसुशीलताञ्जलिनिधिः गम्भीरता सागरः ।
रूपेणानुपमो विवेककुशलः पीयूषवर्षी गिरा
सूरिस्तस्य विराजते नरपतेः श्रीबालकृष्णाभिधः ॥ ७८ ॥
समस्तविद्येन्दुकलाचकोरः समस्तसत्पण्डितचित्तचौरः ।
वैदग्ध्यसौजन्यसुरत्नडोरस्तस्यास्ति विद्वाननघः किशोरः ॥ ७९ ॥
साहित्यशास्त्रप्रवणैकचेताः सत्तर्कविद्यारुचिरः सभायाः ।
भूषा प्रियो भूमिपतेरजस्रं चकास्ति गोवर्द्धनबाजपेयी ॥ ८० ॥
विगलत्समुद्रकः सुजनतासङ्घैर्यरत्नाकरः

पीयूषद्रवचाक् सुरेज्यधिषणः पाश्चात्यगौडाग्रणीः ।
 प्राज्ञःसामसु कौथुमाख्यविटपच्छान्दोग्यवेत्ता हरे-
 र्भक्तो लालमणिश्चकास्ति नृपतेः क्षमादेवतावल्लभः ॥ ८१ ॥
 सद्वाद्यद्रिपविस्तिरस्कृतकविर्ब्राह्म्याश्रिया (?) भारती
 प्रागल्भ्येन च भारधिर्हुतहविः सन्तर्पितेद्भानलः ।
 श्रीमानौपगविः समस्तनिगमैः काव्यैकविद्याटवी-
 व्रजा(ज्या) पञ्चमुखः कविर्विजयते राज्ञः छविर्वल्लभः ॥ ८२ ॥
 सकलनिगमपारावारपारैकदृश्वा
 [सुजन] गणनिकायामग्रगण्यः कुलीनः ।
 परजनहितकारी सर्वशिल्पैकदक्षः
 कमलनयननामा शोभते दाक्षिणात्यः ॥ ८३ ॥

This ms. is of a very great importance, as it preserves for us the complete history of the Vāghela chiefs from the very beginning up to Bhāvasimha. It is a pity that no works of these learned men are available to-day. We look up to the Rewah Durbar to make thorough enquiries and bring to light the forgotten glory of the dynasty.

Another person whom Bhāvasimha patronised is Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, the author of *Hautra-kalpa-druma* (C.C. I. 408-b).

VI. VIŚVANĀTHASIMHA (1853-1854).

Even as late as the middle of the 19th century we find one of the Vāghela princes composing a Sanskrit poem. Viśvanāthasimha is the author of the *Rāma-candrāṇhika*, a poem written in imitation of the *Gītagōvinda* and praising Rāma. The author has composed his own commentary on it (H. Pr. Śāstri's Cat. VII, Nos. 5255 and 5256). One of the verses reads—

शिष्याणां रघुनन्दने परतरस्नेहस्य संसिद्धये
 सिद्धिशीजयसिंहदेवतनयश्रीविश्वनाथस्यतः (?) ।
 बन्धैः संसृतिभीरुभिर्गुरुपदैर्ग्रन्थां गरीयानसौ
 प्रव्यक्तीक्रियतेऽधुना प्रकटितः श्रीरामचन्द्राक्षिकः ॥

The last colophon is— इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाराजाबाहादुरसीतारामचन्द्ररूपापात्राधिकारविश्वनाथसिंहज (जू ?) देवविरचिते रामचन्द्राक्षिके टीकायामष्टमोऽध्यायः ।

Another imitation of the *Gītagōvinda* was done in the *Śaṅgīta-raghunandana* (H. Pr. Śāstri's Cat. VII, No. 5259). This work is composed by one Priyādāsa under the patronage of Viśvanāthasimha. Although the last colophon would make Viśvanāthasimha himself the author of

the work (cf. इति श्रीमन्महाराजकुमार श्रीविश्वनाथसिंहविरचिते संगीतरघु-
नन्दने ग्रन्थमाहात्म्यविधानपूर्वक-प्रणामविधानं नाम षोडशः सर्गः) yet the 5th
verse from the beginning (given below) indicates that the real author
was perhaps one Priyādāsa.

जयति सच्चिदानन्दघनवरद्वरसर्वव्युण्णशालिशृंगाररसपालमूर्तिः ।
सर्व्वजनवत्सलः प्रविगलितमत्सरः प्रेमपाथोर्धिपुरुषार्थपूर्तिः ॥
सर्व्वगतसर्व्वमतसर्व्वयन्दितचरणसर्व्वशरणागतोद्धतिविहारी ।
गुरुरूपरघुवरः श्रीप्रियादास इह विश्वनाथान्तरगीतकारी ॥ ५ ॥

A forgotten Chapter in the History of Mewar

By

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It is well known to students of Rājput History that, after the sack and conquest of Chitōr in A.D. 1303, 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī conferred its government upon his eldest son Khizr Khān, and changed the name of the place into Khizrābād after his son. Tod says that in this predicament the descendants of Bāppā Rāwal took shelter in the forest-clad mountains of Arāvallī, and therefrom carried on depredations on the borders of Mēwār in order to regain their ancestral throne. Though the Rājputs were ultimately successful in their attempt, our authorities do not furnish us with any information regarding the extent of the period of early Muslim rule in Chitōr. Furthermore, the Persian histories, with the exception of the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, do not throw much light on the circumstances which led to the restoration of the Guhilots.

Firishta says that about the time (about 1305) when Ujjain, Māndū, Dhārānagarī and Chandēri were reduced, and the Rājā of Jālor surrendered without any opposition, Rāy Ratan Son, Rājā of Chitōr, after having suffered imprisonment for some time, effected his escape through a stratagem. He continued to ravage the country of Mewar then in possession of the Muslims. "At length finding it of no use to retain Chitōr, the king ('Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī) ordered the prince Khizr Khān to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew of the Rājā. This Hindu prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of Chitōr as tributary to 'Alā-ud-dīn during the rest of his reign. He sent annually large sums of money, besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5000 horse and 10,000 foot."¹ The final extinction of the early Muslim sovereignty over Chitōr, according to the above historian, came about during the last days of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, when insurrections broke out within his kingdom due to the excesses of Malik Kāfur. "The Rājputs of Chitōr threw the Muhammadan officers over the walls and asserted their independence."²

Sir W. Haig, probably following Firishta, repeats the same account of the escape of Ratna Sīmha from the imperial prison and of his

1. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 363.

2. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 381.

plundering raids in Mewār, and adds "Alā-ud-dīn avenged his discomfiture by removing from the government of Chitōr his own son, Khizr Khān, an indolent and self-indulgent youth, and appointing in his place Ratan Singh's sister's son Arsī (sic), who had entered his service, and thus sowed the seeds of dissension among the Rājputs. Many of the *thākurs* transferred their allegiance from Ratan Singh who had forfeited their respect, to Arsī, who remained loyal to 'Alā-ud-dīn and until his death attended regularly at court to present his tribute." Sir W. Haig also places the overthrow of the Khaljī rule in Chitōr about the time mentioned by Firishṭa.^{2a}

Rājput tradition, however, associates the name of Hammīra son of Arisinhā, a relation of Ratna Simha, with the recovery of Chitōr. The circumstances as set forth by Tod are these. After the conquest of Chitōr 'Alā-ud-dīn made over the city to Māldeo, Chauhan prince of Jālor. The new governor met with difficulties in the administration of his dominion. In the face of constant raids by Hammīra, who succeeded his uncle Ajaya Simha at this time to the chieftainship of the Guhilots, cultivation and pursuit of peaceful avocation became impossible. He therefore sent a proposal of marriage to the Guhilot prince, which was accepted. An insult was in store for the son of Arisinhā, for he was married to a widowed daughter of Māldeo. Tradition, however, avers that this marriage paved the way for the recovery of Chitōr. For, within a short time, the intelligent lady, with the help of one of the civil officers of Chitōr, gained over the troops in the fort when her father was out for an expedition. She admitted her husband in the citadel, and "his sword overcame every obstacle, and the oath of allegiance was proclaimed from the palace of his fathers." Tod further relates that Māldeo carried this news to the Khaljī king Mahmūd (sic), who had succeeded 'Alā-ud-dīn. The king advanced to recover his lost possession, but was met and defeated by Hammīra. "The king suffered a confinement of three months in Chitōr, nor was he liberated till he had surrendered Ajmēr, Ranthambhōr, Nāgaur and Sui Sopar, besides paying fifty *lakhs* of rupees and one-hundred elephants."

It should be noted that Rājput tradition does not make any mention of the escape of Ratna Simha from the imperial prison about two years after the siege. Abul Faẓl places this incident some time before the storming of the citadel of Chitōr in A.D. 1303, and says that, being further attacked by 'Alā-ud-dīn, the Rānā 'met him near Chitōr and was basely slain'.³ The *Khuzainul Futuh* of Amīr Khusrav says that "the Rai struck with the lightning of the emperor's wrath and burnt from head to

2a. *Camb. Hist. of India*, Vol. III, p. 111.

3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 270.

foot, sprang out of the stone gate ; he threw himself into the water and flew towards the imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightning of the sword.”⁴ As has been pointed out by Mr. S. C. Dutt, this Rāi was none other than Ratna Simha.⁵ The passage clearly indicates submission on the part of the Rānā. It was probably on this occasion that he was taken as a hostage by ‘Alā-ud-dīn. Amīr Khusrav, however, is silent about the death of Ratna Simha, and does not mention the escape of the Rānā from prison and the resumption of the siege by ‘Alā-ud-dīn. It seems that Firishta has confused the sequence of events. While the escape of the Rānā from the imperial prison is historical, it should be dated before the surrender of the citadel in A.D. 1303. The evidence of Abul Fazl is to be preferred in this respect to that of Firishta.

It may be asked if the flight of Ratna Simha took place before A.D. 1303, and his death occurred in that year, then what it was which induced ‘Alā-ud-dīn to order the evacuation of Chitōr ? The cause may be sought in the fact that “ Kizr Khān was made a viceroy of Chitōr, when as yet a boy, without any person of wisdom to advise him or to superintend his conduct.” As such he was probably unable to withstand the onslaught of Ajaya Simha or Hammīra from the mountains of Arāvalli. A stronger hand was required, and a Hindu prince was appointed in place of Khizr Khān. Sir W. Haig says that he was the sister’s son of Ratna Simha, and identifies him with Arsī or Ari Simha.⁶ It should be noted that Ari Simha was not a sister’s son of Ratna Simha, but belonged to a collateral branch of the Guhilots, and was the father of Hammīra. Abul Fazl says that Ari Simha was made the Rānā of Chitōr after the fall of Ratna Simha, and died in battle in A.D. 1303 in defence of Chitōr.⁷ This is also confirmed by Rājput tradition. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and Pandit G. S. Ojha identify the Hindu vassal of ‘Alā-ud-dīn who replaced Khizr Khan with Māldeo, prince of Jālor.⁸ But Abul Fazl says that Māldeo was appointed Governor of Chittōr by Muhammad-bin-Tughluq.⁹ In view of this, the Hindu feudatory of ‘Alā-ud-dīn could not have been Māldeo. We know nothing about his identity except that he was a near relation (nephew) of Rānā Ratna Simha.

This appointment might have been a political move on the part of Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, as has been pointed out by Sir W. Haig, to create dissension among the Rājputs and thus to break their power of resist-

4. Quoted by Mr. S. C. Dutt in *I. H. Q.*, 1931, p. 293.

5. *I. H. Q.*, 1931, p. 293.

6. *C. H. I.*, vol. III, p. 111.

7. *Ain.*, Vol. II, p. 270.

8. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, D. R. Bhandarkar, “History of Marwār Chāhamānas,” pp. 67ff 9 ; Ojha, *Udayapura Rājya Kā Itihāsa*, p. 195f.

9. *Ain.*, Vol. II.

ance.¹⁰ If Rājput tradition is to be believed, it was a policy not unlike that which was devised by Akbar against Pratāp Siṃha when he appointed the latter's brother, Sāgarji, to the throne of Chitōr.¹¹

The extent of the period of Khizr Khān's rule in Chitōr cannot be determined with any amount of certainty. Sir W. Haig seems to think that his rule terminated in or about A.D. 1305, two years after the siege of Chitor.^{11a} We have however no evidence to warrant it. The learned author seems to rely upon Firishta. The latter says: "At length, finding it of no use to retain Chitōr, the king ('Alā-ud-dīn) ordered the prince Khizr Khān to evacuate it." It would be seen, therefore, that Firishta gives no definite date. Pandit Ojha says that the prince left Chitōr some time between A.D. 1313 and A.D. 1316, and the period of his rule probably covered ten years. Some of the arguments in support of his contention are given below:—¹²

(1) An inscription has been found in Chitōr, dated A.D. 1310, which praises Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. From this it has been surmised by Pandit Ojha that no Hindu prince (e.g. Māldeo) could have been in possession of Chitōr at that time.

It may however be urged that this inscription does not preclude the possibility of the rule of a Hindu chieftain in Chitōr who was, to all intents and purposes, a vassal of the Sultān.

(2) Pandit Ojha says that, according to *Muhanō ta Nēna Sī*, the reduction of Jālor took place in A.D. 1311 and, according to Firishta, in A.D. 1309. Kanhaḍadeva, the ruler of Jālor, died with his son. Māldeo, the brother of Kanhaḍadeva, made his escape. He began to ravage the territory of the Sultān. At length, the Sultan brought him into subjection by assigning to him the government of Chitōr. Therefore, Māldeo must have got possession of Chitōr some years after A.D. 1311.

It has already been pointed out that Māldeo's appointment was made by Sultān Muhammad-bin-Tughluq and not by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. There is nothing to suggest that Māldeo was the *immediate* successor of Khizr Khān. The rule of the Hindu prince—a near relation of Ratna Siṃha—appointed by 'Alā-ud-dīn must have intervened between that of Khizr Khān and Māldeo.

(3) Pandit Ojha quotes extensively from Firishta's account of the decline of the splendour of 'Alā-ud-dīn from about the year H. 711 (A.D.

10. C. H. I., Vol. III, p. 111.

11. Tod's *Rājasthān*.

11a. C. H. I., Vol. III, p. 111.

12. *Udayapura Rājya Kā Itihāsa* pp. 192ff.

1311-12). The historian says that the affairs of the state were left in the hands of Malik Kāfur. The nobles were disgusted. The Sultān neglected the education of his children, and appointed them in important posts in the state. Thus Khizr Khān was made Viceroy of Chitōr when as yet a boy. Other princes also held equally important public offices.

From the above it cannot be confidently asserted that Khizr Khān's viceroyalty continued till about A.D. 1311-12. His appointment is mentioned to illustrate the impolitic conduct of his father that led to the decline of the lustre of his reign in about A.D. 1311. The language of Firishta here is no doubt capable of different interpretations. Pandit Ojha points out that, about this time, Malik Kāfur asked leave of the Sultan to go to the south in order to bring about the submission of the Rājā of Deogir and others. "Malik Kāfur was principally moved to this by his jealousy of Khizr Khān, the declared heir to the empire, whose government lay most convenient for that expedition, and whom he feared the king intended to send to the South." It may be surmised from the above that Khizr Khān was still in the government of Chitōr. But Pandit Ojha's theory, though plausible, cannot be said to be definitely proved.

An attempt would now be made to consider the time of the reconquest of Chitōr by the Guhilots.

Firishta says that, taking advantage of the insurrections and misfortune of the last days of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, the Rājputs of Chitōr 'threw the Muhammadan officers over the walls, and asserted their independence.' As has been already pointed out, Sir W. Haig also accepts this statement. But the effective Muslim occupation of Chitōr even after 'Alā-ud-dīn is proved by an inscription, found in Chitōr, praising Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq and one of his officers,¹³ and the appointment of Māldeo to the government of Chitōr by Muhammad-bin-Tughluq. Pandit Ojha fixes the date of the recovery of Chitōr by the Guhilots in or about A.D. 1326.¹⁴ But if Nēna Sī is correct in assigning a rule of seven years to Māldeo,¹⁵ then his reign could not have terminated before A.D. 1332, assuming that he was appointed by Muhammad-bin-Tughluq in the very first year of his reign. Besides, an inscription has been found in Kāreda in the Udaipur State, date V.S. 1392 (A.D. 1335), which refers itself to the time of one Mahārājā Pṛithvīchandra of Chittra-kuṭa.¹⁶ The identity of this ruler is unknown. There is nothing to

13. *An. Rep. Raj. Museum for 1921-22*, p.2.

14. *Udayapura Rājya Kā Itihasa*, p. 233.

15. *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 197.

16. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, App. p. 98.

suggest that he was a Guhilot. He may have been a son of Māldeo. It seems clear, therefore, that the Guhilots could not have recovered Chitōr before A.D. 1335.

Abul Faḥl says that Māldeo, being unable to bring Hammīra into subjection, summoned him, and made him son-in-law, and through him restored the prosperity of Chitōr. After his death, Hammīra made away with his sons, and raised the standard of independence.¹⁷ Thus, the court historian of Akbar confirms the main points of the Rājput tradition that Hammīra married the daughter of Māldeo, and recovered Chitōr, not, however, from the latter, but from his sons.

In view of the ascertained date of Māldeo (a contemporary of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq) it is very difficult to believe that Hammīra, who is alleged to have been his son and successor, actually came into conflict with the immediate successor of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. Sir W. Haig says: "the story appears to be a clumsy but wilful adaptation of the defeat and capture of Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa by Saṅgrām about 200 years after this time."¹⁸ It is well known that Mahmūd Khaljī II of Mālwa fell into the hands of Rānā Sāṅgā and remained a prisoner in Chitōr for some time, and he was also forced to relinquish his claims over certain places. The Rājput bards may have confounded these later Khaljīs of Mālwa with the line of 'Alā-ud-dīn.

Pandit Ojha says that Hammīra obtained a victory over Muhammad-bin-Tughluq who has been erroneously styled by Tod as Mahmūd Khaljī. In support of this Panditji adduces the evidence of an inscription of Rānā Kumbha's time dated V.S. 1495 (A.D. 1438) in which Hammīra is said to have destroyed many Turushkas.¹⁹ We have, however, no positive evidence to prove that the son of Ari Siṁha came into conflict with Muhammad-bin-Tughluq. It is interesting to note that such an exploit as the conquest of Chitōr does not find a place in the accounts of Hammīra as given in the inscription of his descendants, though they make mention of such incidents as the conquest of Chelavāṭa, the killing of Jaitrasīṁha, or the burning of Prahādanapura. It is possible that Abul Faḥl and the bards of Rājputānā are wrong in ascribing the actual recovery of Chitōr to Hammīra himself. The reconquest of the famous fortress may have been actually effected by one of his successors, preferably Kshētrasīṁha. The *Kīrti Prasasti* and the Kumbhal-gadh inscription of Rānā Kumbhā record that Kshētrasīṁha defeated Yavana forces near Chitrakūṭa.²⁰

17. *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 270.

18. *C. H. I.*, Vol. III p. 526.

19. *Udayapura Rājya Kā*

20. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 277ff; H. Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, p. 212ff.

Blanks in Middle Indian History

By

SARDAR M. V. KIBE

THE writings of R. B. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal have thrown a flood of light on the histories of Southern and Eastern India respectively. Speaking roughly, after the fall of the Mauryan Empire, for a period of about a hundred years after its fall, the history of the noble past of India is available. The writings of these scholars are based on inscriptions, coins, ruins, excavations, and records preserving ancient traditions.

No such material has yet been made available for writing the history of Middle India. That the splendour of its capital, Ujjayini, described by Kālidāsa in his *Mēghadūta* and by Bhāsa and Śūdraka, in his many dramas by the former, and in the *Mrit-çhakaṭika* by the latter, cannot be all imaginary, is a proposition which is fully acceptable. It is known that in Mauryan times it was the seat of a Governor, which post was once held by Aśōka himself and, on his becoming the emperor, by one of his sons. It is traditional history that some centuries before him there was reigning at Ujjayini a powerful king by name Pradyōta who was a contemporary of Vatsarāj, the king of Kauśāmbi. It is also known that in later times it was the seat of a Kshatrapa. But the *Mahābhārata* speaks of two kings of Avanti. They probably jointly ruled like the Roman Consuls ; perhaps of contemporary times. But when did Avanti become Ujjayini ? Is the change connected with any victory of supreme importance by one of its rulers ? Did he perpetuate a dynasty ? Why and when was Ujjayini abandoned, and Vidiśa become the capital of Middle India ? Why did Mandasōr succeed to it ? Was Vikramāditya, the mythical hero, a Parmār ? Were Muñja and Bhōja of later times descended from him ? Convincing answers to these questions cannot be given without being in possession of more material than is available. It is up to the two governments of Scindia and Holkār, who rule over this part of the country, to undertake systematic research by spending money and employing scholars.

The period in the history of this country on which light is required to be thrown synchronizes with the rise of Pushyamitra. In the east the Vākāṭakas, who seem to have touched the borders of this country in the south-east, and the Kshatrapas and Kushāns in the north and north-east continued up to the end of Gupta Empire.

Pending excavations and discoveries, there is available sufficient traditional material to give a hazy idea of the train of events. It requires to be corroborated by more substantial evidence.

The first outstanding fact is the change of the name from Avantiya or Avanti, the names which are given in chapter IX of the *Bhishma-parva* and again in the *Sabhā-parva* among the conquests of Sahādēva, to Mālava. In the same places there is reference to a tribe in the north and north-west of India known as *Mālava-narāḥ* and Mālavas respectively. The former nomenclature seems to have a reference to a form of government. In the course of his conquest of the region of the Indus and its tributaries, Alexander the Great dislodged the tribes known as the Maloi, that is, the Mālavas. Its government appears to be a Republic. The *Bṛhatsamhita* of Varāhamihira does not only mention the above-noted tribes, but also refers to the *Audumbaras*, whose kings ruled in the Panjāb as known to authentic history. The *Mālavas* and later *Audumbaras*, having been disturbed from their homes first by the Greeks and later by the Scythians, crossed the Rājputāna desert, and settled on the plateau of Middle India. To judge from their present representatives, the Audichyas (Northerners) and Śrī-Gauḍas were tribes with four castes and Republican tendencies. Traces of their settlements are found from this part of the country to the Gōdāvari and the Kṛishna in the south. Perhaps the joint kings of Avanti mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* belonged to these Republican tribes. The mythical hero, Śakāri Vikramāditya, mentioned in Hala's *Saptaśatī* also perhaps belonged to these people. It is noteworthy that he was reigning jointly with Bhartṛhari. By his victory over the strong fort of the Śakas, somewhere as far north as the Panjāb, he changed the name Avanti into Ujjayini, and started the Mālava era. But it was against the principles of these Republican Mālavas that his dynasty should be perpetuated. If there was a legitimate dynasty reigning in Avāntya before the advent of the Mālavas it seems to have fled to Vidiśa.

Hemmed in between the Scythians of the north and the Śatavāhanas of the south, the Audichya tribes dispersed. It is possible that, in the time of Śakāri Vikramāditya, Ujjayini attained the importance which is described by Kālidāsa and Bhāsa, and which in the time of Śūdraka had passed into a memory; or Kālidāsa and Bhāsa may be later than the Kshatrapa rule in Ujjayini.

About six miles to the south of Indore, on a plateau, there are the remains of a Scythian camp near Nagpur. The *Mālava-narāḥ* and their neighbours, the *Audumbaras*, settled in Avantaka, changing its name to Mālava. The former appears to have been a bigger tribe, which directed its attention to the capital, while the latter settled elsewhere in Mālava, and also penetrated into the South, giving their names to different places. There is an Audumber on the bank of the Kṛishṇā in the Sātāra District. There is another Audumbēr-Vardhan converted

into Indur-bodhan (now known as Nizāmabād) on the banks of the Gōdāvari in the Nizam's Dominions. The word *Audumbēr* was later on changed into Oodumber—Oonder—Oondari—Indūr—Indurī, etc. places of which names are found in the Mahārāshṭra. In Mālava, their settlement which was about 32 miles from Ujjayini and on the peninsula made by the confluence of two rivers, came to be known as Induri in reminiscence of their home in the Panjāb between the Sarasvati and the Chandrabhāgā, (the latter being the ancient name of the Chināb). A few years ago, a little excavation in this peninsula, made by Prof. Johori of the Local Christian College, discovered an image of the Buddha of the pre-Christian era.

The Śatavāhanas seem to have established their sway on Ujjayini, if reliance is to be placed on a traditional site in that city ; but their rule does not seem to have lasted for a very long time, although they succeeded in checking the advent of the Scythians who appear to have penetrated to the vicinity of Nāgpur which was included in the Śatavāhana empire. But Middle India never became the principal seat of the Scythians. If, however, Ujjayini did not become the political capital, it *did* become a place of religious importance. The god Mahākāla seems to have been established by the Scythians ; or it may have been the god of Mālava or Audumbēr. Traditionally, Mahākāla is regarded as the ruler of the city. This may have been since the Scythians overran Middle India. The Audumbaras are still the custodians and worshippers of the god. They have outstayed the Guravas, who are probably of Scythian origin and who are also the worshippers of this god. But whether the Mālavas first founded the temple of Mahākāla and then the Scythians supplanted them, or whether the opposite was the case, it cannot be positively stated at present.

History does not record when it was that part of the city of Ujjayini was overwhelmed by a catastrophe, natural or caused by human beings. Perhaps the Mālavas destroyed the city of the Mauryas. Excavations alone can discover the facts.

Coins have been found at Nagar, a place in Rājputāna, which bear the inscription *Mālavānām Jayah*. There is also the Mandasōr inscription which refers to some Mālava era. In Ujjayini itself superficial excavations have led to the discovery of images, doorways and so on. They have not yet been systematically studied. Coins of various degrees of importance are often met with in the ancient site or in the river-bed. The city, like some other ancient cities, seems to have been built several times over, in the same or neighbouring site. Ample material for an authentic history of the Middle India, will be available if researches are based on the fast-vanishing traditions. A tempting task is awaiting scholars.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh

(*From Confederacy to Monarchy*).

By

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IN the modern history of this province, it will be difficult to find a figure of such outstanding personality, organising capacity, and clear vision of the realities of difficult situations around him, as Mahārājā Ranjit Singh. Losing his father in his tender years, he was very early thrown upon his own resources, and thus developed those rare virtues of self-reliance, love of adventure, and sound judgment of men and things which stood him in such good stead in later years. No wonder he was able to draw round himself a band of devoted and faithful men of conspicuous ability who could be put in charge of every department of government. By his generous treatment of vanquished foes he even attached to himself chiefs who were only lately arrayed against him in open warfare. It is, perhaps, not widely known that, throughout his long reign of forty years, Ranjit Singh did not pass orders of death-penalty against a single individual, whatever his offence might have been. Considering this and some of his other personal virtues, it is not surprising that he was able to carry out the dual task of subduing the petty chiefs who ruled, perhaps, in two scores or more of principalities scattered all over North-western India across the Jamunā; and uniting them in willing allegiance to his throne. He thus achieved the transformation of a dissolving confederacy into a compact and well-established Khālsa monarchy.

As we all know, for full thirty years, from 1738 A.D. to 1768 A.D., the Panjāb was in the throes of anarchy and confusion. The authority of the emperor at Delhi had ceased to exist; nor was the province effectually managed by its new rulers at Kābul. This inability or neglect on the part of the authorities enabled the daring Sikh youths to launch their predatory excursions into neighbouring towns and villages. They infused a new spirit in the members of the *Pañth*, a spirit of daring and adventure. They were also able to amass wealth and fortune which they utilized for the future greatness of the Khālsa. They built small mud-forts at convenient places for use as rendezvous for their troops, and also as store-houses for the booty obtained from further predatory excursions.

The successes which attended these plundering raids were so encouraging that the more ambitious men of the next generation, say from A.D. 1765 to 1775 A.D., determined to take an important forward step in their operations: they launched themselves upon a career of territorial acquisition. The community produced a large number of bold and daring leaders gifted with military genius, and, of course, there was no dearth of Sikh soldiers to make up the rank and file. Ahmad Shāh Abdālī had finally retired from India in A.D. 1761, leaving an open field to the Khālṣa free-lancers who were now fully asserting themselves all over the province of the Panjāb. So great was the dread of the combined Sikh Misls (confederacies) that, wherever troops of Sikh horsemen happened to pass, they would leave a belt or some other token of their presence and it was assumed without the possibility of a challenge that the country all round had passed into their possession. In the short period of about two decades, the Sikh leaders spread their territorial domination from the Indus to the Jumunā. The whole of Sarhind, the Doaba Bist Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Gurdāspur, Batala, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwālā, Gujrāt, Wazīrabad, Silalkōṭ Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Dhanni Puthoar, and the Salt Range, to mention only a few important tracts in the Panjāb, were included in the territories governed by the Sikh Sardārs—a large, compact, enviable dominion built up by the brave sons of the *Paṁṭha* (community) working in concert with one another.

But the happy and faithful co-operation was not destined to live long. As soon as this generation of selfless workers passed away from the scene of their activities, there entered into the brotherhood an unfortunate spirit of self-aggrandisement. The Misdārs, blinded with selfishness, fell out with one another; they ignored the common interests of the Panth and drew out their long swords one against the other. Combinations and counter-combinations of the ruling Sardārs were formed to defeat the opposing factions. This sad drama was being staged throughout the closing decade of the eighteenth century. The day of the dissolution of the Khālṣa Confederacy seemed to be near at hand, and it was feared that, before long, all the vestiges of Sikh power would be wiped out from the political map of the Panjāb. The reader of Sikh history is irresistibly led to this conclusion when he reflects upon the divergent forces which were now at play all over the province.

The entire trans-Indus territory from Dera Ghāzī Khān in the south to Peshāwar in the north, was dominated by the war-like Muslim tribes and was held under their complete sway by the representatives of the Durrānī Government of Kābul. Not far different were the conditions obtaining in the region of Kohistān comprising Attock, Hazāra and Kashmīr, the Pathān governors of which ruled almost in complete independence. Proceeding farther along the mountainous region, we find

that the whole of Jammu and Kāngrā territory was divided into small self-governing Rājput principalities. In the latter territory, however, Rājā Sansar Chand was rapidly gaining strength, and was aiming at a consolidated Rājput political power under his own domination. In the east the British had just (1803 A.D.) secured a strong foothold at Delhi, and were naturally anxious to study the strength, weakness, and temper of their neighbours across the Jamunā. Again in the south, Bhawalpur and Mūltān were two strong Muslim principalities, neither of which could be ignored. The territories of Mūltān ran into those of the Sails of Jhang, and the possessions of the latter extended as far as those of the Maliks or ruling chiefs of Khushab and Shāhpur. Running alongside the left bank of the river Indus, and including the modern towns of Mianwali, Leiah, and Bhakkar, was another Mahomedan principality ruled by the Nawāb of Mankera.

The dominions of the Khālsa situated for the most part in the Central Panjāb were thus hemmed in by a ring of independent powers, which were neither friendly to the Sikhs, nor in any way shared their political aspirations. Worse still, the territories in possession of the Sikhs at this time were parcelled out amongst twelve big Sardārs or *Misldārs*, and were now undergoing a process of further dismemberment owing to the mutual ill-will and jealousies of the chiefs. It was obvious even to a casual observer that, if this state of internal conflicts and discords were allowed to continue for some time, the day was not far distant when their ambitious neighbours on the west or on the east would nibble away the mutually warring principalities and eventually absorb them one by one into their own possessions. The political freedom which a succession of devoted generations of the Khālsa had won at a tremendous sacrifice of life was thus exposed to a grave danger.

It was at this critical time in the history of the Sikhs that Ranjit Singh was born in A.D. 1780, and before he had passed his teens, he began to form plans of arresting the rapid disintegration of the political power of his community by bringing together its divergent elements under a single umbrella. An ambitious plan, indeed, for a lad of twenty to entertain! To smaller minds it would have seemed more like a dream than a possible reality. Ranjit Singh began to dwell more and more intently, and for longer periods of time at a stretch, upon his plans. The independent *Misldārs* could, of course, have no room in his scheme. They must make way before the united power of the Khālsa, and be satisfied to occupy a subordinate position in the new dispensation of things if the "Panth" was to be saved from the impending danger. In other words, the loose and fast-dissolving Confederacy must be replaced by a Monarchy.

There are not wanting those who have doubted the wisdom of Ranjit Singh and even questioned the sincerity of his motives, but we must judge his actions in the light of the circumstances under which he was called upon to act. Does the result justify his policy? Was it one which centred round his personal ambition? Was it not rather based on the essential elements of constructive statesmanship? As we all know, under his political or military leadership, the Sikhs were not only able to stem the rising tide of the dangers which confronted them at the time, but they also eventually succeeded in establishing a large and powerful kingdom stretching from the banks of the Sutlej across the plains of the Panjāb right up to the passes leading to the Hindu Kush and the Sulaimān Ranges. The full significance of this achievement can only be realised when it is remembered that, for 700 years beginning from the eleventh century, that is to say, ever since the defeat of Rājā Jaipāl by Mahmūd of Ghazni, the tide of invasion had flowed constantly and steadily eastwards from Central Asia into India, and it was reserved for the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh not only to dam the flood, but actually to roll it back across the Attock. At Nowshera, Peshāwar, Hazāra, and other strongholds in their own homelands were the Pathāns worsted so completely that, in pain and despair, they are said, on more than one occasion, to have exclaimed "*Khuda ham Khālsa Shudah* (God himself has become Khālsa)".

This was not all. In the north, Ranjit Singh did not only bring under his sway the whole of the fertile valley of Kashmir, but also pushed his conquests as far as Ladakh, while in the south his frontiers ran alongside the territories of the Amirs of Sindh. In this connection, it is worthy of note that, realising the strength of the British who were his neighbours on the other side of the Sutlej, he did everything possible to avoid a collision with them. At times he yielded to them with no small reluctance, but on no account was he prepared to risk a clash of arms with a well-organised and greatly superior power. He even winked at the establishment of a sort of British protectorate over the trans-Sutlej Sikh states who were allied to him by the strong affinities of faith. He had his eyes fixed on one great central object of his rule, namely, the union and consolidation of the Khālsa Misls into a strong, compact kingdom, with natural defendable frontiers on all sides. He was not unaware of what was happening in Europe at the time, and although he had great confidence in his own strength and resourcefulness, he possessed enough political wisdom and sagacity to realise his own limitations, and not to embark upon what was expected, at best, to be a perilous adventure involving a breakdown of his grand scheme.

Thus it was that, by dint of single-minded devotion to his plans formed early in his life and carried out with thoughtful, patient and persist-

ent energy through twenty years, Ranjit Singh was at last able to found a kingdom as large as France. It brought him an annual revenue of over three crores of rupees, besides providing handsome and lucrative careers for thousands of Panjāb youths in the civil, military and political departments of the Khālśa government. Thanks to the peace which now followed a long period of anarchy and confusion, indigenous industries were revived. The formation of an ordered government was attended with a marked development of various new industries, notably those catering to the wants and needs of a well-equipped army numbering a hundred-thousand men belonging to all arms of the Service. Swords, powder, cannon, shells, muskets, bullets, saddlery and accoutrements of all sorts—all began to be turned out in factories set up by the State. At the same time, trade and commerce flourished, and there were visible on all sides—signs of growing prosperity, contentment and the uninterrupted flow of quiet civic life

It must be said to the credit of the Mahārājā that, in selecting his own ministers as well as other high, civil and military officers of his government, his choice was never limited to his own community. Indeed, the one criterion which he set before himself in making appointments to high positions was the fitness of the incumbent for the duties of his office and not the community to which he belonged. Hindus, including even Brāhmans, Muhammadans, Sikhs and Europeans were appointed to most responsible posts in the army, and all acquitted themselves creditably and well. Some of his ablest and most trustworthy generals were taken from classes that have since been dubbed non-martial. This explains the cosmopolitan character of the Mahārājā's court and the great personal regard and esteem with which his memory is still cherished by the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs alike.

Vatsabhattachi's Prasasti—A Fresh Study

By

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VATSABHATTI'S *prasasti*, familiarly known as the Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvvarman,¹ has its literary value thoroughly assessed by Bühler in his essay on *Indian Inscription and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry*.² He has conclusively shown that Vatsabhattachi has tried to imitate Kālidāsa³ and Mayūra⁴ and that he was familiar with the principles of poetry, enunciated by Daṇḍin.⁵ He further calls it a *mahākāvya*,⁶ but in view of the fact that it has no *sargabandha*, we would term it a *kṣudrakāvya* or a *khaṇḍakāvya*; and this would be the title under which we would classify all *prasastis*. While with this modification we accept the estimate of Bühler regarding the literary value of the work, we do not accept the dating of the record, as given by Fleet,⁷ and echoed by Bühler⁸ and other well-known orientalists.¹⁰

Vatsabhattachi no doubt had some familiarity with *kāvya* literature and some amount of scholarship, as any educated Indian of olden days would have had, but he certainly had no poetic gift worth the name. 'Offences against rules of grammar' and 'good taste' and awkwardness of metre on the one hand and "the several weaknesses which characterise

1. GI: Vol—III: page 79.

2. IA: Vol—XLII: page 29; also page 157.

3. Ibid: pp 142, 145.

4. Ibid: p 140.

5. Ibid: pp 139, 144.

6. Ibid: p 138.

7. HSL-K: p. 79; Keith's estimate also agrees with that of Bühler.

8. GI: Vol. III, pp. 80-81; 'And then it was restored by the same guild, when, in words, five hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed and therefore when the five hundred and thirtieth year (A.D. 473-74) was current..... This second date is of course the year in which the inscription was actually composed and engraved.'

9. IA: Vol—XLII: p. 147.

10. HSL-M: pp. 320-21; also HSL-K: page 77; also JRAS (1891): p. 327. We fail to perceive how these eminent Samskritists should have accepted Fleet's dating of the record.

the poets of the second and third class on the other"¹¹—both alike attest to his lack of real poetic gift and scholarship.¹² Bühler finds an explanation for this in the assumption that he might have lived not at the court of the local king.¹³ We fail to perceive the necessary inter-relation between stay at court and acquisition of poetic gift and scholarship. For, stay at court need not necessarily endow one with scholarship and poetic gift.

Another explanation for this has, therefore, to be found out, and this is supplied in the concluding stanza of the panegyric.¹⁴ This stanza tells us that Vatsabhaṭṭi constructed the temple and wrote the panegyric. The stanza would evidently have it that he was the *Sthapati*¹⁵ in charge of the renovation of the temple; and this work, as desired by the guild, he did with great devotion, as became his profession. As desired by the guild again, he composed the panegyric, but this he did with great effort, for the apparently simple reason that he was neither a poet nor a scholar. This verse, then, gives us a satisfactory explanation for the faulty learning and clumsy poetry that he displays in his *kāvya*. An eminent architect, he was only a very mediocre scholar and poet, as architects generally are: this is the legitimate conclusion. Thus understood, the verse also gives another piece of information, interesting to students of Indian architecture, in that here we have the earliest reference to a practising architect.¹⁶

No less interesting will be a study of the dating of the record. The inscription categorically states that the Sun temple was originally built in the year of 493 of the *Mālava Samvatsara*, which corresponds to 437 A.D., when Dasapura was ruled over by Bāndhuvarman, son of Viśvarman, who was appointed governor by Kumāragupta, identified with Kumāragupta I. The text says that the same was renovated on a *śukladvitiya* in the month of Tāpasya after five hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed.¹⁷ It is inconceivable how such a clear text could be understood

11. IA: Vol—XLII: pp. 146-147; also JRAS (1891): p 327. Peterson also endorses the opinion of Bühler.

12. It is surprising that Mr. Diskalkar after having quoted Bühler should have 'the chief interest of the inscription in its being beautiful *kāvya*!' SSSI: Vol. I—Part 2: p. 64.

13. IA: Vol: XLII: p. 147.

14. śreṇyādeśena bhaktyā kāritaṁ bhavanāṁ raveḥ |
purvā ceyam prayatnena racitā vatsabhaṭṭinā : |

15. DHA: see under *Sthapati*.

16. This is evidently new information: Vatsabhaṭṭi's name is not found mentioned as an architect.

17. samkāritamidaṁ bhūyaḥ 37
vatsaraśateṣu pañcasu viṁśatyadhikeṣu navasu cābdeṣu |
yāteṣu 39

to mean the year 529 of the *Malava Samvatsara*. We could only say that the text, as it stands, does not warrant such an interpretation.

The context also does not support such an interpretation. Thus in a preceding verse it is said that through a long lapse of time and in the hands of many other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair.¹⁸ This statement will be meaningless if we accept the view advanced by Fleet. For it will be violating even the bounds of poetic exaggeration. The assumption that it was a troublous time and that many kings ruled over Dasapura in quick succession¹⁹ also falls flat ; for then the same fact could well have been mentioned in the panegyric, and even a Vatsabhaṭṭi would not have been slow to utilise this fact. That thirty-six years constitute a long period and that many kings occupied the throne during the period are assumptions which the lay students cannot easily accept, even when the view is advanced by distinguished indologists.

Such is the conclusion that strikes one when the text is studied a little more closely. Notice for instance the expressions—*bahunā kālena*, *anyaiśca pārthivaiḥ*, and *vyāśīryata*. Though any number in excess of two could be referred to by the term *bahu*, it is generally used in the sense of *many* or *much* ; and it is particularly so in this context, because the term *kāla* means merely time. The two terms together mean *not* many years, but *much time* ; and this surely cannot be interpreted in terms of thirty-six years. The phrase *anyaiśca pārthivaiḥ* also is against such an assumption. This literally means *by many other kings*. What is the significance of the term *other* in this context ? Does it refer to kings other than the one under whom the temple was originally constructed ? Or does it mean kings belonging to other dynasties ? In either case the poet, if he had lived so close to the original construction of the temple, would not have allowed himself to miss the opportunity of offering an eulogy to the reigning king, whether he belonged to the old or a new dynasty, since the memory of the change would have been so fresh. Secondly, it is quite against all Hindu traditions for a successor in the family to neglect a temple of his predecessor who is not removed from him even by a generation. Hence from the point of view of naturalness of interpretation also we would favour the second alternative that the dynasty of Bandhuvarman was no longer extant and that some new dynasty or dynasties had occupied the throne. And this is quite in keeping with the most ordinary meaning of the phrase *bahunā kālena*. The question may, however, be raised : if the renovation was made five hundred and twenty-nine years after its original construction and if the

18. **bahunā samatītēna kālenanyaiśca pārthivaiḥ |**
 vyāśīryataikadeśosya bhavanasya tatodhunā ||

19. See AIG.

traditions of Bandhuvarman's successors had all been forgotten, how was it that Vatsabhaṭṭi was able to remember the details of the original construction? The answer is simple enough: it was the practice to inscribe on the temple itself the date of its construction and this practice has even now not died out. Consequently we understand the expression as meaning that the temple was allowed to fall into disrepair through the ravages of time and the neglect of the rulers of the area, who belonged to different dynasties. And this idea is still further borne out by the term *vyaśīryata*, where the preposition *vi* is significant of the large amount of repair that the temple stood in need of. We, therefore, conclude that the text is clearly in favour of the interpretation we have given: that it was repaired five hundred and twenty-nine years after it was originally built.

Not only this: the references to the structure also are in favour of this interpretation. Religious structures are generally built of substantial materials. From the description in the text, it will be found that the work was financed by a thriving community of silk weavers,²⁰ that much money was spent, that the structure was *udāra*-stately or spacious—and *atula*—unrivalled, that it had *vistīrnatuṅgaśikhara*-broad and massive *śikharas*, resembling mountains, and that it shone like the crest jewel of the city. Such a description leads only to one conclusion that the temple was undoubtedly a substantial structure. If this be so, then it is passing strange that it should have fallen into disrepair in the course of thirty-six years, as the editors of this inscription would have us believe. This would be all right if there were any unexpected destructive agency at work, human or natural. Of this, however, there is no mention: on the other hand, the main causes are lapse of time and neglect of kings and these are categorically stated. Unless, therefore, we are prepared to treat the whole epigraph as a piece of poetic exaggeration, the conclusion is irresistible that such a noble and stately structure could not have fallen into disrepair within the comparatively short space of thirty-six years.

It will be seen, then, that the actual words of the text and the implications arising out of the description of the temple clearly lead to the conclusion that the renovation was done not in 529 *Mālava Samvatsara*,

20. śilpāvaptaiḥ dhanasamudayaiḥ paṭṭavāyairudāraṁ
śreṇībhūtairbhavanamatulaṁ kāritaṁ diptaraśmeh
vistīrnatuṅgaśikharaṁ śikhariprakāśaṁ
abhyudgatendvamarāśmikalāpagauram |
yadbhāti paścimapurasya niviṣṭhakaṇṭha-
cūḍāmaṇipratisaraṁ nayanābhirāmaṁ ||

21. AG. p. 12-13.

but five hundred and twenty-nine years after its original construction. In other words, we assign the renovation of the temple to 493 M. S. plus 529 or 1022 M.S. which corresponds to 966 A.D. And to this period, therefore, has to be assigned Vatsabhaṭṭi, the author of the epigraph. Such a position is not inconsistent with the literary quality of the work, as described by Bühler, nor with the influences that he traces therein, such for instance as those of Kālidāsa, Mayūra or Daṇḍin, and is quite in keeping with the temple building activities there and in other parts of India in the tenth and eleventh centuries.²²

It may not be uninteresting to notice here the nature of the renovation work done by Vatsabhaṭṭi. The part of the temple which stood in need of repair was the śikhara. Originally they were *uttuṅga* and *visṭir-ṇa*, i.e. broad and massive, but after renovation they were made taller and more beautiful.²³ Another point that deserves to be noticed is the fact that the temple, at least the śikharas, must have been built of red sandstone. This aspect is made clear by the description that the śikharas were similar unto the rays of the rising Sun ; and this is quite in keeping with the architectural remains of the place.²⁴ The presence of more than one śikhara in the temple also is noteworthy. Have we here a suggestion that the Sun temple at Dasapura consisted of more than one sanctum sanctorum ?²⁵

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23. atyunnatamavadātām nabhaspṛśanniva manoharaiḥ śikharaiḥ.

24. IG: Vol—XLII: p. 152.

**Sisunaga—Nandavardhana
and
Kakavarna—Maha-nandhi(n)**

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My identification of the Purāṇic Śiśunāga with the Purāṇic Nandi (-a)-Vardhana and of the Purāṇic Kākavarṇa with the Purāṇic Mahā-Nandi(n), as held by me in my *Chronology of Ancient India*, should be accepted as historical truths, and require detailed discussion.

The Jain source *Sthavirāvali-carita* informs us that, after the death of Udāyin, the throne of Pāṭaliputra was offered by the ministers, officials and citizens to a man who was, according to the *Sthavirāvali-carita*, the son of a courtesan by a barber and was named Nanda.¹ The *Mahāvamśa* also states that the throne of Puṣpapura was offered to Susunāga (Purāṇic Śiśunāga) by citizens, officials and ministers of Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra) after the reign of Nāgadāsaka who was, according to the *Mahāvamśa*, the third in succession from Udāyin.² Thus both the sources agree to the extent that the throne was offered by the ministers, officials and citizens to an outsider who did not belong to the royal line, but they differ as to who and what this outsider was, and as to the time when he was offered the throne. The *Mahāvamśa* virtually states that the throne was offered not immediately, but a few years after the death of Udāyin³ during which the unimportant Kings Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāgadāsaka reigned. The *Sthavirāvalicarita* omits these unimportant kings, and calls Udāyin's successor by the name Nanda. The Purāṇas call Udāyin's successor Nandi-varḍhana or Nanda-Vardhana. It comes to this then that the man to whom the throne of Pāṭaliputra was offered after the death of Udāyin, or to be more precise, 32 years after the death of Udāyin, during which Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāgadāsaka reigned, is called Susunāga in the *Mahāvamśa*, Nanda in the *Sthavirāvalicarita*, and Nanda-Vardhana or Nandi-Vardhana in the Purāṇas. Thus one and the same person appears to have been named differently in three different sources. Hemachandra, the author of the *Sthavirāvali carita*, or the

1. *Sthav. Car.* VI, 242-3.

2. *MV.* IV, 3-7 et seq.

3. Really 32 years according to the *Mahāvamśa*.

sources from which he drew, have, afterwards, confounded this Nanda (-i-) Vardhana the successor of Udāyin, with Nanda Mahāpadma who was a bit later, and who, according to the Greek writers, was a barber by caste, and this confusion of Hemacandra has evidently arisen out of the two similar-sounding names Nanda (-i-) Vardhana and Nanda. It may not at all be a confusion of Hemacandra for 'Vardhana' in 'Nanda (-i-) Vardhana' might probably have been ornamental as in 'Harṣa-Vardhana', 'Rājya-Vardhana', 'Aśoka-Vardhana' etc. The Purāṇas also say that this Nanda (-i-) Vardhana was the successor of Udāyin. The Mahāvamśa modifies the Purāṇas, and the *Sthavirāvali-carita* only to the extent that its Susunāga was not the immediate successor of Udāyin but that the weak kings Anurudha, Muṇḍa and Nāgadāsaka intervened between him and Udāyin. The Pūrāṇas having been finally redacted at a period much later than what we are speaking of, have forgotten that this Nandi (-a-) Vardhana, the successor of Udāyin, was the same as Śiśunāga or had the surname Śiśunāga, and thus have carried Śiśunāga to the fourth step above Bimbisāra; but this attitude of the Purāṇas is absolutely untenable; for according to the Purāṇas themselves, the total prestige of the descendants of baṇḍa Pradyota of Avanti was destroyed by Śiśunāga, and this baṇḍa Pradyota, we know for certain, was a contemporary of Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha, as well as of Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbī. Hence Śiśunāga having been contemporary with a descendant of baṇḍa Pradyota, was surely contemporary with a descendant of Ajātaśatru. Thus the Purāṇic order which makes Śiśunāga a distant ancestor of Ajātaśatru, is essentially wrong, for had it been right, the prestige of the last descendants of baṇḍa Pradyota, could not have been destroyed by Śiśunāga, as it actually was, according to the Purāṇas themselves. Thus the very valuable Purāṇic synchronism that Śiśunāga was contemporary with the last of the Pradyōtas, falsifies the Purāṇic order of succession of kings here. We have come across many such instances of wrong Purāṇic succession in cases of kings of the Vedic Period, as we have shown in our *Chronology of Ancient India*, and hence cannot be misled by this particular case of the post-Vedic Period. Susunaga (=Śiśunāga) thus was the same as Nanda (-i-) Vardhana who, according to the Purāṇas as well as the *Sthavirāvali-carita*, was the immediate successor of Udāyin, while according to the Mahāvamśa, which seems to have preserved a more detailed history, was the fourth in succession from Udāyin, the unimportant kings Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāgadāsaka intervening. The supposition that the throne of Magadha was offered twice to two outsiders, first to Susunāga and then to Nanda (=Nandi (-a-) Vardhana) is really incredible.

There is a second reason for considering Nandi (-a-) Vardhana identical with Śiśunāga. We learn from the Purāṇas that the successor

of Nandi-(-a)-Vardhana was Mahā-Nandi or Mahā-Nandin,⁴ and the name means the great Nandin. Now according to Tārānātha, the Arhant Yaśas held a congress of 700 Arhants at the Kusumapurī Vihara in Vaiśālī when the king Nandin who belonged to the Licchavi stock, was the alms-dispenser.⁵ This was the famous second Buddhist council which was, according to the Mahāvamsa, held at the 10th year of the reign of Kālāsōka, in the 100th year after the Nirvāṇa of the Tathāgata in the Valikārāma in Vesālī, being protected and patronized by the king Kālāsōka, and the thēra Yasa was one of the chief theras in that council, and the thēra Revata chose 700 out of that multitude of Bhikṣus.⁶ The Samanta-Pāsādika also says that Kālāsōka, the son of Susunaga, was the patron of the second Buddhist council held at Vaiśālī.' It is at once evident then that the king Nandin of Tārānātha was the same as the king Kālāsōka of the Mahāvamsa; and that the great Nandin or Mahā-Nandin or Mahā-Nandi of the Purāṇas was no other than the king Nandin of Tārānātha. The king Kālāsōka was, according to the Mahāvamsa, the Mohābōdhiṇvamsa, the Sāmanta-Pāsādikā, the Dīpavamsa, etc., the son of Susunāga, and this Susunāga was evidently the same as the purāṇic Śīsunāga, whose son is named Kāka varṇa in the purāṇas as well as in the Harṣacarita (Ch. VI). The Divyāvadāna (XXVI, p. 369) has the variant Kākavarṇin for his name. It follows then that

Mahā-Nandi(n) of the Purāṇas=Nandin of Tārānātha

=Kālāsōka, the son of Susunāga, of
the Mahāvamsa

=Kākavarṇa, the son of Śīsunāga,
of the Purāṇas and the Harṣa-carita
=Kākavarṇin of the Divyāvadāna

Hence Mahā-Nandi(n) of the Purāṇas=Kākavarṇa of the Purāṇas.
We shall henceforth call him Kākavarṇa-Mahā-Nandi(n). Hence Kāka-

4. Mahā-Nanditi vikhyāto rājanīti-parāyaṇaḥ.

Kātyāyanasya śiṣyo'bhūt.....

Mahā-Nandī Mahābhāgo bhuktva bhogaṃ....' Bhav. Purāṇ II, 5-6.

5. Alo der Arhant Yaśas und die ubrigen 700 Arhants sie tadelten

Wurde im Vihāra Kusumapurī Während der aus dem

Geschlecht der Licchavi stammende König Nandin

Gaben-spender war.—Anton Schiefner, Tārānāth's Geschichte der Buddhismus in Indien, St. Petersburg Edition of 1869, Ch. VII, p. 41.

6. MV. IV, 8; 61-63. 4 Tesam Susunāgaputto Kālāsoka nāma rājā pakkho ahosi.—Introduction, Vol. III., Part I, p. 293.

varṇa-Māha-Nandi(n)'s father and predecessor must have been Śīśu-nāga-Nandi(-a-)-Vardhana.

We cannot but sound a note of warning against the inclination of some writers⁷ to make much of the following statement of Yuan-Chwang.

"To the south-west of the old Saṅghārāma about 100 li is the Saṅghārāma of Tilāḍaka (Ti-lo-shi-kia). * * * It was built by the last descendant of Bimbisāra rāja (Pin-pi-sha lo)"—Si-yu-ki, Vol. II, Book VIII, p. 102. In the foot-note Beal conjectures that Tilāḍaka (Ti-lo-shi-kia) was probably Bimbisāra's 'descendant Nāgadāsaka who appears to have preceded the nine Nandas'. Beal puts forth a second guess, namely, that Tilāḍaka 'seems to be the same as Mahā-Nandin' and asks us to consult Rhys David's *Numis. Orient.* pp. 45,50. Afterwards Beal again advances a third guess stating "Is he the same as Kālāsoka?" and asks us to consult Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I., p. 859 and Anh. p. XXXVIII.

As Nāga-dāsaka is the last parricide king of Bimbisāra's line in the list of the *Mahāvamsa*, Beal has conjectured that Tilāḍaka (Ti-lo-shi-kia) of Yuan-Chwang was probably identical with Nāgadāsaka. Afterwards relying on the Puranic genealogy which makes Mahā-Nandin, the last descendant of Bimbisāra, Beal put forth the second guess that Tilāḍaka (Ti-lo-shi-kia) was probably identical with Mahā-Nandin. Afterwards relying on a wrong statement of Yuan-Chwang, which says that O-shu-kia was the great grandson of Bimbisāra and flourished about the 100th year after the Nirvāṇa of Tathagata,⁸ Beal advances the third guess that Tilāḍaka was Kālāsōka. Yuan-Chwang has evidently made a muddle of the lineage of Kālāsōka by stating that O-shu-kia, i.e., Aśoka was the great grandson of Bimbisāra which O-shu-kia was surely not. He belonged to an altogether different dynasty which we call the Śīśunāga dynasty. The *Mahāvamsa* also makes Kālāsōka the son of Susunāga (=Śīśunāga), the minister of Nāgadāsaka. He was the famous Kākavarṇa Śāisunāgi of Sanskrit literature. We learn from

7. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1st Edition. H. C. Ray Choudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, 1st edition. K. P. Jayswal, *J.B.O.R.S.* September, 1915.

8. In the hundredth year after the Nirvāṇa of Tathāgata, there was a king called Aśoka (O-shu-kia) who was the great grandson of Bimbisāra rāja—Si-yu-ki, Vol. II, Book VIII., p. 85.

the *Mahāvamsa*⁹ enlightened with the *Divyāvadāna*¹⁰ the *Mahāvagga*,¹¹ the *Cullavagga*,¹² etc., that it was in the 10th year of the king's reign and in the 100th year after the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha that the second Buddhist council was held at *Vaiśālī* under the leadership of the *thera Yasa*. *Tārānātha* calls the same king *Nandin* and says that he was the alms-dispenser, i.e., *Aśoka*. Now if *Ti-lo-shi-kia* of *Yuan-Chwang* is identified with *Darśaka* of the *Purāṇas* and *Nāgadāsaka* of the *Mahāvamsa*, as he has been by some writers, then *Yuan-Chwang's* attitude interpreted by these writers stands thus: *Kālāsoka* was the great grandson and *Nāgadāsaka-Darśaka* was the last descendant of *Bimbisāra*; that is, *Nāgadāsaka-Darśaka* according to *Yuan-Chwang*, came after *Kālāsoka*. That it is a serious error committed by *Yuan-Chwang* in the order of succession of kings will be admitted by all, for we know from the *Mahāvamsa* that *Kālāsoka* came two steps after *Nāgadāsaka*. Besides *Yuan-Chwang* has, as we have just now seen, made a serious mistake about the lineage of *Kālāsoka* by stating that *O-shu-kia*, i.e., *Aśoka* (= *Kālāsoka*) was the great-grandson of *Bimbisāra rājā*.

It is now clear how unsafe it is to believe whatever is said by *Yuan-Chwang* [Vide *Rāma Shankar Tripaṭhi, Indian Historical Quarterly*, March 1932; *R. P. Chanda, Prabāsi, Vaiśākha*, 1339 B.S.]. It may now be pointed out that, on the strength of *Yuan-Chwang's* statement, *Ti-lo-shi-kia*, the last descendant of *Bimbisāra rājā*, can never be identified with *Darśaka* of the *Purāṇas*, even if *Yuan-Chwang* had said so after improving his indistinct Chinese pronunciation. We shall show in a separate paper that *Darśaka* came just after *Bimbisāra*, and was identical with *Ajātaśatru*.

There is an interesting agreement as well as difference between the account given by *Tārānātha* and that of the *Mahāvamsa*. According to *Tārānātha* *Ajātaśatru's* son was named *Subāhu* and ruled the kingdom for 10 years¹³ and *Subāhu's* son was *Sudhānu* who reigned for more than 23 years.¹⁴ *Sudhānu's* son was *Mahendra* who, according to *Tārā-*

9. IV, 8.

10. XXVI, p. 381 (Cowell's edition).

11. I, 7, 1-15.

12. XII, 1, 1 et seq.; 2, 1 et seq.

13. Darauf hatte der Sohn *Ajātaśatru's* *Subāhu* Zehn

Jahre lang die Herrschaft rend ehrte die

Buddha-Lehre—A. Schiefner, *Tārānātha's Geschichte der*

Buddhismus in Indien, St. Petersburg edition of 1869, p. 10.

14. Einstmal nach dreinund-zwam-zigjähriger.

Herrschaft ging König *Sudhanu* aus der zeitlichkeit.

Ibid. Ch. III, p. 13.

nātha ruled the kingdom of Magadha for 9 years and after Mahēndra his son, Camasa, reigned for 22 years.¹⁵ It is evident that

Tārānātha's Subāhu is identical with Udayin or Udayibhada	
his Mahendra	" " Muṇḍa of the Mahāvaṃsa
his Sudhanu	" " Anuruddha of the Mahāvaṃsa
	and Muṇḍa-rājavagga of the Mojjhima Nikāya
and his Camasa	" " Nāgadāsaka of the Mahā-
	vaṃsa and Nāgadāsa of the Dipavaṃsa.

Tārānātha says that when Camasa, the king of Magadha, was dead, leaving 12 sons behind him, none of whom occupied the throne, his brāhman minister Gambhīraśīla managed the government of the kingdom of Magadha for one year. It was during this period of one year that the king Nemita of Campārṇa (or Champa-karṇa) ; was involved in a war with Gambhīraśīla, the ruling minister of Magadha. When the war between the two kingdoms of Magadha and Campārṇa spread far and wide, and battles were fought on the banks of the Ganges, and the six elder sons of the king Nemita of Campārṇa, namely, Lakṣmaṇa, Rathika, Śaṅkhika, Dhanika, Padmaka and Anūpa, were drawn into the fight, the king Nemita himself died suddenly. The king Nemita had already had by the wife of a merchant, a son named Aśoka. After the death of the king Nemita, both the ministers of the royal house of Campārṇa, on the request of the inhabitants of Campārṇa placed Aśoka on the throne of Campārṇa because the six elder princes were engaged in fighting the Magadhans on the border and were not available. These six brothers conquered the Magadhans and occupied the six towns of Rājagṛha, Campā, Vaiśālī, Vārūṇasī, Sāketa and Srāvastī which had been all apparently annexed to Magadha. They heard that their brother Aśoka had become the king of Campārṇa, and they established themselves in the six towns conquered by them.

Aśoka believed in those words which the Dākinīs and Rākṣasas of Bhṛgu race respected, and held Umā and the crematory-mothers as deities. As he passed one year with beautiful women in a pleasure-house, he was named Kāmāśoka. Then he was involved in hostilities with his elder brothers for many years, and at last killed them all and

15. Die zeit, während welcher Upagupta das Lehrarnt verwaltete, fällt Zum grössten Theil in die Zeit, als in Aparāntaka des Königs Sudhanu Sohn Mahendra neun Jahre Und dessen Sohn Camasa 22 Jahr die Herrschaft ausübte.—A. Schiefner, Tārānātha's G.B.I., St. Petersburg edition of 1869, pp. 17-18.

their 500 ministers, and conquered many towns and ruled over the whole country between the Himālayas and the Vindhya.

Thus it will be observed that, while the Mahāvamsa gives 8 years as the reign-period to Anuruddha and Muṇḍa jointly, and 24 years to Nāgadāsaka, thus totalling 32 years, Tārānātha gives his Sudhanu (= Anuruddha) approximately 23 years, and his Mahēndra (= Muṇḍa) 9 years, and his Camasa (= Nāgadāsaka) 22 years, thus totalling 54 years. While the Mahāvamsa makes Susunāga (= Śiśunāga) the minister of its Nāgadāsaka, Tārānātha differs from it and says that the minister of Camasa, (= Nāgadāsaka) was a brāhman named Gambhīraśīla who ruled the kingdom of Magadha for one year after the death of Camasa (= Nāgadāsaka). Tārānātha makes his Aśoka, the son of the king Nemita of Campārṇa, but the Mahāvamsa, the Dipavamsa, the Samanta-Pāsādikā. etc., make their Kālāsoka the son of Susunāga. It is evident that

the king Nemita, the father of Aśoka, of Tārānātha = Susunāga, the father of Kālāsoka, of the Mahāvamsa, the Dipavamsa and the Samanta-Pāsādikā = Śiśunāga, the father of Kākavarṇa, of the Purāṇas and the Harṣa-carita, as Kākavarṇa was the same as Kālāsoka.

Thus the tradition narrated by Tārānātha virtually states that our Śiśunāga—Nanda (-i-)-Vardhana was the king of Campārṇa and not the minister of the Magadha king Nāgadāsaka (= Camasa). According to the Vāyu¹⁶ and the Brahmāṇḍa¹⁷ Purāṇa, Śiśunāga after destroying the prestige of the descendants of baṇḍa Pradyota became the king of Vārānasi, and his son occupied Giribraja. This agrees somewhat with the account given by Tārānātha from whom we have learnt that the sons of the king Nemita (= Śiśunāga = Nanda-Vardhana) occupied Vārānaśī, Rājagṛha, etc. We know that Śiśunāga transferred the seat of government to Vaiśālī.¹⁸ We also know that Vaiśālī was the capital of the Licchavis. We know further that Vaiśālī was the capital of Licchavi king Ceṭaka, the maternal grandfather of Ajātaśatru. We have also learnt from Tārānātha that the king Nandin (= Kālāsoka = Kākavarṇa) the patron of the second Buddhist council held at Vaiśālī at the end of the 100th year after the Nirvaṇa of Buddha, belonged to

16. 99, 314-5.

17. II, 74, 127-8.

18. Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Buddha* II, 115; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 37.

the Licchavi stock. Hence we hold that Śīsunāga (=Susunāga) and Kākavarṇā (= Kālāsoka = Nandin) were Licchavis and that the Sisunāga dynasty was, after all, a Licchavi dynasty.

In the Hindu Pantheon, Nandi(n) is conceived of as a devoted associate and servant of the great god Śiva and his consort, the goddess Umā and her associates the crematory-mothers. Tārānātha says that Aśoka, the son of Nemita, was a votary of the goddess Umā and the crematory-mothers—which, we suppose, is an interesting hint that Aśoka was a licentious man and was, for this reason, surnamed Kāmāśoka. The Harṣa-carita (VI) also faintly remembers that Kākavarṇa (= Kālāsoka), the son of Śīsunāga (= Susunāga), was a licentious man and this weakness of his flesh ultimately became the cause of his death.

Hence we conclude that

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|------------------------------------|--|
| Aśoka, son of Nemita, of Tārānātha | O-shu-kia of Yuan-Chwang
Kālāsoka, son of Susunaga,
of the Mahāvamsa, the
Dipavaṁsa, the Samanta-
Pāsādikā, etc.
Kākavarṇa of the Divyāvadāna.
-- Kākavarṇa, son of Śīsunāga
of the Harṣa-carita and the
Purāṇas.
-- Nandin, the patron of the
second Buddhist Council,
of Tārānātha.
== Mahā-Nandi(n), son of Nanda(-i)-Vardhana of the
Purāṇas. |
|------------------------------------|--|

Hence Kālāsoka = Kākavarṇa = Mahā Nandin

and Susunāga = Śīsunāga = Nanda(-i)-Vardhana =
Nanda = Nemita.

Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi

THE RANI AND THE REVOLT : A HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

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TO-DAY, the 21st October, 1935, is the centenary of the birth of Rāṇī Lakshmibai of Jhānsi. Her short career is a bright episode in the history of India. She was born at Benares on the 21st October, 1835, and died on the 18th June, 1858. She was only 22 years and 8 months when she met her death at the hands of a British soldier in the battle of Gwalior. Her name and fame spread throughout India and England during the short period of her meteoric career from the 7th June, 1857, when she undertook to rule Jhānsi in the absence of any authority or administration, to the 18th June, 1858, when she fell fighting in the battlefield. Her character as a ruler and a soldier, as a patriot and a person, has evoked praise and admiration from her opponents, and respect and love from her countrymen. It is therefore necessary, in the interests of historical studies, to understand the nature of her struggle, the cause of her failure and the result of her revolt.

The Rāṇī was a relic of the old royalties and loyalties. She represented the tradition of *Svarāj* and independence embodied in the house of Shivaji and his associates, followers and successors. The national value of the Marāṭha War of Independence begun by Shivaji (1630-1680) was visible not only in his deeds, but was stated and visualised by the Marāṭha bards in their *pawaḍas*, by Rāmdās in his *Daśabōdh* and *Anandaranabhuvana*, by Rāmachandrapant Amātya in his *Rājanīti*, by Kavi Paramānanda in his *Shivabhārata*, and by Kavi Bhūshan in his poems *Shivārājabhūshan* and *Shivabhavāni*. Shivaji himself stated his aims and ideals in his two famous letters, one to Mirza Rājā Jaysing in 1664, and the other to Emperor Aurangzēb in 1679. The same spirit of independence, love of religion and *Svarāj* developed in the latter half of the 17th amongst the Bundēlas, Jats, Rājputs and Sikhs. The spirit of Chhatrasāl (1650-1733) is found depicted in his letter to Bājīrāo I, and in the poem of Lāl Kavi, and Kavi Bhūshan, relating to Chhatrasāl; that of the Jats and Rajputs in the deeds of their heroes and in the annals of their bards, and that of the Sikhs in their martyrdoms and in Guru Gōvind Singh's (1666-1708) letter called *Zafarnama* (1706) to Aurangzēb and in his *Vichitranātaka* (his autobiography 1705). The spirit of the Pēshwās, who inherited and spread this feeling of independence, *Svarāj* and *Svadharmā*, found expression in the *pawaḍas* of their

bards and in their letters and dispatches. One of their ambassadors, Gōvind Rāo Kale, while at the court of the Nizām, wrote in a famous letter to Nānā Fadnis in 1794 when all the Marātha powers had joined their forces to fight against the Nizām, "India is the land of the Hindus and not a land of the Turks. . . . For our achievement is not limited only to the acquisition of territory, merely material rule, but it also means and includes the preservation of the Vēdas and the Shāstras of Hindu civilization, the propagation of righteousness, the protection of the cows and the Brāhmins, of the humble and the good, the conquest of an empire and material sovereignty, the diffusion of fame and far-reaching triumph". We find this spirit embodied in a number of great Marātha heroines of royal virtues and noble character. Rāṇi Jijābai (1595-1674), the mother of Shivaji, influenced his personal character and political aims, and ably carried on his administration during his minority, imprisonment or absence. Rāṇi Tārābāi (1675-1761), the wife of Shivaji's second son Rājarām, directed the affairs of the Marātha *Svarāj* as a regent from 1700 to 1707, after her husband's death during the War of Independence carried on against Aurangzēb's personal generalship and imperial might. She succeeded. She was a brave and able, but an ambitious woman. She organised and utilised the best men of the period, namely, Rāmachandra Nilkaṇṭha Amātya, Shankarāji Nārāyaṇa Sachiva, Parashurām Trimbak Pratinidhi, Dhānāji Jādhava Senāpati, and others. Rāṇi Ahalyābāi (1725-1795), the daughter-in-law of the famous Malhar Rao Holkār, ruled wisely and ably the Holkār state after his death from 1766 to 1795. She gave peace and prosperity, justice and protection to her kingdom in those troublous times, and built and maintained a large number of public works, giving food, shelter, clothing, water and means of communication to the people.

All these royal women showed their native ability, spirit and character when high responsibility fell upon them, and when their husbands were not there to help them. Such was the tradition and such were the ideals of rulerships inherited by Rāṇi Lakshmibāi. Her queenship of Jhānsi reminded her of the ideal of Bāji Rāo I who rushed to help the veteran Chhatrasāl (in 1729) to save his independence and the ideal of Chhatrasāl to maintain it against the Turks. Her childhood at Kāshi and Brahmāvartta had inspired her with the stories of great Pēshwas and great Marātha Sardārs and heroes who fought for their kings and country. Kāshi, a great centre of Sanskrit learning through the phenomenal scholarship and exemplary and inspiring character of great Mahārāstra paṇḍits of the Bhaṭṭ, Payguṇḍe and other families, was also a place of refuge and retirement in the early 19th century for Marātha princes and political families who were either deposed or deprived of their political power. There the Pēshwā Amrit Rāo—the elder brother of Bāji Rāo—lived from 1804 to 1824; Pēshwā Chimnāji

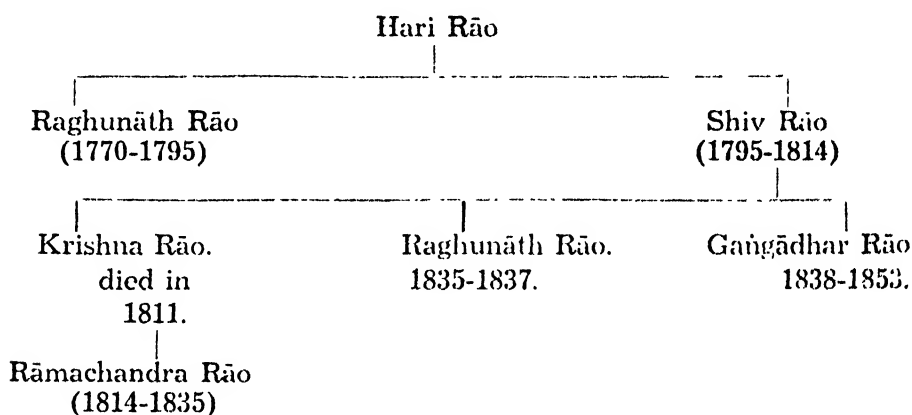
Appā, the younger brother of Bāji Rāo, from 1819 to 1830, Rājā Pratāp Singh of Sātāra from 1839 to 1847, and a number of other families who had lost their political power and importance under the Company's conquests and annexations.

As Kāshi was near to Jhānsi and Brahmāvarṭta, the relics of the once great Marāṭha power and tradition lingered and lived there also. There was regular communication, correspondence and social connection between the Marāṭha families established in these places. They naturally brooded, young and old, over their past glories and achievements, and their present plight and despair. Amidst such surroundings, influences and associations lived the family of Moropant Tambe who had known life in Svarāj before 1818. In Kāshi he served Chimnāji Appā, and depended on his support. To him was born Manūbāi in 1833, who became Rāṇī Lakshminibāi in 1842. Manūbāi imbibed the atmosphere of Kāshi, and, when her father shifted to Brahmāvarṭta and stayed with Bāji Rāo till her marriage, she was brought up in the Pēshwa's family and received all her cultural, political and martial education along with the sons of the Pēshwā Nānāsāhib, Dādāsāhib, and Balasāhib. There also she imbibed the atmosphere which was full of political hopes and despairs, as well as past memories and glories.

She was a precocious and bold child. She had courage and ambition. She respected honour, independence and glory. She possessed royal virtues. At the age of seven she was married to Gaṅgādhar Rāo, the Rājā of Jhānsi. Jhānsi was the gift of Chhatrasāl to Bāji Rao I. Chhatrasāl (1650-1733), the Rājā of Bundēlkhand, who had met Shivaji in 1670 and, under his inspiration and advice, had become practically independent, was threatened by Muhammad Khān Bangash with the loss of his power. In 1729 he sought the help of Bāji Rāo I who defeated Bangash completely at the battle of Jaitpur and drove him out of Bundēlkhand. Out of gratitude, Chhatrasāl gave one-third of his kingdom to Bāji Rāo at the time of his death in 1733. His gift and gratitude were exemplary, and were remembered long as a piece of political ethics. Bāji Rāo divided his share into three portions, and gave one of the forty lakhs (Sangor) to Gōvindpant Kher, and the second of forty lakhs (Banda) to Samshere Jung, the third of twenty lakhs (Jhānsi) was kept to himself and was managed from 1742 by the Pēshwa's own Sūbadār. In 1770 Raghunāth Hasi Newalkar, uncle of Gaṅgādhar Rāo was appointed Sūbadār. He was an able officer, and managed the affairs well from 1770 to 1795. He was brave and defeated the Orchha Bundēlas who had an eye upon Jhānsi. In 1795 his brother Shiva Rao succeeded him. He was "a man of head as well as courage". He succeeded in making the subadārship hereditary in his family. He with the help of Bundēla chiefs defeated the British attempts to conquer Bundēl-

khand. Owing to the weakness of the central power, he became more or less semi-independent. The Company entered into a treaty of alliance with him on 18-11-1803, and, with his help, it was able to establish its supremacy in Bundēlkhand. Consequently, another treaty of friendship was made with him on 6-2-1804. Shiv Rāo Bhāo helped the Company on a number of occasions, and General Wellesley mentioned this fact in his despatches, and praised his services.

Shiva Rāo died in 1814. His eldest son Kṛishṇa Rāo had died in 1811. His grandson Rāmachandra Rāo succeeded him. Shiv Rāo had two other sons, Raghunātha Rāo and Gaṅgādhār Rāo.



Rāmachandra Rāo ruled from 1814 to 1835. During his period Bāji Rāo II gave up a large part of his kingdom outside Mahārāshṭra to the Company by the treaty of 13-6-1817. According to the 13th article of that treaty, the Company acquired sovereignty over Bundēlkhand which the Pēshwā possessed. The Company therefore made a new treaty with Rāmachandra Rao on 17-11-1817. In its second article the British Government acknowledged and constituted Rāmachandra Rāo, his heirs and successors, hereditary rulers of the territory enjoyed by Shiv Rāo Bhāo. The language of this treaty does not show that the British Government made the grant of the territory of Jhānsi to Rāmachandra Rāo, nor did it stipulate that it would lapse to the British Government on the failure of the heirs of the body of the Sūbadār. Rāmachandra Rāo helped the Company in its wars, and Lord Bentinck expressed the Company's gratitude to him in a public durbār, and conferred on him the title of Rājā. He was also allowed to use *chhatra*, *chāmar* and *nagara* as the emblems of his political power. He died childless. Therefore his uncle Raghunāth Rāo, the second son of Shiva Rāo, succeeded him in 1835, and lived till 1838. Because of his misrule the Company took over the administration in 1837, and managed it till 1842. His younger brother Gaṅgādhār Rāo succeeded him in

1838, and the administration was handed over to him in 1842 by the Company, and a new treaty of subsidiary alliance was concluded with him in that year. By it two and a half lakhs worth of territory was taken from him, and subsidiary troops were established at Jhānsi. None of the articles, however, of the treaty of 1817, were abrogated.

Gaṅgādhār Rāo was a strict, able and just administrator. He managed his state affairs well. He was respected and feared by his Bundēla subjects and neighbours. In 1851, a son was born to him, but he died after three months. This proved a great shock to him, and he soon fell ill. There being no chance of his recovery, he adopted, on the 19th November, 1853, a son named Dāmōdar Rāo of about five years according to the *Shāshtras* and sacred customs of his country. Mr. Ellis, the local Political Agent, and Major Martin, a military officer, were present at the ceremony. Gaṅgādhār Rāo on the same day sent two dispatches, one to Lord Dalhousie and the other to Major Malcolm, the Political Agent of Bundelkhand. Ellis also wrote a letter to Malcolm giving a full account of the adoption. Gaṅgādhār Rāo had requested the British Government to sanction the adoption under the Article II of the Treaty of 1817. But he died on the 21st November, without knowing the decision of the Government. On 25th November, Major Malcolm wrote a report to the Governor-General giving an account of the adoption, and recommending the non-recognition of the adoption, the annexation of Jhānsi, and the grant of a monthly pension of Rs. 5,000 to the Rāṇi. On the 16th February, 1854, the Rāṇi herself sent a dispatch to the Governor-General, requesting him to sanction the adoption as it was done in the case of Orchha, Datia and Jalaon. Ellis also wrote to Malcolm to that effect; but his letter was not forwarded by Malcolm to the Governor-General. Lord Dalhousie rejected the application of the late Gaṅgādhār Rāo and the widowed Rāṇi, set aside the second Article of the Treaty of 1817 which still bound the government, and issued a minute, dated 27-2-1854, proclaiming the annexation of Jhānsi on the ground that there was no heir of the body of the late Rājā. The adoption was considered good for the conveyance of private rights, not the succession to the principality. The Treaty of 1817, however, did not contemplate any other law than the Hindu law of inheritance and succession. Metcalfe's Memorandum of 1837 was misinterpreted in the case of Jhānsi. Jhānsi was not a jāgīr granted by the British government. It was a hereditary principality in its own right. Its succession was also not confined to heirs male of the body. There was no paramount right of invalidating an adoption. There was no legal precedent in the history of Jhānsi, or in the public law of India, for such an usurpation of public rights and annexation of principalities. There was no legal right of lapse in the case of Jhānsi.

The Rāṇi resented, protested against and felt the adverse decision, and declared "I shall not give my Jhānsi." Major Malcolm had already posted troops near Jhānsi before the annexation was announced. She was to be given a monthly pension of Rs. 5,000, and the palace in the city to live. Her son was recognised as heir and successor to the Rājā's private estates and private savings in the treasury, and she was allowed to retain her private savings and jewellery. The fort with its palace was taken by the Government. The balance of rupees six lakhs in the treasury was kept in the Government's hands to be handed over to Dāmōdar Rāo when he would come of age. Adequate forces, British and Indian, were kept in the fort, and the administration was carried on by the Company's officers. Thus Jhānsi passed into British hands from its rightful rulers.

The Rāṇi appealed to the Company's authorities in England by way of protest. She sent two representatives—one Bengali and one English—to plead her case before them. Their mission was a failure. Her constitutional methods failed. The treatment was even worse. After the annexation, she was asked to pay the public debts of the principality from her private savings and personal property. She could not, and her pension was not paid to her. What ethics, law or logic was behind it, it is difficult to know.

She wanted to go to Kāshi to perform the widow's hair-cutting ceremony according to religious injunctions, but she was not allowed to leave Jhānsi,

Two villages and their revenue which were an endowment to the public temple of Mahālakshmi at Jhānsi were confiscated by the Company. Lakshmi was her family goddess. This was an act of spoliation and encroachment upon the religious endowments and sentiments of the people.

Cow-killing was newly permitted in Jhānsi. It was a great sin to be allowed in a Hindu state

In spite of all these acts of annexation and spoliation, which overwhelmed her ideas of right and wrong, and in spite of her grief for her dead husband and her anxiety for the uncertain future of her adopted son, she led a simple quiet and religious life. Major Malcolm refers to it admiringly.

In 1855, when her son was seven years of age, she asked one lakh of rupees from the amount which the Government were holding in their hands on behalf of her minor son, for performing his sacred thread

ceremony. The request was refused on the ground that the amount was to be given when he came of age. When she asked for a loan, she was asked to give sureties ; and then only was the loan given, and the ceremony performed. In this matter she felt greatly insulted and humiliated.

Then came in June 1857 the Mutiny of Indian Sepoys and the revolt of some deposed and humiliated rulers, some discontented Jāghirdārs, and some ill-treated families who were deprived of their occupations and stations in the political life of the country. There were two distinct currents in the conflict of 1857-58. We must keep them separate in understanding the nature of that conflict. No doubt they seemed to amalgamate or ally with each other in the days of their needs or the moment of their trial. But their grievances, aims and methods were not at all common or congenial. If the Sepoy wanted to rebel and take revenge for his religious or other grievances, to massacre and to loot, he had no definite aim or ideal of any new public order of government except a vague idea of an undisciplined and mercenary life under a Nabōb or an emperor. But if the ruler or jāghirdār wanted to fight, he had no idea of massacre or loot except what actual war necessitated or gave. He fought to maintain or to acquire his rights under the public law or custom of the land which was ancient, accepted and historically sacred. He had tried constitutional methods and failed. He was humiliated, and he suffered in honour and reputation. What was the course open to him ? His humiliations and deprivations rankled in his heart. When force of circumstances brought him in contact with a new situation, in a moment of hope he was tempted to fight, and the fire of independence which burned in his heart made him stake his all. Let us therefore not mix these two currents and attribute the crimes of one to the other.

The massacres of men, women and children who were innocent and non-combatants after or before the battle, whether committed by Indian sepoy or English soldiers, were heinous, unjustified, and are severely to be condemned. Those who ordered them, supported them, connived at them or carried them out were equally guilty, whether they were punished or praised.

English writers give a number of causes for this conflict without separating the two currents mentioned above. The cries of greased cartridges or of religion and society in danger affected mostly the Sepoys in the British army. Dalhousie's annexations, unjust revenue settlements, confiscations of ināms, property and pensions, affected princely families and jāghirdārs. They saw great injustice done and brutality shown in forcibly trampling upon their sacred rights of succession and inherit-

ance, upon the honour and self-respect to which they were entitled, even after their defeat and deposition, under the treaties entered into and under the public law of the land. The Company, however, rode roughshod over all of them, and hence the resentment, the use of a new opportunity and the revolt for independence. There may have been also a general unsettling influence exercised by a foreign Christian government and a Christian missionary propaganda. In addition to this there was no identity of interests and outlook, and no question of natural loyalty between the rulers and the ruled. Nor was any as yet created owing to any great measures of welfare, or due to any lapse of time. The Company had destroyed not only the political map of India, but also the economic life of the people resulting in the loss of indigenous industries and crafts.

There was a feeling among the Marāthas at that time that a systematic attempt was being made to annex their kingdoms one after another on some pretext or another, and also to reduce the importance of their great families by confiscating their pensions and jāgīrs and refusing them employment in the army and administration because they had been the real opponents of the British rule, and loved independence and produced men of courage, character and culture.

The Rāṇi had nothing in common with the Sepoys either in aims or methods. She was surprised and unprepared when the Sepoys rose in Jhānsi on 1-6-1857, and massacred British officers and soldiers. She, on the contrary, helped the English with provisions for two or three days. She could not do it openly for fear of the Sepoys who would have killed her for helping the enemy. She helped in disposing of the dead, who were the victims of the mutineers. Mr. Martin, who was amongst those saved by her, wrote that the Rāṇi was not connected with the Mutiny at all.

When the mutineers left for Delhi, Jhānsi was left without any administration or authority. Consequently, the Rāṇi had to undertake the task of administration till the British authority was again restored. She also warned the British Commissioner at Saugor about the mutiny. Hence there was no disturbance at that place.

She carried on the administration well, and regularly informed the British Commissioner of what she was doing. It lasted from 7th June, 1857 to 20th March, 1858 in the name of the Company. Both the State flag and the British flag flew from the fort. She also protected the State from Bundēla attacks and defeated them. But the defeated General Nathe Khān took revenge by informing the British Commissioner falsely that the Rāṇi had joined the rebels, and thus poisoned the British mind. The dispatches which she sent of her administration and fights

were intercepted on the way, and never reached the British Commissioner. Her own accredited agent never went to the British authorities, but wrote false letters of having done so from the way.

The mind of the British being poisoned and being suspicious of her intentions and actions, they considered her to be a rebel leader. The massacre at Jhānsi was sufficient to inflame their minds. They also believed that the Rāṇi wanted her kingdom back and therefore must have joined the rebels. They unjustly connected her with the aims and methods of the Sepoys, for which she had no sympathy.

It was the confusing of issues, motives and methods by the British officers of the time that made the Rāṇi fall under their suspicion. Sir Hugh Rose came with 60,000 troops to conquer Jhānsi where there was only a friendly administration, and there were no rebellious or murderous Sepoys.

Why did the Rāṇi fight? We have seen that she was discontented at the loss of her son's legitimate hereditary rights to the principality of Jhānsi, at the subsequent treatment awarded to her and at the failure of her constitutional representation. She had however kept loyal, and helped the British when the Mutiny came, and in their absence carried on the administration on their behalf. But in spite of all this, she was falsely suspected of rebellion as the Rājā of Sātāra was of conspiracy, and was falsely charged with the guilt of the mutineers. She could not suffer this aspersion on her honour and innocence, and felt that her reputation was at stake. She remembered the gratitude of Chhatrasāl for the help rendered by Bāji Rāo I, and contrasted it with the ingratitude, bad faith and injustice of the Company. Therefore she felt that she must fight either to win, or to die for the sake of protecting her honour and her national heritage. To a woman of her nature there was no other honourable course open. Surrender she never could. It would have brought humiliation, disgrace and also failure. Success and honour did not lie that way.

Sir Hugh Rose wanted her to surrender eight of her best and nearest men and, amongst them, her father Moropant. They were to go to his camp unarmed and unconditionally. She refused this humiliating surrender, and avoided the possibility of treachery and danger to their lives. She chose the only alternative—the battlefield—where success or failure were both honourable, in spite of immensely superior forces, weapons and equipment of the enemy.

She fought three battles at three places with the British, the first at Jhānsi, the second at Kālpi, and the third at Gwālior. In all the three battles she was ultimately unsuccessful, and the reasons were evident. But her courage as a soldier, her organisation as a commander of her

forces, and her skill as a strategist, were remarkable for her age and experience.

The first battle of Jhānsi lasted from 23rd March to 3rd April 1858. The Rāṇi's army was small and inexperienced, her equipment old and insufficient. But her skill, organisation, courage and leadership, together with the forest, made her give the toughest resistance. In these straits she sought the help of Rāo Sāhēb Pēshwā who was encamped at Kālpi. It was a clever device, but Tantia Tope who came with the troops to help her was defeated by the superior British artillery, discipline and equipment. On the 12th day, the British entered the town, looted it, and massacred the people indiscriminately for seven days. The Rāṇi saw the inevitable defeat, and left the fort with a few followers on the 4th April at midnight, broke through the British besieging lines, evaded the pursuers, and on the 5th April escaped to Kālpi, a distance of 102 miles, in about twenty hours. It was a feat of marvellous skill and daring, not at all surpassed even by Shivaji's escape from the fort of Panhala through the lines of Siddi Johar in 1660, or from Agra at Aurangzēb's orders for imprisonment in 1666, looking to the vigilance, agility, equipment and immediate pursuit of the British. She had her son of about ten years at her back, and a few select and trusted servants and soldiers with her.

The second battle with the British was fought at Kunch and Kalpi. Rāo Sāhēb Pēshwā's army was undisciplined, unorganised, ill-equipped and ill-led. It had no modern artillery and weapons. The Rāṇi was not allowed to organise and to lead it. Her warnings were neglected. She, however, with 200 soldiers fought extremely well, and checked and disorganised the forces opposed to her, but ultimately she had to retire before the superior strength and discipline of the British army. The battle of Kalpi lasted for eight days from the 16th May to 24th May. Rāo Sāhēb was unfit to command and had no resourceful mind.

While the Pēshwā and his army were in a state of despair, it was the Rāṇi's resourceful mind which suggested the march on Gwālīor, and the plan of fighting with the resources of the Gwālīor state, army and fort. It was a clever piece of advice which alone showed the way out. Jayāji Shinde and his Diwān Dinkar Rāo Rājwade, who were pro-British, would not agree with Rāo Sāhēb's request to join them. Shinde, on the contrary, attacked their forces at Morar, but was defeated by the bravery of the Rāṇi and Tantia Tope on 1-6-1858. Jayāji and Rājwade fled to Agra for shelter with the British. Rāo Sāhēb, instead of organising and disciplining his and Shindia's forces, spent the time in establishing the Pēshwā's throne at Gwālīor (30th June), holding dar-bārs, making gifts, and having feasts and festivals, with thorough indifference to the needs of war. The Pēshwā's heirs had become too

incompetent to lead and to organise. They neglected their duty, and, though warned by the Rāṇi, the army remained indisciplined and unorganised, and strategic points unguarded.

Sir Hugh systematically prepared for every aspect of his warfare, so as to finally destroy the nascent power of the Pēshwā. He captured Morar and all the strategic points about Gwālior, while the Rāo Sāhēb was feasting himself. The Rāṇi saw that it was to be her last struggle and death.

The third battle at Gwālior lasted for two days, 17th and 18th June 1858. The Rāṇi fought and protected her side very bravely and well, but she was overwhelmed by superior forces and artillery, and was surrounded by the enemy; and Rāo Sāhēb could not help her. She performed great deeds of heroism, but was now helpless. She, however, did not lose courage, but decided to break through the enemies' forces, and to join the Pēshwā's forces. She bravely fought through them, and escaped with a few followers, but was pursued by a few English soldiers of Hussar cavalry. This escape is also one of the daring exploits of the Rāṇi. Her pursuers overtook her near a flowing rill over which her new horse refused to jump. One of them closed on her, and struck her from behind on the head. Her eye came out. Another gave a thrust on her chest. Even then she killed the soldier who had hit her. But then she began to collapse, gave directions for her cremation and for taking care of Dāmōdar Rāo, and died. She was immediately burnt by her faithful followers. In such a one's life there lived the highest aspirations of our country at that time. The English General remarked that the Rāṇi was the best and the bravest military leader of the rebels. Rāo Sāhēb and Tantia Toppe lost the battle of Gwālior. They had neither the generalship nor the following to give them any success.

Though her fate and historical logic went against her, the Rāṇi's fight and failure were both in the interests of the country. If the revolt had not taken place, the public law of India relating to States and people's rights could not have been recognised and established. Her failure was also in the interests of the development of political unity of the country, because at that time no Indian power was able to unite politically and to administer efficiently the country from one centre. If she had not fought, there would have been no Rāṇi, no Jhānsi, and no war of independence. The Rāṇi is the last of the heroines and her revolt is the last of the old political conflicts in India. In studying her career and interpreting her feelings, thoughts and deeds, history at once gives a stimulation to, and a satisfaction of, our intellectual and moral curiosity. It rises from the scientific process of collecting facts and understanding the forces of the time to the philosophic process of studying the moral values and ideals of a people.

The Origin of Chandragupta Maurya

By

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A CRITICAL and comparative study of all the available traditions from different sources will throw new light on the obscurity and vagueness that still surround the origin and early history of one of the greatest rulers that India has seen. These sources, as is well known, are Greek, Sanskrit, Buddhist, and Jain ; but the relevant contents of each of these sources have not been subjected to a thorough examination so as to ascertain the extent and measure of their agreement, on the basis of which final historical conclusion may be framed.

We may begin with the Greek and Roman sources and relevant extracts from these, which are given below :

(1) *From Curtius* : Porus informed Alexander " that the present king (i.e. the Nanda king who was supplanted by Chandragupta Maurya) was not merely a man originally of *no distinction*, but even of the very *meanest condition*. His father was in fact a barber " who became the Queen's paramour and treacherously murdered the king. " Then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, he usurped the supreme authority, and, having put the young princes to death, begot the present king who was detested and *held cheap* by his subjects."

(2) *From Diodorus* : Porus informed Alexander " that the King of the Gangaridai was a man of quite worthless character and held in no respect, as he was thought to be the son of a barber."

(3) *From Plutarch* : " Androkottos (i.e. Chandragupta) himself, who was then but a youth, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander could easily have taken possession of the whole country (of the Gangaridai and the Prasii under the Nanda king), since the king was hated and despised by his subjects for the wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin."

(4) *From Justin* (writing in the 2nd century A.D. on the basis of a Greek work of 1st century B.C.): " India, after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus (Chandragupta) was the leader who

* The author uses *ch* for *c* in this article. There are some other differences also.

achieved their freedom. . . . He was born in humble life but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen. . . . By his insolent behaviour he had offended Nandrus¹ and was ordered to be put to death when he sought safety by a speedy flight."

These extracts from the classical writers show that, according to the Indian tradition recorded by them on the basis of the reports of the Greeks who had been with Alexander in his campaigns in the Panjāb, the then reigning Nanda king was a man of base origin, being the son of a barber or a Sudra. They also show that no such disreputable origin can be alleged against Chandragupta. Plutarch makes Chandragupta himself report to Alexander that the Nanda king was hated by his own people for "the meanness of his origin." It, therefore, stands to reason that one who was making political capital out of the base origin of his enemy and rival could not himself be base-born. Justin no doubt records that Chandragupta "was born in humble life". But this in the context only points to his *lowly* and not *low* origin. Justin's statement amounts only to this that Chandragupta was not a prince but a commoner who was only 'aspiring after royalty'. But he was not even remotely of any royal blood, and had no sort of claim to be a successor of the Nanda king by any kind of blood-relationship, remote or illegitimate. He could only oust him by force and war, as he did. He already had apprized Alexander (apparently from his personal knowledge) of the rottenness of Nanda's empire, and the ease of its conquest when it lacked the best defence, the support of its people who clearly hated this king as a usurper of low origin and a correspondingly low character. But the facts on which Alexander could not act on account of the mutiny of his own following, Chandragupta acted most effectively. He fully exploited the unpopularity of the Nanda king by overthrowing his sovereignty at once. Thus a man who was counting for his support on the moral opinion of a community, outraged by the disreputable origin of its ruler, must have a clean record of lineage for himself.

Who then started first this bogey of a base origin for Chandragupta Maurya? It was started by a commentator of the Purāṇas, and his comment was perhaps seized on by the author of the much later work *Mudrārākshasa* in making certain allusions to Chandragupta which are reasonably interpreted to be not very complimentary to his lineage. But these interpretations deserve scrutiny, and it will be found that they are not quite sustainable, so that the *Mudrārākshasa* may be absolved from the charge of giving publicity to a piece of false calumny against

1. "Nandrum has been here substituted for the common reading *Alexandrum* which Gutschmid has shown to be an error." (McCrindle, p. 327 of his *Invasion of India by Alexander*).

Chandragupta. In that case, the commentator on the *Purāṇas* remains as the sole calumniator of Chandragupta.

But even this commentator has left a way of escape from this charge. His sole comment on the passage of the *Purāṇa* concerned is : 'Chandraguptam Nandasyaiva patyantaram Murā samjñāsyā putram Mauryānām prathamam' ; "Chandragupta is himself a son of Nanda by his other wife named *Murā*, and is the first of the *Mauryas*." But this passage by itself says nothing about any degraded origin of Chandragupta, or the caste of his mother. Perhaps the commentator was more anxious to comment on the origin of the term *Maurya* than for any historical truth. He thinks he can derive the term from *Murā*, not suspecting that even there he is not on safe grammatical ground. Strict grammar would yield from *Murā*, the term *Maurēya* as the offspring of *Murā*, and not *Maurya*. Thus the *Purāṇa* commentator was innocent of both grammar and libel against Chandragupta. But a commentator has a commentator. Dhunḍirāja, writing in the eighteenth century in the *Upōdghāta* of his commentary on the *Mudrārākshasa*, represents Sarvārthasiddhi as the father of Nanda by his wife Sunanda, and of another son called *Maurya* by his junior wife *Murā* who at last is described by him as a *Vṛṣhalātmaajā*, the daughter of a *Vṛshala* or *Sūdra* woman. Thus the story of Chandragupta's base origin was again revived.

We must now leave the commentators to themselves and turn to the texts themselves, the *Purāṇa* and the *Mudrārākshasa*, for the truth of the matter and recover trustworthy history at its source uncontaminated by later interested interpretations.

The *Purāṇas* are more concerned with the origin of the Nanda than that of Chandragupta. They are very much concerned at the end of the Kshatriya rule in India, and the inauguration of the *Sūdra* rule under the 'infamous' (*adharmikah*) Nandas. The literal translation of the passage concerned is as follows : "As son of Mahānandin (last of the previous Śiśunāga dynasty of Magadha) by a *Sūdra* woman will be born a king (or 'born as a portion of Kali' or 'enveloped by fate') Mahāpadma Nanda, who will exterminate all Kshatriyas. Thereafter, kings will be of *Sūdra* origin. . . . He will uproot all Kshatriyas. . . .

"A Brāhmaṇa Kauṭilya will uproot them all ; and, after they have enjoyed the earth for 100 years, it will pass to the Mauryas.

"Kauṭilya will anoint Chandragupta as King in the realm (*rājyē* 'bhishēkshayati')."

This text of the *Purāṇas* tells its own tale in no uncertain terms. Two propositions it clearly establishes : (1) that the Nanda kings were

of base origin, and inaugurated illegitimate and unrighteous Śūdra rule against the *Śāstras* ; (2) that it remained for a militant Brāhman like the redoubtable Kauṭilya to rid the country of its Śūdra usurpation and restore it to the lawful rule of the Kshatriyas ; and (3) after the Śūdra rule was "uprooted", Kauṭilya's choice fell on Chandragupta whom, as a true-born Kshatriya, he formally consecrated to sovereignty by performing the ceremony of *abhishēka* prescribed for the purpose. How can there be any suggestion in such a context that Chandragupta was himself a base-born Śūdra ?

The true meanings and implications of the Purāṇa text are rendered more explicit by Kauṭilya himself in his *Arthaśāstra*. There it is stated how "the Arthaśāstra has been compiled by one who forcibly (*amarshēna*) and quickly (*āśu*) achieved the liberation, from the grip of the Nanda kings, of the mother country, with its culture and learning (*śāstra*) and its military science and arts (*śāstra*)." This emphasizes that Kauṭilya as a Brāhman considered it to be his moral obligation to take steps to put an end, as soon as possible, and even by violent means, to the unlawful rule of Śūdra kings who are not competent custodians of either the spiritual and cultural, or even the military, interests of the country. The social order for which Kauṭilya stands is the *Varṇāśrama-dharma* which rules out royalty for the Śūdra and reserves it to the Kshatriya, whose prescribed professions are military (*śāstra-jīva*) and administrative (*bhūtarakṣaṇam*). The Kshatriya king is to function as the *daṇḍa* or the Executive to uphold and enforce this *dharma* as the ultimate sovereign. It is thus quite absurd to suppose that Kauṭilya, who was out to enforce and restore such a system, could possibly have chosen as the instrument of such a restoration one who would himself be inherently disqualified for it. He could not consecrate to sovereignty one Śūdra in place of another. His mission in life was the restoration of the country to lawful Kshatriya rule in place of Śūdra usurpation. Nay, the choice of Chandragupta by Chāṇakya for sovereignty is itself the best proof of Chandragupta being a true-born Kshatriya.

We shall now deal with the traditions as recorded in the *Mudrārākṣasa*. These are usually interpreted so as to support the theory that Chandragupta was a man of base origin. The theory rests on the meaning of the epithet *Vṛishala* which has been applied in several places in the drama to Chandragupta. This term is taken to mean 'the son of a Śūdra'. But this is not the only meaning which the term can bear. It may bear another and a completely complimentary meaning which will depend on the context. It will appear that the term *Vṛishala* in most cases is used in the drama by Chāṇakya as teacher for Chandra-

gupta as a pupil as more like a term of endearment or a personal name. The complimentary sense of the term is also pointed out definitely in the drama in a passage (III, 18) which deliberately explains the term *Vṛishala* as the *Vṛisha* among kings, i.e., 'the best of kings.' It is used as a term of contempt against Chandragupta only by his declared enemies (as in VI, 6), and that by way of a pun on his personal name or nickname *Vṛishala*. Besides, this term *Vṛishala*, for which the sense of opprobrium is thus not established, there is the epithet *kula-hīna* applied to Chandragupta (in II, 17), and this epithet is supposed to point without doubt to Chandragupta's 'low lineage'. But the context of the passage rather shows that the epithet should mean *lowly* and not *low* or degraded lineage, and does not cast aspersions on his pedigree at all. It practically indicates what Justin has stated, viz., 'that he was born in humble life'. The fact is Chandragupta is described by his enemies as a *kula-hīna* in contrast with the Nandas who are described as *prathita kulajāh*, 'of illustrious lineage'. In another place the epithet '*uchchhairavijanam*' (VI, 6), 'of high birth', is applied to the Nandas. The point of his enemies against Chandragupta is that he is an upstart, of a family unknown to name and fame (*aprathita*), who has no trace of royal or aristocratic blood in him, and as such unworthy of the throne. Thus, while the Purāṇas condemn the Nandas as a race of base-born Śūdra kings, the author of the *Mudrārākshasa* builds on a totally different basis and invents for the Nandas a proud pedigree, leaving all the odium of a degraded origin to the person whom Kauṭilya sets up for the throne against the Nandas. But dramatic partisanship should not count as history, nor should a late play like the *Mudrārākshasa* prevail against the Purāṇas as a historical source.

It may also be noted that the attitude of the drama towards Chandragupta is not always consistent or constant. Sometimes, it is anxious to describe him as a scion of the Nandas, a *Nandānwaya*, while Rākshasa, the faithful follower and minister of Nanda, describes himself as Chandragupta's *pitrīparyāyagata*, i.e., as the hereditary minister of his family, and refers to Chandragupta as his *svāmi-putra*, his master's son. Here also the drama departs from the tradition of the Purāṇas which do not connect Chandragupta by any kind of blood-relationship with the Nandas.

In this connection, another point of divergence between the two traditions may be noted. While the Purāṇas know of 9 Nandas, the *Mudrārākshasa* introduces another Nanda in the person of Sarvārtha-siddhi whom it calls a *Nandavamśīya* and whom Rākshasa places on the throne after the death of Nanda, so that the enemy whom Chandragupta and Chāṇakya have to fight is not the Nanda king proper, but one of his relations. The drama in fact opens with the statement of

Chāṇakya that he has already accomplished the destruction of the Nanda family, "exterminated the nine Nandas from the earth, and rooted out the stem of Nanda (Nandam mayā sāvayam . . . simhāsanāt patitam samutkhāta Nandā navā . . . bhuvah). But he fears that he cannot consider his work to be finished so long as there still survives a single offshoot of the Nanda family" (*kasmimśchidapi jīvati Nandānvayāvayavē*), and so in that view he did not refrain from accomplishing the murder of Sarvārthaskidhi, then living in the forest as hermit, because he was the last surviving 'shoot of Nanda's stem'.

Now, as regards the parentage of Chandragupta, though Sanskrit tradition is silent, Buddhist tradition gives definite details. It represents Chandragupta as a scion of the Kshatriya clan of *Moriyas*, a branch of the illustrious Sākya, of whom was born the Great Buddha. His father was the chief of the tribe, and was killed in a battle by a border chief. His helpless widow then escaped to Pushpapura (Kusuma-pura or Pāṭaliputra) where she gave birth to Chandragupta. The orphan was then removed to a cow-pen by a cowherd who brought him up there and sold him to a hunter by whom he was employed to tend cattle. At the village common, the boy Chandragupta used to play at kingship (*rāja-kṛīḍa*) with his comrades, administering justice in a mock court got up for the purpose. This sport was noticed by Chāṇakya, a native of Taxila (*Takshāśilānagara-vāsi*), who had been to Pāṭaliputra and the court of Dhana Nanda, but was coming away from there in revengeful rage at the insult offered to him by the king. Chāṇakya detected in that obscure boy signs of royalty, and chose him as his instrument for the accomplishment of his designs against King Nanda (see Turnour's *Mahawanso*, p. x). It is stated that he bought the boy of his foster-father for 1,000 *Karshapaṇas*, and gave him education, specially military education, for 7 or 8 years, at Taxila, its chief centre in those days.

Buddhist tradition is also not troubled to discover the derivation of the term *Maurya*. It uses the term *Moriya* for *Maurya* and derives it from *Mora*, *Mayūra*, i.e., peacock. The story is that the Sākya, who had separated from the main body when it was invaded by the Kōsala King Vidudhabha, settled down in a Himalayan region which was resounding with the cries of peacocks, whence they were called *Moriyas*. Another version of the story derives the term *Moriya* from the city called *Moriya-nagara* because it was built with 'bricks coloured like peacocks' neck'. The people who built the city were called *Moriyas*. It may be noted that a tribe of the name of *Morieis* is also mentioned by the Greek writers on Alexander's campaigns.

The connection of the *Moriyas* or *Mauryas* with the peacock is attested by interesting monumental evidence. One of the pillars of

Aśoka shows at its foundation the figure of a peacock, while the sculptures on the great Sanchi Stūpa depict the peacock at three places. Both Foucher and Sir John Marshall agree with Grunwedel that this representation of the peacock was due to the fact that the peacock was the dynastic symbol of the Mauryas.

Now to sum up : The Greek accounts agree with the Purāṇas in ascribing a low origin not to Chandragupta, but to the Nanda king. They describe the last Nanda as the son of a barber, while the Purāṇas describe the Nandas as Śūdras. But while the Purāṇas trace their base origin to their Śūdra mother, the Greek accounts trace it to their Śūdra father, a handsome barber with whom the Queen of Nanda fell in love and intrigued to get her husband out of the way through murder. The *Mudrārākshasa*, however, turns the tables and fastens the infamy of base origin on Chandragupta, and proclaims a noble lineage for the Nandas. The *Mudrārākshasa* also suggests a Nanda origin for Chandragupta, but, if we may believe in Plutarch, he cannot have any such connection when he himself proclaims Nanda's 'meanness of birth', because it would be proclaiming his own ancestral 'meanness' which would also be *his* with vengeance. The Purāṇas confirm Plutarch in treating Chandragupta as the founder of a new dynasty whom the Brāhman Kauṭilya anointed to sovereignty as a fit and proper person to replace Śūdra rule by Kshatriya rule. Lastly, Buddhist tradition gives details to show that Chandragupta was definitely a Kshatriya and was born as a prince, though by the malice of fate he had to work his way up from the humblest of conditions. It was literally a rise from the log cabin to royalty.

The True Inwardness of the Hindu concept of the State

By

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It is one of the shibboleths of modern western historical criticism, especially in its adventures in the eastern hemisphere, to inveigh against what it is pleased to call the theocratic conception of the State, and to insist upon the thorough dissociation of religion from politics and of politics from religion. But, though it is true that the confusion of the boundaries of politics and religion characterised primitive communities, and the demarcation of such boundaries went along with progress in civilisation, yet it is not wise to dissociate them altogether, if the highest purposes of human existence are to be achieved. It seems to me that India, in her periods of self-affirmation, preserved the golden mean between too much spiritualisation and too much secularisation, and that her special political ideas and institutions were due to this basic fact.

Europe and America have become thoroughly industrialised, and it was this fact that really led to a modification of the old concept of the State in the west. The industrial revolution brought the middle classes into power, and these are, in their turn, being superseded by the proletariat. The new gospel was and is the increase of power and production, and not the increase of harmony and happiness. England led the way in industrialisation and democracy. She, however, moved toward parliamentary democracy by easy and constitutional methods, by her unique way of counting heads instead of breaking them. France, on the other hand, preferred to break heads. In England the movement towards individualism was strong for a time, and then gave place to a movement towards collectivism in the form of socialism. Such was the swing of political thought in the nineteenth century. The newest roads to freedom, to use Bertand Russell's phrase, are being made in Russia, Italy and Germany, whatever be their fitness for the onward journey of the spirit of man.

Thus in the twentieth century we have been witnessing the slow supersession of Democracy by Dictatorship. The Fascist ideal of a totalitarian and co-operative State aims at making the State a centre of all the living economic and social forces of the national life, and to abolish the party system in the political sphere and the clash of capital and labour in the economic sphere. On the other hand, the communist ideal is not a question of administration, but a question of revolution. Com-

munism has got a frank contempt for parliamentary democracy, and aims at the destruction of private ownership and at the collective control and ownership of the means of production.

Let us, therefore, not fail to bear in mind that Europe and America have not at all attained the summit of human wisdom in regard to political institutions. They are themselves groping in the dark, and are being buffeted and pulled and pushed by blind and titanic economic forces. We in India should prove all things and hold fast to that which is good. We must refuse to be bound to the chariot-wheels of England. We must know our own nature (*srabhāra*), and evolve in the manner which will best express it and help our uplift and the uplift of the world as well.

We can never understand aright the true inwardness of the Hindu concept of the State if we do not properly assess the true inwardness of the Hindu character. Sir Edwin Arnold has rightly observed in his *India Revisited* that "for all that strong survival of caste, the Hindus are a democratic and easy-going people." The Hindu does not worship wealth as the be-all and end-all of life. He has always loved the gospel of mercy, and is generally refined in his tastes, and religious in his nature. At the same time, the caste system, while securing unity within the caste and functional organization as well as individual and communal purity, and while helping to evolve a non-competitive organisation of society on the basis of apportioned services and regulated duties, has undoubtedly contributed towards an absence of national unity and cohesion. The Hindu has further exhibited, in some measure, a static temperament which has contributed towards his subjection to the tyranny of custom, though it is true at the same time that he has exhibited dynamic qualities as well. The 'unchanging East' is a fiction of the Western historians, though it is true that India's motto has always been *Festina lente*.

It is noteworthy that almost all the diverse theories that have been propounded in the West regarding the origin of the state and of sovereignty have had their counterparts in India from very remote times. It is wrong to suppose from the theory of the divinity of kings that the theory of divine right of kings had any special importance or extended vogue.¹ The social contract theory was well known, and it was clearly asserted that the will of the people was the source of sovereignty and the ultimate and omnipotent sanction in the community. The *Saptāṅga*

1. Verses 303-10 in chapter IX of Manu's Code show that the famous theory that the king has within him the *amśa* of the eight *lōkapālas* implies that he must have shown their qualities. (तेजोबुद्धिं नृपश्चरेत्)

conception has a more than remote resemblance to the modern organisational conception of the State, and shows the prevalence of a psychic concept of the State. In fact, just as in the realm of aesthetics and metaphysics, so in the realm of politics as well, India has shown surprising fecundity of mind and activity of practical effort.

Even in the Ṛg-Vēda we find India in a mood of political experimentation and in a state of political ferment. We find the monarchy co-existing with the popular assembly which exercised effective control over the royal power. In the last hymn of the last maṇḍala of the Ṛg-Vēda we find a prayer for concord along with free discussion in the Assembly. It says : " Assemble ; speak together ; let your mind be of one accord." In the Atharva-Vēda (VII, 12, 1) we find the prayer : " let both Sabhā and Samiti, the two daughters of Prajāpati, be accordant and favour me." Some States were republics, while in some other States there was elective kingship ; but the norm was hereditary kingship. In course of time, the Hindus rose to the conception of a united India under a single ruler (*Sāmrājya*, *Pāramēṣṭhya*, *Adhirāja*, *Ādhipatyā*, etc.). The *Aśvamēdha* and *Rājasūya* sacrifices were to be performed only by such suzerain kings. But all through India's history, there was the dominant concept of Dharma being the king of kings. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, for example, says : " Dharma is the kshatra of the Kshatra. Therefore, there is nothing higher than Dharma." Nor must it be forgotten that, through all the vicissitudes of India's history, the autonomy of the villages was kept intact. They were ruled by the village Panchayat or Council of Elders, which looked after all the affairs of the village. There were also important urban assemblies including guild assemblies. The urban assemblies were known as *Pauras*, and the rural assemblies as *Janapadas*. About these Mr. K. P. Jayaswal says well : " We had an organism or a twin organism, the *Paura-Jānapada*, which could depose the king, who nominated the successor to the throne, whose kindly feelings towards a member of the royal family indicated his chance of succession, whose president was apprized by the king of the policy of the State decided upon in the council of ministers, who were approached and begged by the king in all humility for a new tax, whose confidence in a minister was regarded as an essential for his appointment as Chancellor, who were consulted and referred to with profound respect by a king aspiring to introduce a new religion, who demanded and got industrial commercial and financial privileges for the country, whose wrath meant ruin to provincial governors, who were coaxed and flattered in public proclamations, who could enact statutes even hostile to the king, in fine, who could make possible or impossible the administration of the king. An organism with these constitutional attributes was an institution which we will be

justified in calling the Hindu Diet. The Paura-Jānapada were a powerful check on royal authority." The king had further to act always with the approval of the council of ministers (*Mantri-parishad*), whose number varied from eight to thirty-two, and upon the advice of the eighteen heads of departments (*tīrthas*). Further, the subdivision of sovereignty into its legislative and executive and judicial aspects was known well enough. Nay, it was recognised better than in these days that the State had to provide protection and education and work for all.²

We must note further that the seed of Indian federalism was sown long ago. We must not import into the ancient Indian federal concept the elements of modern federalism such as written constitution, a clear demarcation and delimitation of spheres of power, etc. But we certainly find therein the vital element of federalism, viz., a combination of central strength and provincial autonomy. Professor Sidgwick says in his well-known work on *The Development of the European Polity* that the federal type of government provides the maximum of liberty compatible with order. All attempts which were made in India in the direction of the over-lordship of India kept in mind this combination of central strength and provincial autonomy.

Another important feature of our social and economic and political life in ancient India was the generally active spirit of co-operation. *Gaṇa* typified an economic corporation, and *jāti* typified a social corporation. Though such a spirit of co-operation was not prevalent on a nation-wide scale, and hence the door was open to successful foreign invasions, yet the spirit was there, and was active in diverse ways. The various groups had settled functions in the body politic, and were inter-dependent, and worked in a spirit of harmony. As the entire fabric of life was based on the concept of Duty rather than on the concept of Right, the chances of social friction were slender and remote. Some guilds were very rich and prosperous, and it is said that the guild at Dāsapura³ built a magnificent temple to the Sun in 436 A.D.

Historical evidences like the Uttaramallūr⁴ inscription show how the Hindu polity was broad-based upon a well-designed democratic

2. Kālidāsa says in a famous stanza in Canto I of his *Raghuvamśa* :

प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्रक्षणा नृणादपि ।

स पिता पितरस्तेषां केवलं जन्म हेतवः ॥

3. Mandaśor in Malwa (Sindia's Dominion). (It may be pointed out that, according to some, this was Kālidāsa's birth-place.—Ed.)

4. Madras Ep. Rep. 1899, pp. 24 ff ; V. Rangacharya's *Topographical List of Inscriptions*, I, p. 390, pg. 589.

basis. Each village was managed by a village council which had a small number of committees, such as the judicial committee, the charitable and religious institutions committee, the irrigation committee, etc. The Uttaramallur inscriptions show that that village consisted of twelve hamlets and thirty wards. Each ward sent up a list of the names of the men who were fit for election to the village assembly. The tickets containing the names were placed in a pot, and one ticket was taken out for each ward. Only those who had property qualifications or educational qualifications were eligible for such election. It was laid down that the men who had one-fourth *Vēli* of land or a house, and those who were learned in the sacred books, were the only persons who could stand for election. A very wholesome rule which is worth copying even to-day is that no one who was below thirty-five years of age or above seventy years of age was eligible for election. If an elected member was guilty of malversation or other misdemeanour, his near relatives could stand for election.

It must be remembered also that India's genius has always been a rural genius, and that the supersession of agriculture by industry, and of the rural economy by the urban economy, will never strike root in the Indian soil. The West is paying to-day a heavy penalty for its violation of the rural basis of life and for its ever-increasing urbanisation and mechanisation of life. Class-war and unemployment on an ever-increasing scale are becoming the normal feature of life in the so-called civilised countries of Europe and America. India should not go along the same road in a mad gallop, and meet a similar dire destiny. Though it is not possible to go here into all the elements of the Hindu concept of the State, I must mention a few other aspects here. The Hindu State was a civil polity, and not a military polity. Militarism which is such a dominant feature to-day was not then predominant at all. Nor was war then a clash of armed peoples. It was a clash of the military castes alone, the bulk of the people following their peaceful and vital avocations. The crown of conquered countries was always given back to the dethroned king. The overlordship of the victor never overthrew the autonomy of the vanquished land.

It must be remembered also that the people had always the potent right of the removal of kings who acted against Dharma. Professor Sidgwick says: "A moral right of insurrection, as an ultimate resource against misgovernment, must be admitted in a democratic community, no less than under other forms of government." The right of removal of a bad king flows naturally from the view that the ultimate seat of political authority is the people. The famous declaration of Virginia "that when a government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalien-

able and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal," was familiar to Indian thought from very ancient times.

Though the *Artha-śāstra* has achieved well-deserved fame as a great book on Hindu polity, it is but one of the many works revealing the Hindu concept of the State. All the works on Hindu polity show the error of the once-contemptuously propounded theory that the ancient Hindu empires were only tax-gathering empires. In fact, taxation was light and mild and well regulated, and went along with the proper spending of the taxes for the public weal. Kālidāsa says in his *Raghuvamśa* :

प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं सतेभ्यो बलिमग्रहीत् ।
सहस्रगुण मुत्सृष्टु मादत्ते हि रसं रविः ॥

The *Artha-śāstra* shows that Chandragupta's empire was not only a warlike State, but was also progressive in every way. Irrigation was well attended to. Proper attention was paid to the methods of cultivation and the improvement of livestock. There were excellent roads and waterways. Production, distribution and consumption were well-organized and properly inter-related. Education, sanitation, and medical aid were in a proper and flourishing state. A register of births and deaths was kept, and there was also a periodical census. All these facts show the progressive and enlightened character of the Hindu concept of the State.

Thus, the great advantage which is enjoyed by India to-day is that the constitution-making going on to-day and partially accomplished by the recent Constitution Act is not really a transplantation of political institutions from Britain in an alien soil, but only a broadening and deepening of the pre-existing political ideals of the people, and an expression of the same through western political institutions suitably adapted to the genius of India. I do not mean to say that Britain is proceeding consciously in such a direction. But the stress of events, as guided by Providence, tends in that direction. Rural economy will undoubtedly persist in India, and Indian urbanisation and industrialisation will eventually turn away from the slum life of western cities. The democratic sense of the people will express itself successfully through the caste system which is only a means of social co-operation, and even in spite of the caste system if the latter does not lead to social co-operation, India will not allow the laws of Man to abrogate or injure the laws of God (Dharma). Thus the bad theocracy, which means blind obedience to unworthy claimants of divine authority, and "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," will go ; but the good theocracy, which keeps the vital laws of God-revealed Dharma intact, will never go.

More than anything else, it is important to remember that the federal ideal is bred in the bones of the people. India has been straining her energies towards it. The new Constitution Act of India is but a fruit deriving its vital life from such a root. Professor Sidgwick has said well that the new political aggregate will be formed on the basis of a federal polity. He points out that a federal union enables its members to enjoy most of the military and economic advantages of large States, with the minimum sacrifice of local independence and individual freedom. He says also that the inconveniences of a federal state are, chiefly, the weakness of internal cohesion and the diversity of localised legislation. We have to avoid the dangers of federalism, and maximise its good effects. In this respect our past experiences, inclusive of achievements and failures, will be of great use to us to-day. The Hindu concept of the State is as useful to-day as it ever was before, in building up a united and regenerated India

Al Ghazali

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PERSIA, in the second half of the 11th Century, was under the sway of the Seljuks and this was comparatively an era of peace and prosperity. The Seljuki kings were great patrons of art and learning, and so we find many eminent men of letters flourishing in that period. Though outwardly it was all quiet, inwardly a great intellectual unrest was disturbing man's peace of mind. The world of Islām at that time, and as a matter of fact for many centuries previously, was not that world of satisfaction when no doubt ever existed in the minds of the followers of the Prophet as regards the interpretation of the Holy Word of God. To them everything was explained by the Prophet himself, and the Arabs paid no attention to the philosophy of their religion. But as time passed on, the people came in contact with foreign culture and foreign ideas, and they had the wealth of the intellect made available to them through translations. At the time of Māmū Rashīd, an academy was established which brought the wisdom of Greece and Egypt to the doors of the Arabs. The result of this was an increasing tendency on the part of the philosophers to interpret the Qurān in terms of Greek philosophy. We may call them by the name of pro-Greek philosophers. As there was no correct Arabic or Persian version of Plato and Aristotle, these interpretations also fell short of Greek ideas. As the Muslims of this school of thought were not critical students of the Greek philosophy, and were merely imitators, they made many serious mistakes. They thought the *Ænid* of Plotinus to be the work of Aristotle and called it the Theology of Aristotle. In this way they wanted to bridge the gulf between Aristotle and Plato—an impossible task. What can be the fate of the culture, as far as philosophical studies are concerned, that depends on the expounding of such people? Islām was getting away from its true picture, and was being submerged into Aristotelianism and Platonism. It was time that some one should arise and purge Islām of all foreign influence. Fortunately there appeared a sect of Ashairā, and sometime later a person, who may be called one of the greatest philosophers of Islām. His name was Abu Hamīd Mohd. Ghazālī. He was born in 1058 in a village in Tus. It is very often said, especially by European critics, that Ghazali tolled the knell of Philosophy in Islām. But this is a mistaken idea. As a matter of fact, pro-Greek philosophers in the real sense of the word gave the world

no new system of thought. They did not put forth any valuable criticism of Plato and Aristotle. To them these two persons were almost infallible. They would have even called them prophets. But Ghazali was a man of a different type. He would not take anything for granted unless there was some valid reason for accepting it. He clearly saw that the pro-Greek philosophers were leading the world astray, and had a false sense of security. In order to demolish their so-called citadel he had himself to study philosophy first, and when he became quite efficient in that, he pointed out the mistakes of these people. Anybody who carefully studies his arguments will find that he has done full justice to the subject. The people call it a destructive criticism. But he destroyed so that a new edifice might be built in place of an ugly and inadequate one; and he succeeded in his mission. The thinkers that followed him in Islām have given us some beautiful original ideas. For details the reader may consult the "Development of Metaphysics in Persia" by Sir Mahomed Iqbal and other books on the subject.

It is said that Descartes was the founder of the 'Method of Doubt'. But many centuries before him Ghazālī had to face the same problems. How to arrive at the certainty of human knowledge was a problem which agitated his mind from the very beginning. He knew that he got his knowledge by means of senses. Could he rely on the testimony of his eyes, ears, nose, etc. ? "It seemed to me", he says, "that certain knowledge is that which uncovers the thing known in such a way that there does not remain with it any doubt nor accompany it the possibility of error or illusion, nor can the mind conceive such.....so I examined all the things which I knew and found that I had no knowledge which could be described in this way, except sense perceptions and necessary intuitive knowledge.....so I must test these first.....so I turned zealously to consider the objects of sense and necessary knowledge and to try whether I could bring myself to doubt them. And doubt reached the point with me, that I could not permit myself to extend trust even to the objects of the senses. I said to myself :—How can you be sure of the object of sense while the strongest of the senses is vision and it looks at a shadow and sees the shadow standing unmoved and judges that there is no motion.....In such cases senses decide in one way but reason in another.....so I said, my trust in the object of the senses, too, is gone, perhaps there can be no trust save in those intellectual results which are axiomatic as our saying that negation and affirmation cannot exist together in one thing. But the objects of senses said, "What assurance have you that your trust in conclusions of reason is not like your trust in the object of the senses. You used to trust in me, then came the test of reason and gave me the lie..... Then perhaps behind the perceptions of the reason there is another test : whenever it appears

reason will be given the lie by it..... That such a perception has not appeared does not prove its impossibility..... Do not you see that in sleep you believe in certain things and you imagine conditions and you believe that they have reality and in that state you do not doubt them? Then you wake up and you know that to all your imaginations and beliefs there was neither foundation for use. Then how are you sure that all which in your waking time you believe in, because of either sense or reason, is not fact simply in relationship to your then condition"? (Translated by Macdonald). This made him a sceptic, but unlike Greek sceptics he remained in this condition for a short time. He soon found a way out of this. Leaving aside the outward senses he found the true knowledge in the inner perception. He became a mystic and in this condition he was face to face with Truth. We are not here concerned with the fact whether or no his solution of the problem has any validity. At any rate, this gave him calmness and peace of mind.

It is very difficult to give an account of the various aspects of his thought in this short article, and so we confine our attention to his views on the nature of the soul, which will give the reader an idea of the sublime character of his thought. In his treatise called "*Hall-i-Masail-i-Ghamiza*" he discusses the nature of the human soul. He maintains that the soul is a spiritual substance incapable of division. In divisibility one part may be conscious, and the other part unconscious of the same object simultaneously, and this is impossible in the case of the soul. It is not spacial, because anything that occupies space *cannot be called indivisible*. The soul does not fill the body, and is at the same time not outside the body, because these terms can be applied only to the corporeal substances, and have no meaning in regard to the soul. Its relation to the body is that of an image to the mirror. Just as a piece of iron when polished is capable of receiving images, so the particles of inanimate matter, passing through the vegetative state, enter the human body and are converted into blood and are thus rendered fit for the reception of the soul at the proper time. In this way the body of an unborn child acts like a mirror. In existence it is not prior to the body to which it belongs. When the body is made, the soul comes into existence. Had the soul any prior existence, it would have been either one or many. The soul cannot be a unity, because after its connections with so many bodies it could neither retain its unity for fear of leading to a common cognition, nor become many, because it has no magnitude, and is consequently indivisible. Had there existed many souls prior to their connection with the bodies, they must be either differentiated or undifferentiated. The latter is impossible,

because it means unity. As regards the former state the souls will be either different in essence or different in accidents. The souls are not different from each other substantially.

In this way he develops the theory that the souls have no existence prior to the bodies. So we find that he comes very close to the evolutionists of modern times, who believe that in the process of evolution life appears somehow or other at some stage. Ghazālī differs from them in maintaining that the cause or the source of the whole process is God. Here he disagrees with the orthodox view that the souls were created prior to the bodies, and they affirmed the existence of the Creator. There is a tendency in modern Muslim theologians, especially those who have got Western training, to bring about a reconciliation between science and religion, and to interpret the Islāmic doctrines rationally. The same tendency is visible in Ghazālī at such an early date. Ghazālī tried to bring the Islāmic world to that cultural level, where the modern Muslim is desirous of seeing it. This was really a great service to Islāmic culture, and the Muslim world owes a deep debt of gratitude to him.

NOTE BY THE EDITORS

[*The author's interesting paper is a well-needed corrective to writers like Canon Sell. The latter observes that "it is acknowledged that he (Ghazālī) dealt a blow to philosophy from which in the East it has never recovered; that is, so far as the Muslim world is concerned. His course marks a reaction of the exclusively religious principle of Islām against philosophical speculation, which, in spite of all accommodation, never made itself orthodox." Ghazālī, who was born in Khurāsān in 1058 and who was a profound scholar, traveller and extensive writer, was at first a sceptic, then a Sūfi, and then a constructive defender of Islām in works like *Tendency of Philosophers*, *Destruction of the Philosophers*, etc. Ghazālī is credited with having withdrawn some of his views against philosophy in order to placate the orthodox; but the truth lies in the view taken by Dr. Rashid Ahmad.]

Marwar's Timely Services to Mewar

By

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THOUGH the magnanimity of the Mahārānās of Mewār has been widely known all over India, yet the timely help they received from the rulers and the nobility of Mārwar has remained obscure for want of relevant historical facts. Some evidence lending full support to the above statement is being furnished below :—

(1) In his old age Mahārānā Lakha cherished a keen desire to marry Hansabāi, the daughter of Rāo Chunda of Mārwar. At the time of the betrothal, however, her brother, Prince Ranmall (Rinmul of Tod), laid down the condition precedent to the marriage that, in case a son were born to his sister, he was to be declared the heir-apparent to the throne of Mewār even though he might be the youngest of all the sons of the Mahārānā. As Mahārānā Lakha was very keen on this marriage, his eldest son, Prince Chunda (Chonda of Tod), partly in concession to the wishes of his father, and partly in consideration of the remoteness of the possibility of the birth of a son to the Mahārānā in his old age, agreed to the condition.¹ Accordingly, on the death of Mahārānā Lakha,² between Samvats 1476 and 1478 (1419-1421 A.D.), Prince Chunda had to forego his right of succession ; and Mokal (Mokul of Tod), the son of Hansabāi, at the age of eleven, was installed on the throne of Mewār. But the activities of Chunda, who had been entrusted with the administration of the country, aroused Hansabāi's suspicions. So he had to leave Mewār, and to seek shelter with the Sultan of Māndu, a natural enemy of the Mewār house.

In this state of affairs, Hansabāi called in the assistance of her brother, Rāo Ranmall. For seven years he carried on the administration of Mewār, and then returned to Mandor, his ancestral capital, in V.S. 1484 (1427 A.D.).

1. For quite a different version of the motives and circumstances of the marriage see Tod's *Rājasthan*, 1899 Edn. I, pp. 290 ff.

2. Tod places this event in A.D. 1398.

(2) In V.S. 1490 (1433 A.D.), Chacha and Mera, the half-brothers of Mahārānā Lakha, as a part of their deep-laid plot,³ killed Mahārānā Mokāl, their nephew and besieged the famous fort of Chitōr. As at that time Kumbha, the eldest son of Mahārānā Mokāl, was only seven years of age, and no one among the nobility was forthcoming to avenge the death of their ruler or to rescue Chitōr, the situation grew very critical. Hansabāi, the grandmother of Mahārānā Kumbha, again looked up to her brother, Rāo Ranmall for help. On his arrival at Mewār, with a band of 500 Rathōrs, Chacha and Mera fled towards the hills of Paikotra. Rāo Ranmall gave chase to them, and, after six months' strenuous efforts, in the course of which he had once even to risk his life while procuring the help of the Bheels, he succeeded in avenging the death of Mokāl, and in suppressing the revolt. Only, Parmār Mahapa one of the ring-leaders, who escaped in disguise and reached Māndu, was helped by Rāo Chunda in getting refuge with the Sultan.

After this, Rāo Ranmall set right⁴ the machinery of the administration of Mewār, and attacked with success Sultan Mahmud of Māndu, for having sheltered Parmār Mahapa. Though Rāo Ranmall was treacherously murdered,⁵ in V.S. 1495 (1438 A.D.) by the conspirators led by Parmār Mahapa and Eka, the son of Chacha, yet the inscription dated

3. [Tod assigns this event to A.D. 1419]. "Though the murder of Mokāl is related to have no other cause than the sarcasm alluded to, the precautions taken by the young prince Kumbha ('Koombho'), his successor, would induce a belief that this was but the opening of a deep-laid conspiracy. The traitors returned to the stronghold near Madri, and Kumbha trusted to the friendship and good feeling of the prince of Marwar in this emergency. His confidence was well repaid." [*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, pp. 332.] [The sarcasm alluded to is described in Tod (1899), Vol. I p. 298.--Ed.]

4. [The bardic historians, says Tod, "do as much honour to the Marwar prince, who had made common cause with their sovereign in revenging the death of his father, as if it had involved the security of his crown. But this was a precautionary measure of the prince, who was induced thus to act from several motives, and above all, in accordance with usage, which stigmatises the refusal of aid when demanded." It will be seen that the author of the article takes a different view.—Ed.]

5. The historians of Mewar, being ashamed of this heinous crime, the treacherous murder of Rāo Ranmall, have tried their level best to conceal this unholy sin by accusing Rāo Ranmall of the idea of usurping the throne of Mewār. But they could not achieve success. Had Ranmall really such an idea, he would have neither allowed Mahārānā Mokāl nor Kumbha to grow in age and power as is evident from the history. This is also corroborated by the following lines of the 'Virvinod,' the official history of Mewār:—

"After the murder of Rāo Ranmall, Hansabai called her grandson Kumbha, and told him that, though Ranmall had killed his father's assassins Chacha and

V.S. 1496 (1439 A.D.) of Ranpur is an incontestible proof of the honesty and valour with which he discharged his duties as a regent.

In V.S. 1496 (1439 A.D.) Mahārānā Kumbha was only thirteen years of age,⁶ and therefore the credit for the conquests of Sarangpur (Malwa), Nāgpur, Gagraun, Narana (Jaipur), Ajmēr, Mandor, Mandalgarh, Bundī, Khatu, and Chatsu (Jaipur), mentioned in the above inscription, goes undoubtedly to the regent, Rāo Ranmall, who led the armies of Mewār against those districts.

(3-4) In V.S. 1577 (1520 A.D.), when Mahārānā Sanga went against Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarāt,⁷ and in V.S. 1584 (1527 A.D.), when he himself was attacked by Bābar,⁸ he received a substantial military help from Rāo Gānga of Mārwar.

(5) In V.S. 1624 (1567 A.D.), when Emperor Akbar attacked Chitōr, Mahārānā Pratāpsingh, along with his family, was obliged to retire among the mountains for shelter, and the charge of defending the fort against such a formidable enemy as Akbar was given to Rathōr Jaimal⁹ of Mārwar and Patta of Mewār. It is evident from the 'Akbar-nāmā' that, no sooner was Rathōr Jaimal killed, than the fort fell into the hands of the enemy.

(6) In V.S. 1748 (1691 A.D.) Amarsingh, the eldest son of Mahārānā Jayasingh, revolted against his father, and the Mahārānā, being unable to check this trouble from within, sought shelter with Rathōr

Mera, defeated the Mohmedans and raised the name of Mewar, yet he has also been murdered."

This shows that Rāo Ranmall never had any bad motive in helping Mewār, [See Tod (1899), I, p. 294 for the description of what he calls the ludicrous death of Ranmall.—Ed.]

6. According to the old chronicles, on the birth of Kanha in V.S. 1465 (1408 A.D.), Prince Ranmall, being asked by his father Rāo Chunda of Mārwar, abdicated his right to the gaḍi, and went towards Mewār. Soon after this, Mahārānā Lakha married his sister Hansabāi, the mother of Mokal born in V. S. 1466 (1409 A.D.). This proves that Mokal could neither have been more than 11 years of age when his father Mahārānā Lakha died in about V. S. 1477 (1420 A.D.), nor more than 24 years when he was murdered in V. S. 1490 (1433 A.D.). Further, in the same manner if we presume the birth of Mahārānā Kumbha to have been in V. S. 1483 (1426 A.D.), when his father was 17 years of age, he could neither have been more than 7 years of age when his father Mahārānā Mokal was murdered in V. S. 1490 (1433 A.D.), nor more than 13 years of age when the Ranpur inscription was engraved in V. S. 1496 (A.D. 1439).

7. Maharana Sanga pp. 79.

8. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 953.

9. राजपुतानेका इतिहास जिन्दर,

Gōpināth at Ghanera, and sent a request to the court of Mahārājā Ajitsingh of Marwar for help.

No sooner did Rāthōr Durgādās and other nobles of Mārwar arrive there, than the prince was obliged to make a compromise with his father, the Mahārānā.¹⁰

(7) In V S 1752 (1695 A.D.), Amarsingh again raised his head, but as the Mahārānā at once called Mahārājā Ajitsingh to marry his niece, the prince could not succeed¹¹ in his plans.

(8) In V.S. 1827 (1770 A.D.), Mahārājā Arisingh, threatened with the internal intrigues, sent an humble-worded petition to Mahārājā Vijayasingh of Mārwar for help, and presented him with the rich district of Godwad which is a part of Mārwar to this day.

M.M. G. S. Ojha, in his 'History of Rajaputana,'¹² writes that the Mahārānā addressed a letter to Vijayasingh, the Rājā of Jodhpur, in which he asked him to keep a cavalry force, 300 strong, at Nathadwāra for suppressing Ratnasingh, and in return allowed him to take the income of Godwad for the maintenance of the garrison so long as it was stationed there. But at the same time he pointed out that the nobles of the district would remain under the direct control of the Mahārānā.

How far this version is correct will be seen from the letter reproduced below :—

Transliteration

Obverse

१. श्रीमाहाराज वीजेशिग्रजीह
२. जूर राणा अडसीरोमुजुरो मा
३. लमवे अप्रंच आपमासुकि.
४. रपाकरी जोदपुर भ्देषेरहक
५. कीदो मारोभली हुवेजोविचारो
६. जीऊपरमे आपरी नजर गोडवा
७. डनजर कीदीहे सोहुमा रोबेटो
८. मारा वंसरो वेली सो ईबातमे

¹⁰ अजितोदय, सर्ग १५, श्लो१—१७, और वीरविनोदमें का मारवड का इतिहास ।

¹¹ अजितोदय, सर्ग १५ श्लो. २८—३५, और राजरूपक, पृ० १४१

¹² जिल्द २, पृ० ९७०

९. तफावद् पाडसी तीन पर एक
१०. लिंगजीरी आणहे मारी मारा रा
११. जरी सरम आपने हे जादा कां
१२. ही लखा परमेसर उपरे कामना
१३. नमत परोग करे जाही कामनाये
१४. ने ईसवर हेथारथ जपनाम पु-
१५. नकरे हे तो ईसवर सारी क म-
१६. नामनोरथ सारो पूरवे हे जुमे
१७. आप ऊपर आगता राख ओं ज मे
१८. आपरा खोलाह आछीजाणजूक
१९. रेपण हीलनवे अबार मारा राजरो

Reverse

२०. हाल सरुप हेजो मालम हु-
२१. सी आप करता सो आसान हे
२२. सारोमीटाय देसी मारेभ
२३. गंसो आपरो हे समत १८२७ रावे
२४. साख वद् ११

Translation

Shri Mahārājā Bijaisinghji may accept the compliments of Rānā Adsī. You have been good enough to identify the cause of Jodhpur and Udaipur. Find out a way of my welfare, for which I have presented you district of Godwad and if I, my son, or any one else of my family repudiates this, the curse of Ēkalingji may fall upon him. My dignity as well as the dignity of my kingdom lies with you. What more shall I write? One who performs a ceremony with a certain object keeping faith in God gets his desired object. And one who repeats the name of God and bestows charity in his name, the Almighty fulfills all his desires. Similarly, keeping faith in you, I have placed this kingdom in your lap. Do what you think proper, but do not be slack. You might be knowing the present condition of my kingdom. For you, everything is easy, and therefore you will remove all my difficulties. I am depending on you.

(Vikram) Samvat 1827, Vishākh Vadi II

These are some of the broad facts. Besides these, there is some more documentary evidence which proves that, for certain reasons, Mār-wār rulers were always alert in defending the cause of the Mahārānā of Mewār against the Mughal influence

The Tuluva Gramapaddhati

By

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OF much interest to students of South Indian history in general and of unique importance to those of the history of Tuluva in particular is a work called the *Grāmapaddhati*.¹ The word literally means usage (*pad-dhati*) of the village (*grāma*). But it is much more than a mere collection of antiquated rules pertaining to the villages : it is a work which contains the classification of villages in ancient Tuḷuvanāḍu (modern South Kanara district) with the names of all important households in them, rules of social etiquette, and various other details which give a comprehensive idea of the village organisation of ancient Tuluva.

I have secured seven versions of this useful work but the best is that which hails from the Puttige Maṭha at Uḍipi. It is written in the Tulu script but in the Sanskrit language with a few passages in Kanṇaḍa. It comprises forty-nine complete palm leaves written on both sides with lacunæ here and there. In the Puttige Maṭha collection it is marked *u ri* (tṭhala) which is the sign of that Maṭha and it is numbered 66. This excellent version was secured through the kind offices of my old colleagues Vidvān Paṇḍits Niḍambūru Rāghavendra Ballāḷa and Venkaṭadāsācārya of Uḍipi to whom my indebtedness is due. Likewise am I grateful to my friend Paṇḍit Kṇṇarakuduru Bhaṭṭa Rāmakṛṣṇayya who has sent me two other versions of the *Grāmapaddhati* and who had aided me in various ways in regard to the history of Tuluva.

The Uḍipi Puttige Maṭha account of the Tuluva *Grāmapaddhati*, like all other versions of the same work, begins with portions of the *Sahyāḍri kaṇḍa* of the *Skānda Purāṇa* of which it is said to be a part. It contains twenty-six chapters which deal with the following topics : Chapter 1. The origin of the creation of Paraśurāma. Chapter 2. The origin of the family of the Kadambas and of the building of the city of Jayantipura. Chapters 3—5. The allotment of thirty-two villages

1. This work has been amply utilized by me in my book entitled *Ancient Karnāṭaka Vol. I, History of Tuluva*. But it will be published by me in detail separately in due course. The Tuluva *Grāmapaddhati* is not to be confounded with the *Tulu-dēsavarṇanam* and such other works which are found in the *Mackenzie Collection*, although both contain some points of similarity.

among the different households by Mayūravarma, the Kadamba king. Chapters 6—13. The story of the social excommunication of some families in the Pañcagrāma Modagrāma, the twenty-four Totṭilu grāma and in other villages. Chapters 14—15. General matters. Chapters 16—17. Description of the Hoyyakki and Kālagada people. Chapter 18. General topics. Chapter 19. Description of the Sahavāsi people. Chapter 20. This chapter contains lacunæ and ends abruptly. Chapters 21—26. The Utpattipaddhati, the Gokarnapaddhati, the Deśapaddhati, the Ahicchatrapaddhati, the Deśotpattipaddhati, and the division of some houses in various parts of Tuḷuva.

The Tuḷuva *Grāmapaddhati* may seem at first sight to be something like the *Kēraḷōtṭpatti* of Kēraḷa. Indeed like the *Kēraḷōtṭpatti* the Tuḷuva *Grāmapaddhati* contains much legendary matter which is rather unintelligible. And the fact that it forms a part of the *Sahyādri-kaṇḍa*, as the unknown compiler of the *Grāmapaddhati* puts it,² detracts to some extent its value as an historical work of first-rate importance. In spite of these defects it is a valuable source for constructing the ancient history of Tuḷuvanāḍu. Over and above the few points we have given at the commencement of this short paper, we may note that the Tuḷuva *Grāmapaddhati* contains sketches of the working of the great village assemblies of Tuḷuva and an admirable pen-picture of a great Madhva ascetic who seems to have been no other than the celebrated Madhvācārya himself with an account of the methods adopted by him for recruiting people into his fold. All these details which are not found in the other known sources of information, make the Tuḷuva *Grāmapaddhati* a work of much importance for the history of this hitherto unexplored district of Western India.

EDITORS' NOTE

[It may be pointed out that the Mss in the Mackenzie Collection to which the author refers include a *Tuḷuvanāḍu-utpatti* in palm leaves and Telugu character; and a Tamil palm-leaf Ms. called the *Tuḷuvadēśakathā* which is a later one as it gives an account of Tuḷuva from the time of Aurangzēb and Sivaji's descendants. The *Tuḷuvadēśa-varnana*, to which Dr. Saletore refers, is a Kanarese MS. in palm-leaf and describes the temples of the Tuḷuva country and the Śaivite cults including the Vira-Śaivism of Channa Basava.]

2. K. M. Das Prabhu, Publishers, Mangalore, published some time ago a version of the Tuḷuva *Grāmapaddhati* written, as they said, by a Bhaṭṭācārya. But the other versions of the work do not give the name of any author. In my *History of Tuḷuva* I have endeavoured to fix the date of *Grāmapaddhati* based on its internal evidence. While it undoubtedly contains matter of an earlier date, its composition can be dated only to the later half of the fourteenth century A.D.

The Poona Residency Correspondence and its value to History

By

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STUDENTS of history are generally aware that, when the Marāthā Rāj came to an end at the beginning of the nineteenth century, all its past records were secured and carefully housed at Poona by the British Government and came to be subsequently known as the *Pēshwās' Daftar*, of which the late Mr. Jackson, a scholar of repute, wrote, that "no government in India owns a collection of vernacular State papers that approaches in interest or importance those of the Poona Daftar and it is, I venture to think, the duty of Government to make them available to all students of Indian history." These Marathi records were recently explored by a body of experts under Government direction, and 45 volumes of selected historical papers have been already before the public.

But these records of the Pēshwās come to an abrupt end with the exception of a few papers about the year 1782, because Nānā Faḍnīs, who was then in sole charge of the Pēshwās' government at Poona, received and looked after all the despatches and State-papers that reached the capital. When he died in 1800, his widow removed all those papers to her husband's country residence at Manavli near Wai, whence they found their way to Sātārā and came to be partly published by the late R. B. Parasnis. They now form the principal contents of the Sātārā Historical Museum.

Thus the lack of original Marāthī papers after 1782 was keenly felt by all lovers of history, but has fortunately been amply supplied by the records existing in the English language which accumulated at the British Residency at Poona, and the surviving portion of which is now lodged in the same building where the Pēshwās' Daftar is kept.

The treaty of Sālbye (Sālbāi) which closed the first Marāthā War between the English and the Pēshwās' government in 1782, provided that Māhādājī Sindia was to be a guarantee for the proper observance of the stipulations on the part of both the English and the Court of Poona. This gave rise to the appointment of a permanent British Resident representing the Governor-General at the Court of Sindia in North India. David Anderson who had negotiated the treaty, continued to

work as Resident and remove the various causes of friction to which the vagueness of some of the articles subsequently gave rise. In this way Māhādājī Sindia came to assume an extra-ordinary importance in Marāthā politics, thereby throwing the court of Poona into the background then represented by Nānā Faḍnīs. In such a predicament Nānā began to seek means for opening direct dealings with the Governor-General and throwing away the medium of Sindia. The result was the appointment of Charles Warre Malet at Poona as the first British Resident in 1785.

Malet had come out to India in 1770 and been for some years in charge of the factory at Cambay under the Bombay Presidency. Before joining his appointment, he was ordered to make an overland tour through Northern India and visit the Governor-General at Calcutta to receive direct instructions from him about his duties at Poona, which he joined on 3rd March, 1786. For thirty years thereafter, four gentlemen of pre-eminent ability worked in succession as British Residents at the Pēshwās' court, and left behind a record of their official transactions, which is now found to be of immense historical value as it supplies the only available material dealing pointedly with the last days of the Marāthā empire, and covering the eventful period of over thirty years. Malet's three successors were Palmer, Close and Elphinstone.

These Poona Residency Records consist of about a hundred files, each containing from some 700 to 800 pages in manuscript, and came to be saved from the fire set to the British Residency by Bājirāo II when he took up arms against the British in the last Marāthā War. The files remained secluded at the Poona Alienation office for over a hundred years, and as they were undergoing a rapid decay, Government took measures to have them all typed in four copies at the expense of the Kolhapur State, and thus made it possible to have them read and studied for purposes of selection and publication. This task has now been undertaken.

Students of history will be glad to know that these records possess a scope far exceeding mere official transactions of the British Residents at Poona. They relate to the political affairs of almost all parts of India covering a period of 33 years from the appointment of Malet in 1785 to the annexation of the Pēshwās' dominions and the formation of the present Bombay Presidency in 1818. Strictly speaking, these records consist of (1) despatches sent by the successive British Residents, minutely describing the situation of the central Marāthā court, together with that of its various confederate members; (2) Instructions received by the Residents from the Governors-General dealing with questions of policy and execution; (3) Despatches and news-letters sent to the Poona Resident by the British Residents at the courts of the Nizām,

Sindia, Bhonslê of Nāgpur and others ; and (4) Copies of correspondence between the Governors and Governors-General and the Residents and other British officials stationed at various places. Such copies were purposely sent to Poona to keep the Resident fully informed of the affairs, and of the measures adopted by British policy in different parts of India.

These Poona Residency papers form a mine of information of the highest value in point of originality and detail concerning the internal affairs not only of the Marāthās, but of the various other Indian powers, and thus they constitute the principal basis of history for practically the whole of British India. This vast source has not been tapped at all, if we except the few papers of Cornwallis published by Ross and even the ampler ones of Wellesley published by Martin. For the affairs of Tipu Sultan, the Nizām, the Rājput States, and the various Marāthā chiefs and confederates, these papers offer a virgin field to the research student, and when published, they would render the present standard works of Anglo-Indian history mostly obsolete.

Several topics of importance more or less unknown to students will be found dealt with in this Residency correspondence. For instance, the French intrigues at Poona and in South India generally during the eighties and nineties of the eighteenth century are nowhere else so fully unfolded. Many gaps in our present knowledge of the Central Provinces, Mysore, Hyderābād and Rājputānā can be supplied by means of these new records : and as they are all in English, they possess a peculiar advantage over contemporary Marāthī papers, in that they reach readers of all nationalities in India, ignorant of Marāthī.

The series of Residency Records proper is followed by a mass of manuscript documents written by the early British administrators of the Deccan known as the Deccan Commissioners, during the early years following the annexation of the Marāthā dominions. They illustrate not only the conditions and problems that faced the British officials when they first took over charge, but also their early administrative experiments and policy. What is of still greater value to the historian is that they illuminate for us the social and economic back-ground on which the new British system was planted, and thus tell us of the detailed working of the Pēshwās' system of rule, and of the local customs as observed and described in full by expert administrators of European experience. Especially valuable are the vivid pictures they give of the old village communities of the south, the working of the indigenous system of local self-government and the economic organisation, besides several other topics such as internal communications, rates of commodities, coinage and exchange, etc. Thus from the point of view of the

historian, the economist and the sociologist alike, the publication of the English records at Poona is necessary in order to complete and supplement the information already available.

From ten to fifteen volumes (each of about 500 pages) of historical content and a few more of an economic and administrative character, can be easily compiled from these materials. The Government of Bombay are equally interested in this useful work, and have undertaken to print and publish whatever responsible honorary workers would select and prepare, under the general supervision of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. The work has been already taken in hand, and four volumes dealing with the eleven years' period of Malet's regime (1786-1797) are now printing in the Government Central Press, Bombay, and are soon expected to be out. The work requires voluntary and able workers, who are prepared to live at Poona at their own expense and put in patient labour for months before any single volume can be completed. Let us hope the undertaking will not be left incomplete for want of workers!

The Date of the Arthasastra

By

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THE controversy regarding the date of the Kauṭīliya-Arthasāstra is still going on. Relying on the Purāṇic statement that Chāṇakya installed Chandragupta on the throne of the Nandas, some have assigned the work to the 4th century B.C. Others take as late as the 4th century A.D., on the ground that, as Kauṭīliya is spoken of in the third person in the Arthasāstra, it must necessarily be the work of a school founded by Kauṭīliya, and that it can not be far earlier than Daṇḍi and Kālidāsa who refer to, or quote from the Arthasāstra, in their own works. The other reasons that have been adduced in addition to the above on each side are so inconclusive that, unless a conclusive evidence is adduced in support of the earlier or later date, the controversy is not likely to terminate. Such an evidence is, I think, furnished in the 26th chapter entitled "The Measurement of Place and Time" in the 2nd Book of the work.

In this chapter, the author gives us a brief description of the beginning of the solar year, of the location of the solstices, of the increase and decrease of the days and nights, and of the five years' cycle with its two intercalary months to adjust the lunar with the solar year. This almanac appears, on close examination, to be a reproduction of the then current Vēdāṅgajyōtiṣa. It is also more or less similar to the almanac of the Sūryapragṇāpti of the Jainas. The Vēdāṅgajyōtiṣa locates the summer and winter solstices in the middle of the Āślēsha and the beginning of the Dhanishṭha constellations. This position of the solstices is correct only for the 11th century B.C., and not for the 4th century B.C. or for the 4th century A.D. Taking the precession of the equinoctial and solstitial points to be a degree in the course of 72 years, the solstices may be located somewhere about the last quarter of Pushya in the 4th century B.C., and in the first quarter of the same in the 4th century A.D. The Sūryapragṇāpti actually locates the summer solstice in Pushya (pp. 225-226) and also at the end of Punarvasu (pp. 197-8). It says (pp. 225-6) "iha sūryasya daśabhirayanaih pañcha sūryanakshatra-paryāyāḥ labhyantē. dvābhyām chāyanābhyāmēkah. tatra-uttarāyaṇam kurvan sarvadaiva abhijitā nakshatrēṇa saha yōgamupāgachhati. dakṣiṇāyaṇam kurvan pushyēṇa." Translated into English, this means—"Here, by the ten Ayana movements of the sun, we get five solar revolutions.

* The author uses *ch* for *c* in this article. There are other variations too.

By two Ayanas, one revolution. In these revolutions the sun makes the winter solstice arriving at the Abhijit (Śravaṇa) constellation and the summer solstice arriving at the Pushya constellation." On page 106 it says that Abhijit is identical with Śravaṇa, and that it has no place of its own. On pages 197-8 it, however, shifts the place of the summer solstice to the end of Punarvasu. It follows, therefore, that the ancients were aware of the shifting of the solstices. Kauṭilya, however, makes no mention of the constellations in which the solstices were located. Leaving the precession of the solstitial colure to its own course, Kauṭilya confines his attention to the traditional months and dates which were authoritatively spoken of as the time of the sun's arrival at one or other of the solstitial points, when religious rites were performed probably then for the first time. Even new Hindu astronomers call the actual transit of the sun from one Zodiacal sign to another *Ayana*, and the traditional time of his transit from one sign to another sign or to a definite degree of another sign Samkramaṇa which now takes place about twenty or twenty-two days after the Ayana transit.

The question at issue is not, however, the determination of the *loci* of the solstitial points at the time of the Vēdāṅgajyōtiṣa or of the Arthaśāstra. The purpose of this paper is only to show the identity of the almanac of the Arthaśāstra with those described in the Vēdāṅgajyōtiṣa and the Sūryapragṇapāṭi, and to determine the epoch when such an almanac was current in India. The system of the almanac described in these works is undoubtedly pre-Grecian and cannot be regarded as current later than the beginning of the Christian Era, when Greek astronomy is believed to have been introduced into India. In the introduction to his translation of Varāhamihira's *Pañchasiddhāntikā* (p. 55) Thibaut says: "The late Prof. Whitney (*Sūryasiddhānta*, p. 470) has expressed the opinion that the absence from the Hindu system of any of the improvements introduced into Greek astronomy by Ptolemy seems to favour the conclusion that the original transmission of astronomical knowledge into India took place before Ptolemy." According to Encyc. Brit Vol. 20, P. 87, Ptolemy's first observation was made in 127 A.D., and his last observation was in 151 A.D. It follows therefore that the improvement in the system of calendar after the Greek model came into use in India about the beginning of the Christian Era, and an improved calendar was substituted for the old calendar of the Vēdāṅgajyōtiṣa. It also follows that before the Christian Era the Vēdāṅgajyōtiṣa calendar and the Arthaśāstra calendar, which is a copy of the former, held the ground. Hence the Arthaśāstra which reproduces the Vēdāṅgajyōtiṣa almanac in its pages cannot be taken so far late as the third or the fourth century A.D., when a reformed calendar after the Greek model was current in India. Had it been compiled so late as the fourth century A.D., it

would have copied the reformed almanac, but never the obsolete Vēdāṅgajyōtiṣa calendar.

The estimation of the longest day at eighteen Muhūrtas and the shortest day at twelve Muhūrtas recorded in the Arthaśāstra is also an additional evidence proving that it was compiled before the introduction of the knowledge of Greek astronomy into India. The late Dr. Thibaut holds the same view : He says in his Notes on the Vēdāṅgajyōtiṣa (P. 12) as follows : — " The estimation of the longest day at eighteen Muhūrtas and the shortest day at twelve Muhūrtas, and the simple rule for finding the length of any day during the year appear to have generally prevailed in India before the influence of Greek science began to make itself felt." Hence it may be concluded that the traditional account that the Arthaśāstra was compiled by Chāṇikya is reliable.

For facility of comparison the required passages of the Arthaśāstra and the Vēdāṅgajyōtiṣa are quoted below : —

Artha.	Vedanga
māghah phālgunaścha śiśirah.	prapadyētēśravishṭhātau
śraṇāṇah proshṭhapadaścha varshāh.	sūryāchandrāmasāvudak
śiśirādyuttarāyaṇam.	sarpārdhe dakṣiṇārkastu.
varshādi dakṣiṇāyaṇam.	māghaśraṇāyōssadā
pañchasaṃvatsarō yugam.	māghaśuklaprapannasya
divasasya haratyarkah	paushakṛiṣṇasamāpinah
shashṭhibhāgamṛitau tatah.	yugasya pañchavarshasya
karotyekamahaśchhēdam	kālagñānam prachakshatē
tathaivaikam cha chandramāh.	yatkṛitāvupajāyate
evamardhatritiṇām.	madhye'nte chādhimāsakam.
abdānāmadhimāsakam.	
grīshme (paushe) ¹ janayatah pūr-	
vam.	
pañchābdānte cha paśchimam.	
triṃśadahorātrah prakarmamāsah.	triśatyaham sashaṭshashṭhih
sārdhassaurah.	abdāssaṭ chātave'yane
ardhanyūnaśchāndramash.	māsā dvādaśa sūryssyuh
saptaviṃśatih nakshatramāsah.	etatpañchaguṇam yugam.
	sāvanendustṛimāsānām.
	shashṭhissaikadisaptikā.
pañchadaśamuhūrtō divaso.	gharmavṛiddhirapām prasthah
rātriścha chaitre māsyāśvayuje.	kshapāhrāsa udaggatau
māsi bhavatah. tatah param.	dakṣiṇē tau viparyāsah
tribhirmuhūrtairanyatarat.	shaṇmuhūrtyayanena tu
shaṇmāsam vardhate hrasate cha.	

1. Paushe ought to be the correct meaning.

TRANSLATION

- The first day of winter (Māgha) is winter solstice.
 Māgha and Phālguna are winter.
 Śravaṇa and Prōshthapada are the rains.
 The first day of the rains is summer solstice
 Five years make a yuga.
 Each day the sun carries off one-sixtieth of a day, and in the course of two months he makes an excessive day.
 Likewise the moon makes one day. (that is, falls back from the Sāvana year of 360 days.)
 Thus in the course of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years they make one intercalary month, the first in the Pausha month, and the last at the close of the five years.
 Thirty days and nights make one Sāvana month.
 The above with half a day more makes a solar month.
 The above less by half a day makes a lunar month.
 Twenty-seven days and nights make one Nakshatra month.
 In the months of Chaitra and Āsvayuja the day and night are each of fifteen Muhūrtas (that is, in those months there occurs an equinoctial day of 15 Muhūrtas and its night of fifteen Muhūrtas). Then after in the 6 months of the Dakṣiṇāyana the day increases by three Muhūrtas, and in the other 6 months it decreases by three Muhūrtas.
- The sun and the moon start northward at the beginning of Śra-vishṭha.
 At the middle of Āślēṣa the sun starts southward, always in the months of Māgha and Śrāvaṇa respectively
 They teach the knowledge of the time of the cycle consisting of five years which begins with the white half of the month Māgha and terminates with the dark half of the month Pausha.
 On account of this there are formed in addition two excessive months in the middle and at the end of the Yuga.
 Three hundred and sixty-six days, one year, six seasons, two Ayanas (the northern and the southern progress of the sun), twelve months, are to be considered as solar; this taken five times is a cycle. There are in one yuga sixty-one Sāvana months, sixty-two lunar months, sixty-seven Nakshatra months.
 The increase of the day and the decrease of the night during the northern progress of the sun is one Prastha of water; the reverse is the case during the southern progress. A period of six Muhūrtas is the result during one progress.

For efficiency in conducting such special government activities, as agriculture, mining, metallurgy, manufacture of cloth, liquor and other

commodities, and trade, the author of the Arthaśāstra lays it down as a rule that the services of specialists (*Tadgñā*) should be availed of. The preparation of an almanac specifying the days of religious festivals, the days of submitting accounts to the government (the full moon day of the month of Āshāḍha closing the year), the days of payment of salaries and of holidays, and the like, both for government and public use, is no exception to the above rule. It follows therefore that in enunciating astronomical principles and maxims necessary for framing a calendar, the compiler of the Arthaśāstra had the assistance of expert astronomers of the time. If, then, the Arthaśāstra were compiled in the 3rd or the 4th century A.D., as supposed by some Oriental scholars, the Siddhānta principles of astronomy would have been enumerated in the chapter on time in the Arthaśāstra. But on the contrary the chapter on space and time contains only the pre-Siddhānta, that is, pre-Grecian principles of astronomy described in it, as pointed out above. Hence it may be concluded that the Arthaśāstra is a work of the pre-Christian period, and belongs to the epoch of the commencement of the Mauryan period B.C. 300-327.

Mahmud Gawan's Political Thought and Administration

By

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MAḤMŪD GĀWAN'S EARLY LIFE

KHWĀJA-I-Jahān Maḥmūd Gāwān's personality is one of the most attractive in the history of the Deccan. He was born at Qāwān or Gāwān in the kingdom of Gilān on the Caspian Sea in 1405, and was the son of Shāikh Maḥmūd Gilānī, the tutor of the prince who later ascended the throne of Gilān as Sultān 'Alāu'd-din.¹ He says that his ancestors had filled high office and even ministries in their country and had moved in close proximity to the rulers of the land,² while his own uncle, Shamsu'd-din held the post of a minister, and he himself helped him in the performance of his onerous duties.³ It might thus be said that he was already versed in the art of government when he arrived in India in 1455. The reason for his leaving the land of his birth seems to be that a powerful clique had sprung up there which envied the rise of the Khwāja's family,⁴ and although he had every chance of acquiring a high position in his own land, he says that 'his shoulders could not bear the burden of high governmental office,'⁵ and he left the country thoroughly disgusted with the atmosphere of intrigue round him. What seems to have happened was that the Commander-in-Chief, Ḥajī Muḥammad, and the Minister, 'Alī, who had both been *protégés* of Maḥmūd's family, had become its deadly enemies,⁶ and perhaps feeling that he could not cope with the situation, he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca⁷ never to return. Instead of going back he adopted trade as a profession, and was successful to the extent that he was able to engage in overseas dealings, landing at Dābūl in 1455 and wending his way to the metropolis of the

1. [Unless otherwise mentioned, the references are to the collection of Maḥmūd's letters, named *Riādhul-Inshā*, Asīfiah Library No. 140 Inshā, Daftara-i Diwānī No. 8. The numbers refer to leaves in the former and pages in the latter.] To Sultan of Gilān; A. 107, D. 188.

2. Introduction to *Riādh*; A. 4, D. 8.

3. *Ibid.*

4. To King of Gilān; A. 50, D. 90.

5. Intr.; A. 4, D. 8.

6. To 'Alī el-Yezdī, A. 29, D. 56.

7. Intr.; A. 4, D. 8.

Deccan. The immediate cause of his coming to Bīdar was that he wanted to sit at the feet of Shah Muḥibbu'l-lāh, son of great *savāt* Shāh Ni'mayu'l-lāh Kirmānī, who had come and settled down there.⁸

BĪDAR AND THE BAHMANĪ KINGDOM ON HIS ARRIVAL

The Bahmanī kingdom was governed by 'Alāu'd-dīn II,⁹ who was immediately impressed by the worth of the Gilānī. Maḥmūd praises 'Alāu'd-dīn in one of the letters he wrote to the Sultān of Gilān, where he attributes the kindness with which he was received at Bīdar to the Hands of the Divine Providence, and says that it was due to "the outflow of the goodness of His late Majesty that the wound of migration from home was healed."¹⁰ In the same letter Khwajah is all praises for the much-maligned Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī,¹¹ who really 'discovered' Maḥmūd as a general and administrator, put him in position of responsibility and command and willed that he should act as a co-regent during the minority of his son Nizām SHāh.¹² It was an unfortunate occurrence that there should have been so many rebellions during the short reign of the former king, followed by harsh measures taken by him; otherwise his administration could not have been so bad, as is obvious from various facts. Firstly, he was assisted in his task by his great queen, one of the most sagacious women India has produced, *Makhdūma-i Jahān Nargis Bēgam*. Secondly, he left his kingdom consolidated and secure enough to be ruled by his son, a young boy of eight; and lastly, he knew the true character of men, and showed his foresight in appointing Maḥmūd to be co-regent with Malik SHāh, Khwāja-i Jahān, under the supervision of the Queen. It was probably during this regency, short-lived like Humāyūn's reign, that he was requested by the king of Gilān to come back to his erstwhile home; but Maḥmūd respectfully replied that he was too much overwhelmed by feelings of the kindness shown to him by the Bahmanī sovereigns to have any desire to leave India, which he must continue to serve to the end of his day, allowing his son 'Ubaydu'l-lāh to represent him at Gilān instead.¹³

PARTIES AT BĪDAR

When Maḥmūd arrived at Bīdar, the Bahmanī kingdom was rent asunder by the rift between the 'Āfāqī and 'Dakhnī.' The 'Dakhnīs'

8. *Ferishtah*.

9. 1434—1457.

10. To the Sultan of Gilān; A. 50, D. 90.

11. 1457—1460.

12. 1460—1462.

13. A. 50, D. 90.

included, besides the original inhabitants of the land, those who had been living in the country for some time as well as the Negro or Negroid 'ḥabashis,' while the 'gharibs' or 'Āfaqīs' ('Cosmopolitans') consisted of fresh immigrants mainly from Persia and Central Asia who came either on the invitation from the king or else as adventurers¹⁴ and generally ended their lives in the service of their adopted country. The first time we hear of this antagonism was in the reign of Aḥmad SHāh,¹⁵ who was really helped to the throne by an Āfaqī, KḤalaf Ḥasan of Baṣran, whom he gave the title of Maliku-t-tujjār or 'Prince of Merchants,' a title which finally descended on Maḥmūd Gāwān himself. It was really the great heights to which KḤalaf Ḥasan reached which was an eyesore to his opponents, and a party sprung up at the court, the avowed object of which was the annihilation of the power of the so-called 'Cosmopolitans' sometimes without the knowledge of the king and sometimes even against the personal feelings of the ruler. As matters stood, the rulers of the Deccan from Aḥmad SHāh Walī down to Humāyūn had a strong bias for these 'Āfaqīs,' and Aḥmad tested the loyalty, and the potentialities of his 'Āfaqī' courtiers time and again, and finally, when they were successful against Vijayanagar in 1423, he ordered a special corp of archers from 'Irāq, KḤurāsān, Transoxania, Turkey and Arabia under Maliku't-tujjār, who subdued the country round about Daulatābād and earned the honours bestowed upon him by his master. Perhaps the next great influx of the 'āfaqīs' was after the reception of the sons of Shah Nīmatu'l-lāh Kirmānī in 1430, when one of them became the son-in-law of the king, and the other that of the Crown Prince 'Alāu'd-dīn.¹⁶

The same policy persisted during the reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn II as well who made Dilāwar KḤān Afghān his Wakīl-i-kul, Khwāja-i Jahān Asterābādī his Wazīr-i-kul, and 'Imādu'l-mulk Ghōrī his Amīru'l-umarā,¹⁷ all of them being 'Āfaqīs.' The purely 'Dakḥnī' party sided with Prince

14. It is wrong to translate 'Āfaqī' as 'foreigners' as Sir W. Haig has done in Cambridge History of India, Vol. III. Ch. 15 and 16, as most of them had made the Deccan their home and were just as much or as little 'foreigners' as the Normans of the time of Henry II and Henry III, the Franks of the time of Hugh Capet, or the Turks of the time of Suleymān the Magnificent.

15. 1422—1434.

16. This account down to the advent of Maḥmūd Gāwān on the stage of politics is taken mainly from the *Burhānu'l-Ma'āthir* (MSS. Ad. 198 Camb. Un.) the photo-type of which was kindly lent to me by Mr. Hāshimī, Assistant Home Secretary, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, and from Ferishtah.

17. Wakīl-i-kul, or Wakīl-i-Saltanat generally looked after foreign affairs, while Wazīr-i-kul supervised home affairs; the Amīnu'l-umarā was the Lord Chamberlain. The officers are well described in the Urdu work, Azīz Mirza, *Siratu'l-Maḥmūd*, Budaon, 1927.

Muḥammad who caused his opponents, the *ghōrī* and the Khwāja-i Jahān to be put to death. When war was declared with KHāndēsh and KHalaf Hasan Baṣrī was deputed to command the Bahmanī forces, he requested the king to send only Mughals and Arabs with him as, according to him, in former campaigns, such as that of Māhim,¹⁸ the Bahmanī arms were unsuccessful owing to a cleavage between the 'Dakhnī' and 'Āfāqī' soldiery. Anyhow the campaign was enormously successful, the KHāndēshis being routed at Ronkhed Ghāt, and the commander-in-chief had a rousing reception at Bidar, resulting in the issue of a royal decree that on all state occasions the 'Gharibs' should occupy the position on the king's right and the 'Dakhnis' and 'Habashis' on his left. Ferishtah says that this occasion was the beginning of even a greater animosity between the two sections of the population.

Baṣrī was again victorious with his 'Āfaqs' against Vijayanagar, but was deluded by his enemies during an expedition in the Konkan. He was trapped by Rāi Sirkah in a wood, where he had been taken by a ruse, and then by his own soldiers who surrounded the remnant of the 'Gharibs' in the fort at Chākan, did not allow their petitions to reach the king's presence, and killed them almost to a man.¹⁹ When 'Alau'd-dīn came to hear all this, he had the ringleaders severely dealt with and promoted a number of 'gharibs,' such as Qāsim Bēg Saf-shikan who was created Maliku't-tujjār and commander of Dāulatābād and Junāir. It was about this time that Maḥmūd Gāwān was given a *mansab* of 1000 and saw his first campaign—that against Mālhwā. When 'Alau'd-dīn saw that his end was near, he willed Maḥmūd should be created Maliku't-tujjār and Governor of Bījāpūr, and Malik SHāh Turk should be given the title of Khwāja-i Jahān and be made Governor of Tilangāna.

On Humāyūn's accession to the throne, the party cleavage took a dynastic turn, the 'Dakhnī'-Rajput party siding with the pretender, Sikandar Khān, who was later overcome in the Nalgundah campaign, and when Nizām succeeded Humayūn in 1460, the reins of the government came into the hands of Khwāja-i Jahān who became Wakīl-i-kul, and the Maliku't-tujjār, Maḥmūd Gāwān, the Wazīr-i-kul. As has already been mentioned, the master mind which supervised the whole system was that of the Dowager Queen, who ruled the country during the short reign of her son, Nizām, and continued to perform her responsible duties during the earlier part of the reign of her other son, Muḥammad.²⁰

18. In 1430. This is the modern spelling; in Persian works it is spelt "Mahāim".

19. The whole episode is dealt with in great detail by Ferishtah.

20. 1462—1482.

Maḥmūd became the sole minister on the order of Khwāja-i Jahān in open court in 1464.

MAḤMŪD GĀWĀN'S CONDUCT AS A PARTY POLITICIAN

We have given this *résumé* of party cleavages during the forty years which had elapsed between the accession of Aḥmad SHāh in 1422 and the elevation of Maḥmūd to the premiership in 1464 in order to gage the policy pursued by Maḥmūd in relation to party politics. If we follow this policy closely, we would find that he really knew no party in the sense that most of his contemporaries of either section understood by it, and whatever 'āfāqism' there lingered in him was completely overcome by a sentiment of the most intense loyalty towards the dynasty he was serving and the country he had made his own.

As a matter of fact, attempts were made to make his *régime* a failure mainly by withholding supplies from him when he took command of the Bahmanī forces against the Rāi of Raingnan, and while he was actually engaged in the operation against the strong fort of Sangameshwar.²¹ He bitterly complains to Maulānā Muḥammad Lārī in a letter he wrote from his camp at Sangameshwar about depletion in men and money.²² In another letter he says that he has to face not only the avowed enemy of the kingdom in the person of the Rāi, but also those within the kingdom who were envious of his position in the State, and that although those in position of responsibility were withholding help at crucial moments, he was able to take possession of Goa in the name of his master all the same.²³ In another letter he says that his opponents were carrying on a malicious propaganda against him,²⁴ even to the extent of poisoning the ears of the king.²⁵ No doubt affected by the machinations of his enemies, his son, Maliku't-tujjār, writes to him pleading for harsh measures against those who were sowing disensions in the realm.²⁶ But the father was built of a different stuff, and he struck a distinct line for himself completely ignoring the machinations of his opponents. He writes to Nizāmu'l-mulk that whatever had taken place (i.e., the shortage of supplies to the battlefield) was really due to the intrigues of the followers of the Musnad-i 'Ālī, although the interests of the Musnad-i 'Ālī and himself were really one and the same, and pleads for the union of the two parties which, he says, "is bound to lead to a

21. Vide, my paper of "Maḥmūd Gāwān's Campaigns in the Mahārashṭra" read before the first All-India History Congress, Poona, 1935.

22. A. 88, D. 212.

23. To Nizāmu'l-mulk, A. 116, D. 202.

24. "To certain ministers", A. 132, D. 231.

25. "To one of his friends", A. 113, D. 198.

26. A. 140.

large amount of good and the destruction of the real enemies of the realm."²⁷ We must here remember that it was not merely in theory that the Khwājāh was pleading for a truce between the two groups for the good of the kingdom, but when it came to a distribution of places of profit and authority he held the scales evenly between them, setting an example for the future potentates of the country. Thus (whatever the immediate cause of each appointment might be), he recruited an equal number of Habashis and Dakhnīs on the one hand, and immigrant Central Asians and Circassians on the other, in the royal bodyguard, put a pure dakhnī, Nizamu'l-mulk, in command of the army of Orissa, and later to the command-in-chief of Tīlangāna, while in the case of the new governorates he took care not to show any partiality towards any part of the population of the Empire at the expense of the other, making Nizāmu'l-mulk and 'Imādu'l-mulk, both Dakhnīs, governors of Rājamahēndri and Gāwīl; Dastūr Dīnār and KHūdawand khān, both Habashis, governors of Gulbargah and Māhūr; Prince 'Azam KHān, a descendant of 'Alāu'd-dīn II, governor of Warangal; and the Āfāqīs, Yūsūf 'Ādil KHān and Fakhrū'l-mulk governors of Daulatābād and Junāir;²⁸ keeping Bijapur for himself.

This 'balance of power' on the part of the Khwājāh was due partly to his intense loyalty towards his sovereign, and partly to the need he felt for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. The collection of his letters is full of communications to his friends, Ministers of State, foreign sovereigns, and the Sultan of the land of his birth, Gilān. He left no stone unturned to show in the addresses his profound feelings of gratitude and affection for his Bahmanī master, and to recount the great work which was being done by his adopted country.²⁹ In one of his letters he shows the great esteem with which he held the memory of Humāyūn SHāh³⁰ and in another gives vent to his intense grief at the death of the dowager queen, saying that, although his age³¹ and bodily infirmities would not have allowed him to continue to perform his duties, which had become doubly onerous by that terrible event, yet he considered it his bounden duty to act according to the dictates of his royal master.³² There is no letter written to a foreign potentate, may he be the Şultān of Gilān or the Şultān of Turkey, where he does not recount the greatness of the

27. A. 115, D. 201.

28. This distribution will be found described in *Ferishtah*.

29. Vide Sherwani, "Deccani diplomacy and diplomatic usage in the middle of the fifteenth century", a paper read before the History Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore Session, 1935.

30. A. 90, D. 158.

31. A. 102, D. 179.

32. A. 102, D. 179.

Bahmanī Empire.³³ He writes to the ambassadors of the sovereign of Mālwa that the Bahmanīs are not rulers of the Deccan merely by an accident, but that their rule is based on sheer right, and that the empire of Deccan is "like the Sun in the firmament."³⁴ After the conquest of the territory of Goa, he writes to Maulānā Jāmī that, whatever parts of the country have come under the Bahmanī rule, have become the abode of the men of God and the refuge of the learned and *savants* of the earth;³⁵ and to a learned man of K̲H̲urāsān he writes that "the land of the Deccan is better than any other land,"³⁶ and to the king of Gilān that there is no object for the performance of which enough material is not found in his adopted country.³⁷ It is really impossible here to give even a moderate list of the letters in which he has described his affection for the dynasty and the country, for these sentiments are interspersed practically right through the collection of his letters and in practically all the actions of his life.

MAḤMŪD'S POLITICAL THEORY

Not only does the Khwājāh display this patriotic *motif* in his letters, but he sometimes discusses actual theories of politics in them. In a letter addressed to the Sulṭān of Gilān, after relating how there is "a fresh victory to the Bahmanī arms every year," he says that he has been pondering over the principles of justice and the causes of domination and subjection," and has come to the conclusion that "those who, of their own free will and without any compulsion, act according to the principles of the Book (Qur'ān) and the News (Ḥadīth), wear the turban of freedom, those who put a cap of pride on their heads with the hands of denial, fall from the steed of authority, while again some pass through the stage of subjection to elevated pedestals and high office, while others through good fortune, even sit on the heights of royal thrones."³⁸ From this analysis a number of things appear. Firstly, that in spite of intense monarchical leanings, Maḥmūd was a democrat at heart in that he, like the author of *Qābūs-nāmah*, believed in the possibility of those from the ranks attaining the highest honours in the realm even to the extent of becoming kings.³⁹ History shows instances, almost in every country of the Islāmic world, where men, from the lowest rungs of society, even slaves, rose step by step, and founded dynasties through

33. Vide "Deccani diplomacy" etc.

34. A. 48, D. 87.

35. A. 79, D. 141.

36. A. 84.

37. A. 104, D. 182.

38. A. 35, D. 64.

39. For a study of this valuable work of the XI century A.C., vide Sherwani, "el-Māwerdi and the *Qalius-namah*", Hyderabad, 1934.

sheer merit,⁴⁰ and this was indeed the same principle which was enunciated in four pithy words, '*la carrière ouverte aux talents*' by a great Corsican who became the arbiter of Europe through personal ability and nothing more. Personal worth is always militating against accidents of birth, so that men with a broad outlook and societies with a democratic trend are always laying stress on the former. Maḥmūd was one of those who, while believing in a monarchical form of government, also thought that mere accident of birth should not come in the way of the attainment of the highest reward by those who, though perhaps humble and lowly, are best fitted to serve the State.

Besides birth and native ability, there is a third possible course leading to the attainment of honour and authority, and that is industry. Maḥmūd is alive to the proper position of this element in human progress. He writes to his son, Ulugh K̲Hān⁴¹ that those who take life easy are not to be seen among the great, while those who have high ambitions and are industrious sit with kings and Sultāns. He gives the instance of the crow and the kite which are content with what they get and always look downwards, with the result that they are regarded lowly and only fit to be driven away, while the falcon, which has the courage to look up and uses his wings with industry, always suffering great hardships of hunger and fatigue, is rightly called 'the king of birds' and deservedly sits on the hand of the high and the mighty.

In a letter to his son 'Ālī, surnamed the Maliku't-tujjār, the Khwājah lays stress on the qualities for an average man's rise in status and honour, and they show us the diplomatic morality of the age in its best colours.⁴² First and foremost, he says that one must forestal consequences in the light of past experience. It is well known that history in its broadest connotation is a guide to future conduct only in the sense that it gives us instances of numerous causes and effects, and leaves us to try and judge the future in the light of the past. No doubt such a judgment can be at its best, only approximately correct; still there is no other way to have any idea of the future except in the dim light of the past. Maḥmūd advises his son to treat everyone according to his station in life in order to obviate any unnecessary rancour, and to exercise one's power of forgiveness as often as possible. He reiterates what he had said in his letter to Ulugh K̲Hān⁴³ when he tells 'Ālī that there

40. The Mamelukes of Egypt and the Slave Kings of India are cases in point. Recently we have had an instance of an ordinary man becoming emperor of an ancient nation in Rizā Shāh Pahlevi of Irān.

41. A. 58, D. 101.

42. A. 67, D. 120. The latter is reproduced *verbatim* in 'Azīz Mirzā', *op. cit.*

43. Ulugh Khān (MSS. Daftar-i Diwāni) is named Alaf Khān in the Asāfiā MSS but the latter seems to be a mistake. Vide Ferishtah, where he is named

are some who are above others in intellect and reason, and a high officer should take care to promote them according to their worth. Lastly, the ruler should divest the country of all causes of disorder, should not exert himself on anyone too much, should be good and kind to all, whether high or low, be brave in time of need and always industrious and hard-working. Such are the precepts which the Khwājah considers necessary to act upon, if one wants to brave the pitfalls of the world and rise in the estimation of men; and we have no doubt that it was these qualities which made the Khwājah himself what he was.

We might wind up the whole spirit of the Khwājah's thought in the witty epigram he used in the letter to his son, Ulugh Khān,⁴⁴ that on common sense depends the fulfilment of all objects, on knowledge the highest station in life, and on the way of living the treasures of the best qualities of virtue and character.

THE KHWĀJAH'S ADMINISTRATIVE PRINCIPLES

Before Maḥmūd Gāwān's reforms, the administrative system of the Bahmanī kingdom was based on the principles laid down by Muḥammad Shāh,⁴⁵ son of the founder of the dynasty, who had divided the kingdom into four *atrāf* or provinces with a *tarafdār* at the head of each. The kingdom then comprised the tableland of the Deccan mainly up to the Western Ghats, a part of the Tilangāna, and the Raichūr Doab, and the provinces were called Berār, Tilangāna, Gulbargah, and Daulatābād. The progress of the kingdom during the last hundred years had been immense, and the Bahmanī arms had reached the Konkan coast in the West, Goa in the South-west, and the utmost limits of Tilangāna and a part of Orissa in the East. In spite of this no attempt had been made to recast the provincial administration and the former divisions had been suffered to remain as before, comprising largely extended areas, with the result that the *tarafdār* of each province had become a small potentate within his territory, sometimes even ready to withstand the orders of the central government itself. It was after the last Mahārāshṭra campaign⁴⁶ that the Khwājah completed his scheme for reform of the provincial administration on a more scientific basis. Instead of the overgrown four *atrāf*, he re-divided the Empire into eight provinces of moderate size, viz., two provinces, Gāwil and Māhūr, carved out of the old 'Berar'; Rājamahendrī and Waraṅgal from the old 'Tilan-

Ulugh Khān. The late 'Azīz Mirzā has called him Alaf Khān. For reference, *vide* note 41 *supra*.

44. A. 123, D. 214.

45. 1357—1374.

46. *Vide* Sherwani, Khwaja-i Jahan Maḥmūd Gāwān's campaigns in the Mahārāshṭra, *op. cit.*

gāna'; Daulatābād and Junair comprising the old 'Daulatābād'; and Bijāpūr and Gulbargah representing the old 'Gulbargah.' He, thus nearly halved the old provincial area; and not content with that, he removed certain localities from the jurisdiction of the *Tarafdārs* bringing them directly under the control of the king himself, thus putting a strong royal check on the power of a *Tarafdār* in his own province.

This was also insufficient for the reformer's hand. It had been the rule almost since the foundation of the Bahmani state that there was no limit to the authority of a *Tarafdār* over the military affairs of his province, as not only could he appoint commanders of the garrison in the different forts, but was at liberty to keep as many men on active duty as he liked; and while he was the sole authority on all military matters he could save a large amount from the *mansab* he received from the central treasury even to the extent of depleting the military forces which might therefore not be able to withstand the dangers which beset the Empire.

Maḥmūd revolutionised the whole system of military administration. He made it a rule that in the whole province there should be only one fortress under the direct command of the *Tarafdār*, while the *Qiladārs* of all the other forts should be appointed by the central authority, thus completely centralising the military administration. Having an eye on every detail of the administration, he knew the great corruption and mismanagement caused by the system whereby each commander was given a certain *mansab* without much reference to his abilities, and although the amount was originally fixed in proportion to the troops at the command of the *mansabdār*, the system had become very lax in course of time and *jāgirs* had been granted without much regard to the duty of keeping any fixed number of troops. The K̲H̲wājah reformed the system in a thoroughgoing manner. He decreed that every *mansabdar* was to be paid at the rate of a lakh of Huns (later on raised to be a lakh and a quarter)⁴⁷ per annum for the rank of every 500, and if *jāgirs* were granted in lieu of cash payment, the *jāgirdārs* were to get the outstanding amount from the royal treasury. But with this regularity of payment a regularity in the amount of forces to be collected was also made obligatory, and if a *mansabdār* or *jagirdār* failed to recruit the stipulated number of soldiers he had to refund the proportionate amount back into the treasury.

We might say that the direction of Maḥmūd Gāwān's military reforms took more or less the same turn as those of William the Conqueror of England, for both these men wished to curb the power of the big

47. A hun = about Rs. 4. These reforms are mentioned in the *Ferishtah* and the *Burhān*.

lords, both divided the large fiefs into smaller bits, and both brought them more directly under the central government, while Maḥmūd went a step further and made the jāgirdārs accountable to the central government in the matter of expenditure on the feudal army. He himself set an example of integrity and responsibility by refunding the amount saved from his military fiefs after military disbursements, never spending anything out of it on his own person. It is related that after his death his personal treasurer told the king how he continued to trade with the capital he had brought from Persia thirty years before, and how the profits accruing from it were his sole means of livelihood even when he was serving the king and his country !

There is one other matter in which the Khwājah's work might be compared to that of William the Conqueror. He was one of the first in Medieval India to have ordered a systematic measurement of the land, fixing the boundaries of different villages and towns, assessing the revenue more or less in the same way as the Conqueror had done in some parts of Britain. He thus, on the one hand, made it easy to determine the income of his royal master, on the other he further reduced the power of the nobles, and forestalled the land reforms later effected by Rājā Tōḍar Mal by about a century.

FATE OF THE KHWĀJAH'S REFORMS

These beneficent reforms affected by the Khwājah came to nought after him. The chief cause of their failure was precisely the height which the Khwājah had attained. After the death of his patroness, the Dowager Queen, in 1472, he was without doubt, and in every sense, the dictator of the Bahmanī Empire. As is well known, it is the weakness of all dictatorial institutions that there is no guarantee that a dictator's successors would be as far-seeing, as patriotic and as loyal to the cause as the dictator himself. Maḥmūd's strength lay in his great qualities of head and heart, and the weakness of his system lay in that there was no one else in the kingdom who could be his fit successor. The man who had been in the position of his ward for years, and whom he had trained in the art of government almost from his boyhood, was the very man who was made a tool by the discontented faction to put an end to the Khwājah's life,⁴⁸ and although it is possible that he might have carried forward the Khwājah's system, he himself died not many months after the end of the man he had caused to be murdered. The result was the disruption of the Empire into a number of independent principalities, and finally its end even in name, a little more than forty years after the fateful 14th of April, 1481.⁴⁹

48. Muḥammad Shāh Bahmani, surnamed Lashkari, 1462-1482.

49. The date of the Khwājah's murder.

The Khanderi Expedition of Charles Boone

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A DARING sailor was Kanhoji Angria. His prowess brought him eternal fame and untold wealth. Master of the Konkan littoral lord of the neighbouring waters, he defied the country powers and challenged the might of the merchant nations of the West. The Siddis and the Savants, his immediate neighbours, felt the weight of his arms; the English, the Dutch and the Portuguese found the Arabian sea unsafe for their merchant men, while Kanhoji's fleet rode there. In 1713 the English concluded a treaty with the Marātha chief, and the outstanding differences were settled apparently for good and to the satisfaction of the contracting powers. But lasting peace is not possible where conflict of interests exists, and both the parties were sullenly biding their time. Hostilities were renewed when Charles Boone (1716-1720), a masterful man, took charge of the Government of Bombay. Kanhoji held that the country boats freighted by the Bombay merchants were not covered by the agreement of 1713, and formed good prizes so long as they were unprovided with his passes. Boone strongly protested, and when protests proved of no avail he decided to retaliate in kind.¹ Thus began the war which lasted till 1756 without any interval, and ended with the capitulation of Gheria.

The first important episode in this stubborn contest was Charles Boone's expedition against Khanderi or Kenery, a small island which commands to a certain extent the harbour of Bombay. The island was occupied by a Marātha force in 1679 despite English opposition, and though the hastily improvised rampart of dirt and stone was fiercely bombarded by the English and their Abyssinian allies, the defenders doggedly held on. The English found their resources hopelessly inadequate for a prolonged war and the Marāthas were left in possession of their much valued prize. In 1713, Kenery was transferred to Kanhoji's care by his grateful sovereign,² and when war broke out Boone naturally tried to chase the enemy off his doorsteps.

1. For a detailed discussion see, Sen *Military System of the Marathas* pp. 196-202. [For a realistic description of Kanhoji's exploits see Douglas' *Bombay and Western India*, P. I, pp. 113, and 115-6].

2. Biddulph (*Malabar Pirates*, p. 122) is wrong in suggesting that this happen-

The first published account of this expedition is from the pen of Clement Downing, an English sailor, who possibly took part in the assault. But accuracy was not his *forte*. Downing's memory was not as strong as he believed, and as he kept no notes, confusion of men, events and dates necessarily marred his narrative. Colonel John Biddhuph consulted the contemporary records, but he did not hesitate to borrow freely from Downing's *History* whenever he found the details likely to prove interesting. A very brief outline has been given in Sir William Forster's introduction to Downing, where many of the adventurous sailor's misstatements were for the first time corrected. A detailed account of the Khanderi expedition may not therefore be absolutely without interest. Luckily a day-to-day record of the operations is still available, the authenticity of which is fairly unimpeachable. Governor Boone himself assumed the chief command of the land and marine forces employed on the expedition, and he hoisted his flag on the *Addison* then commanded by Richard Gosfright.³ The log of the *Addison* (India Office No. 7034) gives a detailed account of the manoeuvring, cannonading, and assault in which the British fleet was engaged, and finally its discomfiture.

The fleet and force commanded by Boone were in number quite formidable from the Indian standard of those days. On the 1st November, 1718, the *Addison* weighed anchor at 2 in the afternoon "in company with the *Dartmouth*, *Captain Carter*, the *Victoria*, the *Rerenge* and *Defiance* grabbs, the *Fame* gully, the *Hawke* ketch, 2 Bomb ketches and 48 gallivats". On the 3rd November, the bombardment of the island began in right earnest. The *Fame* left for Chaul with six gallivats, but the "Bomb began to play" at 3 a.m. and "continued till 8". The ghurabs fired from day-light till ten and were answered by the enemy. Angria's men could bring only 3 guns into action, and they did no execution. But it is difficult to accept Col. Biddhulph's assertion that the British men-of-war failed to make any impression on the garrison, because the distance was so great that nothing was affected but waste of ammunition."⁴ The log of the *Addison* positively states that the ghurabs (grabbs), *Victoria*, *Revenge* and *Defiance* "were ordered to goe within gunn shot of the S^o, most part of the island and their anchor." And this they apparently did before, not after Col. Biddulph thinks, the cannonading commenced. The *Dartmouth* also ran close to

ed in 1710. See Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 199. Foster, *Downing's History of the Indian Wars*, pXII.

3. Foster, *op. cit* p. 36. F. N. Not Capt. Hicks who died on the 7th September, 1718.

4. *Malabar Pirates*, p. 123.

the island, fired a broadside and some of the military officers went round with a pilot to find a suitable landing place. At two in the afternoon Kanhoji's fleet came into evidence. What their objective was it is not possible to surmise. From the beginning Boone had taken care to cut off all supply of men and munitions from the mainland and it is not unlikely that Angria's gallivats made an attempt to reopen communication with Kolaba, Kanhoji's headquarters on the opposite shores. But the *Victoria*, the *Revenge* and the *Hawke* (ketch) began a chase which had to be abandoned at 4 when fourteen of the enemy gallivats were perceived. The ketch continued to ply her shells all night and early in the morning (4th Nov). Bombardeer Mule was accidentally hurt.

It was then decided to land two assaulting parties under cover of fire from the ghurabs. The grenadiers and the marines held themselves ready as early as 4 in the morning to land on the eastern shores of the island while a party of 558 Sepoys under the command of Captain John Miles was to land on the opposite side. The *Fame* returned from Chaul with the attending gallivats at 2 in the afternoon and went in the evening with the *Victoria* and the *Revenge* to the eastward of the island. The *Defiance* was posted to the S.E. and the *Hawke* to the N.W. of Kenery "The Vessells cannonaded the island very hott, lykewise the Island them, they having about 12 gunns on that side the Island", as we learn from the log of the *Addison*. The grenadiers and the marines were landed but the Sepoys could not be made to follow their example. Intimidation was tried and several of them were killed and wounded "but all to no purpose."

On the sixth⁵ *Morrice* joined the fleet and at noon three hundred grenadiers and marines made two attacks but they were beaten off "more by the force of stones hove from the rocks than fier armes." Kanhoji's men signalled this success by hoisting a red flag which appears to have been the Angrian ensign. The British ghurabs were badly battered and had to leave their previous position to attend to their leaks.

On the 7th the ghurabs opened a brisk fire at 6 in the morning which was answered by the islanders with equal vigour. A small party of marines succeeded in landing in spite of a strong current. They ran directly to the gates and had almost cut them open⁶ but as their efforts

5. Biddulph is wrong in saying that the 6th was occupied in making preparations for another attack (*Malabar Pirates*, p. 124). The log of the *Addison* mentions the above-mentioned operations. The casualties were—"killed; white 3, black 15; wounded; white 20, black 30." Also see Foster, *op. cit.* p. XIV. Biddulph was apparently misled by C. Downing.

6. Downing says that John Steele, Carpenter's Mate of the *Morrice*, "had cut the Bar which went across the outer part of the Gate almost asunder."

were not adequately supported they had to fall back, "the enemy at the same time playing very hott with putheridge (partridge) small armes and continually heaving stones." All attempt to land the sepoy's proved futile as on the 5th. The casualty was rather heavy and the ghurabs suffered grievously, "the *Revenge* having received several shott between wind and water". On the 8th a council of war was held and "agreed to goe down to Calube with the grabbs and gallivats leaving only the *Defiance* and 4 gallivats between the Island and the Main". Thus ended an expedition designed to humble the proud Marātha sealord and to demonstrate the might of Britain in the eastern seas. The reason was obvious, civilians seldom make good military leaders, and Boone was no soldier. The British force consisted mainly of raw recruits, and their morale had been badly impaired by the failure of the Karwar expedition of the previous year. As Colonel Biddulph observes, "It was the old story, repeated so often on these occasions; a badly planned attack carried out half-heartedly by undisciplined men, under one or two resolute leaders; as soon as the leaders were disabled, the rest retreated with more or less loss."

But contemporary feeling was not so easily appeased. The Bombay authorities sought a scapegoat, and found one in Ramaji Kamathi, an opulent Brahman resident of Bombay. He was accused of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with Angria. Though there was hardly any evidence to support this charge, the unfortunate Hindu was condemned to life-long imprisonment, and his property was confiscated.

Clement Downing attributed Boone's failure to the treachery of a Portuguese renegade. According to him Manoel de Castro, a deserter from Kanhoji's service, claimed an intimate knowledge of Angria's ports and was appointed admiral of the British squadron by Governor Boone notwithstanding the protests of the officers who knew him better. This story has been accepted in toto by Colonel Biddulph, though "no trace of this appointment has been found in the Consultations."⁷ Biddulph repeats Downing's story,—that, "Manoel de Castro, with his squadron of gallivats, had been ordered to lie off the mouth of the harbour and prevent reinforcements reaching Kennerly. Notwithstanding, he allowed five of Angria's gallivats to slip in ammunition and provisions for the besieged, of which they were believed to stand much in need."⁸ No reference to this incident is made in the log of the *Addison* where we read that while the ghurabs withdrew (6th November) to attend to their damages, "Captain John Miles lay all night with 6 gallivats between

7. Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

8. *Malabar Pirates*, p. 124.

Hanary and Cannary to prevent any supply coming from the Main." There was not a breath of suspicion against Miles who was employed on diplomatic missions to Kanhoji's headquarters on more than one occasion. Clement Downing never missed an opportunity of harping upon the prevailing ill-feeling between the Portuguese and the English in India, and the story of Manoel de Castro might have been invented to add a point to his favourite theme. It is improbable, on the face of it, that Boone should appoint a complete stranger whose antecedents were more than shady to an office of such responsibility as that of the Admiral of the Fleet when he assumed in person the chief command of the expedition on the success of which he had doubtless set his heart. Ramāji Kamathi suffered in his person and property and Manoel de Castro in his reputation because somebody in high position had committed a blunder, while Kanhoji went merrily on with his marine projects. Such, indeed, is the irony of fate!

EDITORS' NOTE

[The opulent Brāhman 'Ramāji Kāmathi,' referred to in p. 141 was a Shenvi (Pañca-Gauḍa) Brahman whose ancestors had originally come to Bombay from Goa in the time of the Portuguese; and held high position under the English when they got Madras. Rama was in command of Indian troops under the Company and served mainly in the Madras wars of the time. He built the celebrated Walkeshwar (Vālukeśvara, the Lord of the sands) temple. He built a temple in the fort of Bombay which exists even to-day and has a car festival. James Douglas, referring to the trial of Rāma Kamathi for treason and conspiracy with Angria, gives it as an example of the early Englishman's indifference to personality when a question of justice was involved. Rāma's land in the Fort was confiscated and sold for Rs. 20,000. He was sentenced to life-imprisonment, and he died in prison after eight years in 1728. The conviction had been obtained by screwing irons on the thumbs of a certain witness and bringing him to a confession! The authorities discovered after Rāma's death that the letters given as evidence against him were forgeries and his seal had been used by some one to blacken his name! Government paid a sum of money to his son by way of reparation. A descendant of Rāma is a trustee in the above-mentioned temple. See J. Douglas' *Bombay and Western India* (1893), I, pp. 94-5. Boone was condemned for sanctioning torture which, ever since the Act of Parliament in 1628, was illegal; and the Deputy Governor Parker refused to sit in the Council as he could not approve the Governor's procedure. To the archaeologist and antiquarian Boone's figure is interesting for the fact that he was the first to send pictures of Elephanta to England and that he, besides completing important sections of the Bombay Fort wall, gave some donations to the cathedral, a bell amongst other things which is used even to-day. The term Kāmāṭi has come to be used in Madras in the sense of a 'fool'.]

Recent Advances in Indian History and Historiography

By

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THE initial date for this study is 1919 when Vincent Smith published his Senior Oxford History of India, and the final one is 1936.

The advances may be reviewed conveniently under fresh discoveries, new theories, new view-points, details of the old, and odds and ends.

The excavations at Harappa and Mahenjo-Daro constitute the greatest discovery in recent times and we added an epoch to our national history in the hoary past. It remains a point of dispute whether, with this discovery, we should make a jump of only a couple of thousand years or of many more, as also whether we should imagine the civilisation of the epoch as a part of a greater whole or as an independent one. The whole of India is working at this problem. The general hope is that the final analysis will exhibit India as the cradle of world's civilisation. A few scholars have lately discovered in Cambodia, Java, Sumatra, and Celebece, remains of a Hindu civilisation and established beyond doubt the existence of a Greater India in historical times, the sole purpose of which was the civilisation of the original inhabitants in those regions less by government than by religion and trade. A third set of investigators tried to discover in the far north-west and the west traces of a Hindu influence before the rise of Islam, even to the length of showing Pythagoras as a Hindu and of claiming a strong Hindu influence upon Hippocrates. But all these require further scrutiny.

A discovery of a somewhat revolutionary kind was lately made by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, which if settled would entitle him to be placed in a high rank among the historians of ancient India. His History of India from 100 A.D. to 350 A.D. hopes to remove the dark age of the Hindu period, and his account of the Maurya coinage before the Royal Asiatic Society heightens the glory of that age.

A few old theories have been knocked down by patient research. It is now asserted that democracy was not unknown throughout the ancient history of India ; that the third battle of Pānīpat did not give the death-blow to the Marāṭha power ; and that the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 can never be described as a national revolt against the Company's authority nor justify the radical change in the behaviour of Britain to India in later

years. Mahmūd of Ghasna was a friend of culture and civilisation, Shivaji was an ideal ruler, and Warren Hastings saved the empire in India—these are also discoveries of the last fifteen years.

Regarding the changes in view-points, there are only two or three fit to be noticed. The late Mr. E. B. Havell's Āryan theory failed to be popular, although the point of view was considered as intelligent. Mr. G. S. Sardesai's view that the Marātha Empire was not federal has not been denied so far. Professor H. H. Dodwell's enunciation that the Indian states are internal and not external to the constitution of India, has been accepted and incorporated in the new Government of India Act.

The majority of devoted students, however, engaged themselves in amplifying the old subjects. Sir B. N. Seal gave his account of the positive sciences of the ancient Hindus, Sir P. C. Ray compiled a history of Hindu Chemistry, and members of the Indian Mathematical Society presented their studies of Hindu Mathematics including astronomy. Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy interpreted the Hindu art and stimulated others to think on the same subject. The Oriental conference, by bringing together professors of different subjects, promoted a detailed study of the Vedic and Epic histories, besides doing other services. Dr. F. W. Thomas' survey of the Mauryas was masterful, and Mr. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar supplemented it with an elaborate analysis of the Maurya polity. There has been a long debate on the details of the Gupta imperial history, the professors at Madras being conspicuous among the debaters. But the late Mr. R. D. Banerjea consolidated his ideas and published the results in the *Age of the Imperial Guptas*. More than one scholar has attempted to re-write the history of Harsha. Mr. C.V. Vaidya completed the three volumes of his studies on Mediaeval Hindu India. The Dekhan and South Indian histories have been rewritten by a number of scholars. Mr. Cousens made a splendid survey of the Chalukyan Architecture. But monumental work has been done in the history of Vijayanagara Empire. Starting with the compilation of its sources (by Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati), researches were carried in the origin, dynastic histories, social and economic life, and decline of that empire. But more remains to be done, and it is a history which offers still a very large scope for research. The history of the Mughals was written by a division of labour. Messrs. Qanungo, Dr. Beni Prasad, Saksena, and Jadunath Sarkar (Kt). specialised in the reigns of individual sovereigns, leaving Akbar to be approached by a variety of admirers (like Vincent Smith, Binyon, and translators of Jesuit records. Mr. C. A. Kincaid and R. B. Parasnis (the late) completed the History of the Marātha people in three volumes and their work was supplemented by the publications of the Peshwas' Daftar, the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, the Shiva Charitra Karyalaya, and individuals like Dr. Surendranath Sen.

The Dutch records as well as those of the East India Company have been published on a generous scale, thanks to the wise guidance of Sir William Foster in the India office on the one side and of the Indian Historical Records Commission on the other. There have been several studies of Modern India profusely since 1927, the majority confining themselves to the evolution of a new India. A great many of these are biographies, personal recollections and diaries. To these should be added the annual digest of history prepared for the Governments in India and England, commencing from 1919 (the initial date of this review), and also numerous books on limited topics by the younger generation.

In no decade and a half of modern times, other than the one under review, can one find so much of substantial progress in the acquisition of historical knowledge. It may be of value to explore the causes for this splendid achievement.

Until 1919, research was individualistic. Elphinstone, Sewell, Vincent Smith, Tod, Romesh Chunder Dutt, Ranade, Jayaswal, Narendranath Law (to name only a few) had made historical research a labour of love, a splendid hobby, and persons like E. J. Rapson, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar, Dubreuil, Haraprasad Shastri, and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar were professors who did considerable teaching in their institutions and whose researches were not in the least a part of their paid work. But, from the above date, collective work started. The editor of the first volume of the *Cambridge History of India* said rightly in his preface that that series "marks a new departure. The literature of the subject has become so vast, and is still growing with such a rapidity that the best type of securing a real advance in the study now lies in the division of labour among scholars who have explored at first hand the main sources of information." It may be noted in connection with this remark that the division of labour is becoming more and more territorial and provincial than personal.

A second prominent cause, on the side of writers, is a desire to write objectively and scientifically, a willingness to spend freely out of private resources, a readiness to investigate at the sources. Travelling for the sake of history has become a fashion. Even private excavations as in the Narbada and the Brahmaputra valleys have become common, just in the manner in which private museums of historical manuscripts, e.g., Parasnis' at Satara, are being organised. Concurrently with the above, love of quality reigns supreme.

Readers of Indian history have made varying demands upon the writers. In 1919, Vincent Smith draws attention to the fact that 'the public addressed by a modern historian differs essentially in composition and character . . . ' and that 'a new book on Indian history . . . must be

composed in a new spirit, as it is addressed to a new audience.' Mr. K. P. Jayaswal thought similarly in 1933 at Baroda, when he said that the history of India still remains to be written.

On the one side there has been a demand for a cultural, institutional, and biographical bias in history. Calcutta, Madras, Mysore, the Osmania, and London universities, as well as the Royal Asiatic Society, took the cue, encouraged that bias, and planned treatises on the above topics.

On the other hand, provinces have put forward a claim to the writing of their own histories, as far as possible in the Vernaculars, in order that the masses who are ignorant of English may still have the benefit of historical instruction. The Marathas and the Āndhras set the example in this direction and are now in possession of many valuable books and manuscripts. Their southern neighbours have just begun to pick out the Dravidian elements in the Āryan culture or to order the writing of authoritative accounts of ancient Tamils and mediaeval Karnaṭakas, while their northern colleagues are just planning a Bangiya Sāhitya and monographs on Nalanda, Ujjain, Kanauj, etc.

The contact of India with the west created a desire for an economic history of India, with a view in all probability to provide a background for current policy. The Hindu period, especially the age of Kauṭilya, has been studied for this purpose by a number of writers. The economic history of the Mughals and of more modern times has been thoroughly written and published in India, Europe, and the U. S. A.

But subtler causes have been at work in the progress of historiography in India. First of all, there is the influence of the Cambridge Modern History on one and all in the matter of form and authoritative writing. Then, the attitude of Indian and English Universities in regard to historical research needs to be noted. They provided not only libraries and professorial chairs, but also publication funds, endowments, prizes, scholarships, and degrees. The School of Oriental Studies attached to the London University is not only a place for specialising in Indian history, but also a meeting-place of the young Indian aspirant with the most representative scholarship in Britain. The Sir William Meyer studentship in Indian History and Geography available in the London University College is a source of material help to many poor students at London. Fourthly, the government records have been made available in all parts of India and in Whitehall up to a certain date in recent history, thanks to the resolutions and recommendations of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The facilities in the form of guide-books, catalogues, press-lists, etc. are ample. Simultaneously, improvements have been made in the administration of Archaeological Departments both

in British India and the States. Fifthly, private enterprise has been active and fruitful in encouraging research into the past history of the country. The Greater India Society was added to the long list of historical societies in the country. Several new journals were started the latest being *Indian Culture*. The Poona people celebrated the Shivaji Tercentenary. The Haklyut Society continued its publications, and a Broadway Travellers' Library was organised. The houses of publishers increased, the most noticeable among the new being the Pāṇini Press, the Āryabhūshan Press, and Banarsi Das. Sixthly, the propagandistic literature, so common in the eve of constitutional reforms in any country has supplied many fresh veins of thought to serious students. Lastly, the stimulus given by the fourth estate and by the Inter-University Board of India in giving scope for expression and exchange of ideas and in publishing the original works from time to time with reviews thereon or without should not be overlooked.

It is necessary to remember also the reaction on history of discoveries in connected subjects, like philology, literatures, religion, philosophy, education, fine arts, sociology, economics, politics, and military science. Even the census of India, dealing with the present, throws light on the long past, especially on anthropological matters.

As a result of all these, history of India has extended its scope in all directions and assumed a comprehensive character. Indians have understood the science of history as well as the art. They have developed the habit of pursuing truth and nothing but truth and of looking at things in an impersonal and a dispassionate manner. But they are taking a long view and keeping the complete picture in our mind still at the threshold of knowledge. Texts are being collected, translations made, and rare editions re-printed. Chronologies are being attempted of all ages, and the available data are just being interpreted.

The Committee System of Village Administration in Cola Times—An Interpretation

By

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It is now a commonplace of South Indian history that there was a highly developed system of village administration in Cōla times in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The discovery of this feature we owe to Mr. Venkayya, Government Epigraphist, Madras, in the closing years of the last century. The essential features of that administration as were evidenced by inscriptions at Ukkal and Uttaramallur (two villages in the North Arcot and Chingleput districts) were :—

- (i) The South Indian village was governed by the village assembly.
- (ii) The village assembly had under its control a number of committees notably the "Tank supervision", *Pañca-vāra-vāriyam* "Garden supervision," "Gold supervision," "Supervision of Justice" and "Annual supervision" committees.
- (iii) These committees were elected ; and
- (iv) Certain qualifications were prescribed for membership in these committees.

The assemblies and the committees together exercised a number of functions, such as looking to the construction and maintenance of irrigation works, management of temples, selling and purchasing lands, collecting and remitting taxes, altering the classification of land, management of charities, taking charge of deposits of money, lending and borrowing money, levying fines, controlling village servants, and leasing lands.

After discussing these points elaborately and also referring to the existence of some committees in the Telugu districts, Venkayya expressed the opinion that, until the contrary is proved, it may be assumed that the system prevailed over a considerable portion of South India.¹

1. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, 1899, part ii, paras 58-73 ; Cg. 589 in V. Rangacharya's *Topographical List of Madras Inscrns.* I, p. 580.

Since he wrote, many new inscriptions have been discovered, the notable advance made being the mention of other committees, such as the Fields Committee, the Land Survey Committee, the Accounts Committee, the Sluice Committee, and the Temple Committee, and more details relating to the constitution of the village assembly and its relation to the committees.

But the student of history does not feel satisfied with this information; he would like to know the *raison d'être* of this system of village administration, i.e., what explains the prevalence of the system over a considerable portion of South India, and why it was not prevailing elsewhere.

The enquiry becomes of absorbing interest when he learns, from known evidence, that the system was peculiar to South India. Professor Altekar assures us² by a critical examination of the evidence relating to Western India that the South Indian system of village administration was not prevalent in that area. And from what we know of Northern India, we may say that the elaborate system of committee-administration was not prevalent in that area.

A proper approach to the study of this interesting question must be inductive, i.e., it involves an analysis of all the known inscriptions relating to South India. From such a survey it appears to me that a rather remarkable fact emerges, viz., that the committee organisation is confined to one particular type of villages, viz., the *Caturvêdimaṅgalam*. The *Caturvêdimaṅgalam*, as the term indicates, was a village inhabited by Brāhmins who profess the four Vêdas. Often it was denoted by kindred names, *Brahmadēya*, *Maṅgalam*, *Agaram*, *Brahmapuram*, *Agarahāra*, *Agabrahmadēya*, *Agara-brahmadēsa*, *Brahmadēsam* and *Brahmāmaṅgalam*. It is not contended that a Brāhman village included only those who belonged to the community of Brāhmins; on the other hand we have clear evidence to show that it accommodated other classes as well. Potters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, washermen, and village servants also lived there, though in separate *Cêris*, close to the Brāhman quarter of the village; but it was a Brāhman village in the sense that the land of the village was held by the Brāhman community. This Brāhman community was a landlord body over a class of tenants, who were bound to pay certain shares of the yield to their masters. This landlord body might hold all the land collectively, sharing the yield, or might hold individual allotments, with or without periodical redistribution,³ with some portion of the village land held in common.

2. Altekar, *Village Communities in Western India*, pp. 20-30.

3. 205 and 213 of 1912, *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, 22, second tier, line 1—*Karaiyid*.

It is not necessary for us to enquire, at this stage, how such joint villages arose : as we see them in our inscriptions, foundation by kings of villages under such conditions or grants of the income from villages were some causes. But in whatever way they arose, the resultant features of a joint village are noteworthy, viz :

(i) It was a settlement of a non-cultivating caste.

(ii) It was in general a settlement of a landlord class placed over a body of cultivating tenants.

(iii) There was some element of common ownership of land in the community.

It must be made clear that all *Caturvēdimaṅgalams* were not necessarily of this type. It is possible that *Caturvēdimaṅgalams* of THE JOINT TYPE OWED their origin to kings who consciously established such villages. Such foundations sprang up in many parts of the country, especially under the Cōla, Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagar kings. The community were allowed a large measure of control in managing local affairs, made necessary by the fact that the inhabitants of the village by the terms of the original grants or establishment of the village were bound to render certain dues and services to the landlord body, and the latter was allowed to conduct the revenue administration in their own way.

It was to the interest of the landlord community to see that cultivation was properly carried on, irrigational facilities were provided, and the dues received in time. To this purpose the village committees were constituted to be in charge of different kinds of work. These committees were subject to the control of a public assembly of all the joint-body for whose deliberation important administrative and judicial acts were reserved and which met in the open or in the temple.

The proper conception of the Committee organisation as we find it mentioned in our inscriptions is thus as an agency for looking to the proper cultivation of the village lands and securing to the body of the landholders in a joint village their proper dues from the tenants, and generally to enable them to adequately fulfil their corporate responsibilities.

This characteristic is made clear by several facts :—

1. Such committees are found mentioned only in joint villages. It is arguable that this is at best negative evidence, but the fact that, out of nearly 30,000 inscriptions, we find such important features mentioned only in one particular type of village, raises a strong presumption in favour of the contention that such organisation was primarily economic in motive. The necessity for such developed organisations in villages of

the Ryotwari type where each holder was independent of the others in the management of his land is not so obvious.

2. The functions exercised by some of the committees are primarily those which a landlord body would be expected to gain by. Thus the *ūrvāriyam*⁴ was a committee of officers whose function was evidently to see the lands of the village properly cultivated and to collect the produce. The functions of the "Wet Fields Committee"⁵ and the Irrigation Committee are also closely related to the same purpose.

3. The membership of the committees was regulated by one prime qualification—that the member must have a share of land—in other words he must be one of the shareholders of the village.⁶

4. The qualifications for membership in the village assembly in such villages—and not merely the committees—include land-holding.⁷ Thus it is stated, in one instance, of the children of *shareholders* in the village, that only one who is well-behaved and has studied the *Mantra-Brāhmaṇa*, and one *Dharma* (code of law) may be on the village assembly to represent the share held by him in the village, and only one person of similar qualifications may be on the assembly for a share purchased, received as present or acquired by him as *strīdhana*.

This is clear evidence to show that the village assembly and the committees were mainly concerned with the interests of the landholders in the village.

5. The joint responsibility for revenue imposed on such a village made it necessary for the body of landholders to have an efficient organisation to cope with it. This responsibility primarily meant that the joint village as a whole was assessed a certain amount by the State, for the payment of which the whole body was jointly responsible. The joint body was given freedom to control the distribution of the lump assessment among the shareholders, and the power to sell the lands of defaulters, and in general to do all things that would be consistent with their joint responsibility for revenue. If one shareholder was in default, the Government called upon the other shareholders of the village to pay the balance due by defaulting shareholders; hence the right to sell their property was essential for the due discharge of their joint liability for revenue. The other powers of taxation claimed by the joint body included apparently the right to decide which lands should be

4. 269 of 1912, A.R.E., 1913,, part ii, para 23.

5. *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, 156.

6. A.R.E., 1899, part ii, para 62.

7. A.R.E., 1913, part ii, para 23.

taxed. A Tinnevely inscription⁸ records the settlement made by the assembly of *Tirukkurrālam* that taxes should be levied only on cultivated lands. Within limits, the joint body could also remit taxes; within limits because such remission should not ordinarily involve loss of revenue to the State; when the village assembly remitted taxes on one piece of land on its own responsibility without receiving compensation in the shape of a capitalised amount, it had itself to pay, and this it could do only when the shareholders were prepared to make up the amount.

These details of assessment and collection of village revenue are significant as they emphasise the sense of mutual dependence among the members of such a joint community. The welfare of all is inextricably connected with the proper cultivation of village lands, the maintenance of irrigation works, collection and remission of taxes, controlling the village servants, etc.; and it is not strange that an efficient committee organisation was developed to meet a felt need. It is significant that the mode of payment of taxes in *vella vagai* villages or Ryotvāri is stated to be different from the method in vogue in the joint villages.⁹

6. Finally, it may be remarked that the distinctive nature of these villages is brought out by the significant Tamil term "*Taṇṇiyūr*",¹⁰ often applied to these villages. It is noticeable that the term *taṇṇiyūr* is not found applied in the inscriptions to any but *Caturvēdimaṅgalams*. It has been translated "free village", a village unit, by itself an independent village. 'free' and 'independent' are vague terms which do not indicate the real character of the village. It seems more precise to say that the *Caturvēdimaṅgalam* was a distinctive type of village which was allowed a large measure of control in managing local affairs—made necessary by the fact that the inhabitants of the village, by the terms of the original grant or establishment of the village, were bound to render certain dues and services to the landlord body and the latter was allowed, nay required, to conduct the revenue administration in its own way—and that this landlord body was united by some elements of joint-ownership, either whole or partial.

To sum up then, we may say that the *Caturvēdimaṅgalam* was, from the economic point of view, a community of landholders, united together by the fact that they owned all or some land in common, and that they were a landlord body, placed over a body of tenants who were bound to render certain services and dues to them, and that the landlord-com-

8. 430 of 1917.

9. *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, 205.

10. e.g., 167 of 1915.

munity had a large discretion in managing the affairs of the locality—which they did through a highly developed system of committees, subject to the village assembly.

In the present state of our evidence, it is difficult to say that such a highly developed government by means of committees existed in all villages in South India. It is permissible to assume that it existed in those villages where some element of joint tenure existed, necessitating joint partnership in deciding affairs which vitally touched all. In other villages, i.e., Ryotwāri—and it is to be remembered that most villages belonged to this type—it is probable that there was an influential body of elders who considered and decided questions concerning all, such e.g. as the conduct of temple affairs, looking to works of irrigation, etc. No regular constitution as we find to have existed at Uttaramallūr seems to have existed in such villages, nor was it necessary. The regular constitution in villages of the type of Uttaramallūr owed its origin to certain features which were peculiar to them. When a body of independent cultivators looked after their own lands, the common needs of the village were looked after by an informal meeting of the village elders, or the villagers generally. In this sense, it was in keeping with the rest of India, village affairs being generally looked after by a Pañchayat or an assembly.

Indeed, if we are to view the local administration of South India in its proper perspective, we must firmly grasp the fact that the elaborate development of the Committee organisation was prevalent only in a particular type of village in South India, viz., the joint village, and, as far as our evidence goes, the *Caturvēdimāṅgalam* type of joint village, and not, necessarily, over the whole of South India.

If this interpretation is correct, can we draw any useful conclusion from the past for our guidance in the present? Here was self-government on small scale, local autonomy, as the term *Taṇiyūr* suggests. We, too, have our problems of self-government, both provincial and local. Can the past give us any guidance in solving our present problems? This is an absorbing theme. Into the detailed discussion of this I do not feel myself competent to enter now, but one line of thought may be suggested. In the community of which we spoke, there were all the conditions present to develop a sense of responsibility in those in whom the power of government was vested. The successful management of the affairs of the village depended on the sense of responsibility felt by the members of the village who had a right to be present in the village assembly, and had a right to be elected to one of the committees. That they all belonged to one caste, they had, from the economic point of view, to gain or lose by attending to their village affairs enthusiastically or

otherwise, they had administrative responsibility, and they had leisure—these are all factors which could help to develop a corporate will, a will of the community for the common good. In other words there were all the natural and artificial bonds which were necessary to knit them into a body with a oneness of purpose. The oneness of religion and language, the sense of kinship, economic benefit, and administrative responsibility were all harnessed together to one central purpose, the efficient management of village affairs for the common good of all; the sense of neighbourhood and the opportunity for leisure helped the process.

The success of our modern democracies depends to a large extent on the sense of responsibility that the citizen is able to develop. To that end, local self-government is surely the best training ground. No doubt the present conditions are radically different from those in the joint community of which we have spoken. The intensification of private property and competition makes public power a ready hand-maid to private profit; communal and linguistic rivalries divide the members of the body politic one from another; and there is hardly leisure for the mass of the people to consider common affairs. The existence of these differences, which are really obstacles, only implies that the method of approach to re-vitalise the village must be different. To recreate old conditions is simply chimerical, nor does it seem necessary. Under altered conditions, a new method must be discovered of achieving the same objective.

Perhaps, a healthy, broad-based co-operative movement, embracing within its scope not only credit but other aspects of village life, including purchase and sale of commodities and insurance, may have potentialities, not dreamt of by us; but surely it cannot be beyond the ingenuity of statesmanship and the earnest student of the social sciences to find out a good way of achieving the object, viz., how to revitalise village life by developing the corporate sense of responsibility in the villager for the welfare of the village, so that it may be a happier place for him to live in.

Mahendragiri, Ruler of Pishtapura

By

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IN l. 19 of the celebrated Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta occurs the passage *Paishṭapuraka-Mahēndragiri-Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta*—which has been most indifferently dealt with by antiquarians and epigraphists. Grammar, however, requires that the words comprising it should be divided, as I have just done it. We have in the first place to remember that none of the king's names is coupled with more than one locality, as Fleet himself has aptly remarked. Secondly, the name of every locality is marked with *vṛiddhi* at the beginning and with the suffix *ka* at the end. If these two points are to guide us in the division of the words of this passage, I am afraid it is not possible to divide them otherwise. This is admitted by Fleet even. For, he rightly says : ‘ The first inclination then might be, divide the text thus, *Paishṭapuraka-Mahēndragiri-Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta* : and to translate, “ Mahēndragiri of Pishtapura, and Svāmidatta of Kōṭṭūra¹ ”. It is a great pity that Fleet did not stick to his first inclination, which is perfectly in accordance with grammar and common sense. The reason he specifies for giving up this view is that “ though *giri* or *gīr* is a very common termination of proper names in the present day, it is used only as a religious title, and is affixed only to the names of Gōsāvis, and even among them it would seem to be confined to one particular division of the Daśanāmī-Gōsāvis. . . I think, therefore, that, in the absence of any other analogous instance, it would in all probability be incorrect to accept it as a suitable termination for a king's name ”. Fleet therefore divides the passage into *Paishṭapuraka-Mahendra* and *giri-Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta*. This procedure sets the rules of grammar completely at naught, because the *vṛiddhi* in *Kauṭṭūraka* clearly shows that the word *giri* preceding it is to be connected with Mahēndra. Again, if *giri* had really formed part of the name of the country whose ruler Svāmidatta was, we should have had *Gairikōṭṭūraka* instead of *giri-Kauṭṭūraka*. Secondly, it is not necessary to take *giri* here as a denominational suffix similar to that of *giri* or *gīr* of Gōsāvis, as Fleet has done. It is best to understand the whole of Mahēndragiri as one name and as the proper name of the ruler of Pishtapura. If the names

of the sacred rivers have been adopted as individual names among Hindu females, the names of the sacred mountains have similarly been adopted among Hindu males. Thus mountain names like Himādri, Hēmādri, and Śēshādri are found used as proper names not only in modern but also in ancient India. If Śēshādri (= Vēṅkaṭagiri) is a sacred mountain in the Tamil, Mahēndragiri is so in the Telugu country. And if Śēshādri can be the name of an individual, there is no reason why Mahēndragiri should not be so.

EDITORS NOTE

[That Prof. Bhandarkar's argument cannot be refuted is obvious from similar examples found in inscriptions. There was among the Koṇḍaviḍu Reddis, for example, a *Śrīgiri* who lived about A.D. 1406. See *Madras Topo. List. Inscriptions*, II, NL 321. Another member of the clan was called Kumaraḡiri (1381-1407), who founded the Raḡamaahendra branch of the Reddis by handing over that tract to Kaṭaya Vema. *Ibid.*, Gd 17. Similar examples are available in Śvētagiri, Vēdagiri, Bhadrāḡiri etc., though the fuller form in regard to these names is got by adding *Indra*, *Natha*, *Leṇa*, etc., to the main stem.]

The Key to Indian History

By

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WE seek to honour a distinguished South Indian historian, South Indian not only in the sense that he belongs to South India, but also in the sense that South India has been the chosen field of the research and the writings by which he has won distinction. Can we find any better tribute than to make our own humble contributions to South Indian History? In this brief paper the writer cannot hope to "advance the bounds of knowledge;" it must suffice if it does something to stimulate activity in the prosecution of those studies in which Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has been a pioneer.

The time-honoured *datum* of Indian History—the Aryan Migration—has not been swept away, though the need for its re-valuation in the light of recent discovery is generally recognised. But what follows the Migration? Hitherto the story has usually been unfolded in the light of a dominating conception—the Aryanisation of India. Quite apart from any revision of facts, it will modify the tone of many passages if we suggest that the process may no less truly be stated as the Indianisation of the Aryans.

Space does not permit an exposure of the old fallacy of confusing race and language. Nor should it be necessary: it is sufficient to name it. But is no caution needed against the fallacy of names—the notion that a name is a guarantee of identity? To keep clear of Indian controversies, take a case from the West. The northern barbarians who first brought the language into the Aegean area may reasonably be called 'Greeks' or Hellenes.' (It is difficult, without either pedantry or question-begging, not to give them the name). But we cannot proceed to equate these 'Greeks' with the Greeks who fought at Marathon and Salamis, who built the Parthenon, and gave us *The Bacchae* and *The Crito*. That is like assessing a man by his father's qualities only, and forgetting that he had a mother, or (to take a crude but relevant example) discussing a mule as if it were merely an ass, without saying a word about the horse in its ancestry.

All through history we find that the tests men have most readily accepted (because they were most easily applied) to discriminate between themselves and 'foreigners' have been language and religion.

As a preliminary to a more searching inquiry, apply these rough tests to the supposed Āryanisation of India. In language, it is obvious that South India remains to this day un-Āryanised : its speech is persistently Dravidian.

The test of religion is not so easy to apply : the complexity and variety of all that is vaguely summed up under the term 'Hinduism' present endless difficulties. But a partial clarification is possible. To begin with, the high philosophic doctrine which scholars quite intelligibly tend to put in the forefront, can we legitimately speak of it as Āryan ? To say it is 'Vedic' is not enough—even if the term were more precise than it is. Is it found in the Hymns ? Until it can be shown that it antedates the Migration it would be rash to say it is Āryan. The part played in the development of the doctrine in historic times by Sankarācārya and Rāmānujācārya gives further food for thought. On the face of it, the South has had something to say in the story : just how much is a question that must wait.

When we turn to the popular cults which bulk so large in work-a-day Hinduism, the result is much the same. To be frank, they are amazingly unlike anything we can, on independent grounds, label as 'Āryan'. A few points must suffice. A student of the Hinduism of the masses is certain to be struck by (1) the veneration of the cow, (2) the popularity of Gaṇeśa and (3) the ubiquitous appearance of the bull and the snake. Is there a hint of any one of them in a context incontestably Āryan ? They fit the ideas of the Indianisation of the Āryans more readily than anything we can call the Āryanisation of India.

Even more telling is the consideration of certain elements which rise above the temple cults and in some measure mediate between them and the philosophies—*Ahimsā* and the doctrine of Transmigration. Neither has the air of being originally Āryan. The jovial flesh-eaters of pre-Migration days might be expected to pay about as much heed to the claims of *Ahimsā* as the Homeric Achæans or the writers of John Company. But if these things are not Āryan, we have not simply to ask next, 'Whence did they come ?' : we have also to ask, 'what then do we mean by the Āryanisation of India' ?

In passing, it is pertinent to glance at the thorny problem of caste, though it is too vast for even a preliminary discussion here. While the actual castes of to-day can only be affiliated to anything 'Vedic' by a veritable *tour-de-force*, they have affinities which seem to reach far back in the life of South India. Is not that true also of *Ahimsā* and the closely related ideas of Transmigration ?

If the necessary re-orientation of Indian History is to be effected, we need first a searching examination—or re-examination—of all ele-

ments which are not demonstrably "Āryan" (i.e., which cannot be proved to be characteristic of the Āryans *before the Migration**), and still more of any elements which are (even *prima facie*) non-Āryan. Thus, to use examples already mentioned, a critical and historical investigation of (1) the cow-cult, (2) the worship of Gaṇeśa, (3) *Ahimsā* and (4) Transmigration, is urgently needed, and might be expected to yield valuable results. To add (at some risk) an instance that comes very near home—What is the historical significance of the distinction between Tenkalai and Vādakalai? "Every schoolboy knows" that they differ on important points of theology. But as an answer to the question, this is no more convincing than to say that the schism between East and West in Europe was due to a difference of opinion on the *Filio-que* clause.

The thrilling discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro must be noted, since they obviously confirm the view that the full interpretation of Indian History demands attention to the non-Āryan elements no less than to the Āryan. Unfortunately for the present argument, they still have the effect of concentrating interest in the North. The plea for greater attention to South India is not to be dismissed or discounted as a piece of local or parochial enthusiasm. It rests on solid historical principles. To unravel the process indicated as the 'Indianisation of the Āryans' nothing can help us more than a careful, detailed study of pre-Āryan or non-Āryan India. To say that South India has not been Āryanised at all is much too sweeping: but obviously it has only been Āryanised to a limited extent. By studying India where it is least Āryanised—in the South, and especially in the Tamil country—is the most hopeful line of approach to the fuller revelation of pre-Āryan India. The key to Indian History lies in South India: and it is for us—the writers and readers of this *Festschrift*—to take up the challenge.

*Quite obviously, to prove that a Norman family in England in the twelfth century followed a certain custom is not an adequate proof that it is a Norman custom.

Irrigation under the Vijayanagar Kings

By

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ONE of the important duties of a State is to enhance the economic prosperity of its people. In an agricultural country like India this can be done by helping the people to increase their agricultural resources; and that in its turn can be achieved by two methods: one by destroying forests and forming new villages in which fresh lands could be brought under cultivation, and the other by affording greater facilities for growing larger quantities of corn in the older villages.

The Vijayanagar sovereigns realised the importance of improving irrigation facilities for agricultural improvement. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, the greatest of the Vijayanagar kings, says in his Telugu work, the *Āmuktamālyāda*, that, if the empire of a ruler is too small to be expanded, the tanks and other irrigation works within the State should be improved so that prosperity could increase.¹ Such an improvement would also cause an increase in the yield from the land. The construction of great irrigation works was generally undertaken by the Government. It also encouraged private initiative, and at times gave concessions and remissions in the matter of taxation on the lands so irrigated.

CONSTRUCTION.

The Vijayanagar inscriptions are replete with instances of the rulers' anxiety to give irrigational facilities to the people. According to an epigraph of 1368 A.D. Bhāskara Bavadūra, a prince of the first Vijayanagar dynasty, constructed a huge tank with many sluices in the modern Cuddapah district, one of the famine-stricken areas of the Madras Presidency. The inscription describes the way in which it was made. It says that a thousand men were employed in the work, that a hundred carts were used for getting stones for the walls that formed part of the masonry work, and that it took two years to finish the work. The dam was 5000 *rēkha-daṇḍas* long, eight *rēkha-daṇḍas* wide, and seven high.² The tank remains even to this day in sufficiently good order and use and speaks well of the labour and money spent on it. In 1388, under the

1. *Āmukta*—Canto. 4 st. 236.

2. *E.I.* XIV p. 99.

orders of Bukka II, the Hydraulic Engineer (*Jalasūtra*), Śiṅga Bhaṭṭa by name, led the river Henne through a channel to the Śiruvāra tank apparently for affording irrigation facilities.³

The Vijayanagar sovereigns realised the value of converting valleys into tanks for irrigation purposes. Thus during the time of Naraśiṅgarāya Mahārāya a valley in the Anantapur district was converted into a tank and named Narasāmbudhi.⁴ Similarly, in A.D. 1533 a big tank was formed from the river Ārkkavati, and it will be interesting to note that this tank is now the source of water supply to Bangalore.⁵

When Paes visited Vijayanagar, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was constructing a big tank near his capital to provide irrigation to the fields and to supply water to the new city of Nāgalāpura. The chronicler describes⁶ it in the following terms :

“The king made a tank there which, as it seems to me, has the width of a falcon shot and it is at the mouth of two hills so that all the water that comes from either one side or the other collects there ; and besides this, water comes to it from more than three leagues by pipes which run along the lower parts of the range outside. This water is brought from a lake which itself overflows into a little river. The tank has three large pillars handsomely carved with figures ; these connect above with certain pipes by which they get water when they have to irrigate their gardens and rice fields. In order to make this tank the said King broke down a hill which enclosed the ground occupied by the said tank. In the tank I saw so many people at work that there must have been 15 or 20,000 men looking like ants so that you cannot see the ground on which they walked, so many there were : this tank the king portioned out among his captains, each of whom had the duty of seeing that the people placed under him did their work and that the tank was finished and brought to completion.” Nuniz also mentions the construction of the tank, and says that Kṛṣṇa Rāya was assisted in the work by Paōa della Ponte, a greater Portuguese worker in stone.⁷ He made many sluices in connection with the tank, and constructed many pipes by which water was let out when necessary. Nuniz further says that by means of this water he made many improvements in the city and many

3. E.C. X., G.D. 6.

4. 710 of 1917.

5. E.C. IX, N.L. 31.

6. Sewell—*A Forg. Emp.* pp. 244-45.

7. *Ibid* pp. 364-65 ; He says that Kṛṣṇa Rāya did not first succeed in his attempt and since he was told by a few people that his failure was due to the fact that the Gods were not pleased with him and suggested that he should appease them by offering sacrifices to them, he offered a sacrifice of those prisoners in his empire who, he thought, deserved death.

channels by which they irrigated rice fields and gardens. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya also gave them lands free for a term of nine years in the portions irrigated by that tank, so that they could make improvements⁸ on them.

The State also encouraged private initiative in such irrigation works. This encouragement generally took the form of *Dāśavanda* grants to such public-spirited men.⁹

Thus when one Harinidēva Voḷayār constructed a tank in a particular place in the Mysore district, he received a grant from Dēva Rāya, and when subsequently he extended the tank, he was granted another village.¹⁰ In 1513, one Sovārya received a *Daśavanda* grant in consideration of his having constructed a tank.¹¹ Similarly, the Mahājanas of Bhūpa-samudra made a *koḍege* grant of wet land to a certain person for his having executed some work in connexion with the big tank of the village.¹²

The small common channels in the villages, however, appear to have been dug by the local people themselves. In 1486-87, for instance, the residents in and around Tiruvāmāttūr (N. Arcot) sold portions of their lands to the local temple treasury for the purpose of digging a channel from the river leading to the irrigation tank of the village.¹³

MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR

The maintenance and repair of irrigation works are as important as their construction, and great attention was paid by the Vijayanagar rulers to such works. The common method of providing for them was the provision of servants and necessary materials for such works. In 1367 provision was made in the following way for the maintenance of a tank in the Arasikere Taluq. A buffalo man with his cart was appointed for it, and it was ordered that for oil, wheel, grease, crow-bar, pick-axe, etc., every cart-load of the original tenants had to pay two *tāra* and every load of areca-nut, betel and oranges was to pay also two *tāras*.¹⁴ In certain cases whole villages were granted for the maintenance of tanks. When for instance in 1513 two tanks in the Chennapatna Taluka of the Bangalore district went into repair, a village was granted for the maintenance of these tanks, and it was ordered that six carts were to be kept

8. *Ibid.* p. 365.

9. For an interpretation of the term *Daśabanda* in the different periods of Indian history see an article by V. R. R. Dikshitar in *J.I.H.* 1934.

10. *E.C.* III, My. 77.

11. 398 of 1896.

12. 782 of 1917.

13. 7 of 1922.

14. *E.C.V.*, A.K. 115.

for their maintenance, four for one and two for the other, that earth should be put on the bunds every year and the tanks kept in good condition.¹⁵ The State at times helped the people in maintaining such irrigation works in proper condition, remitting certain taxes payable to the palace, such as *Vibhūti-kāṇikai*, *Jōḍi*, and *Śūla-vari*.¹⁶ Concessions were also shown to the people in the matter of taxation when they suffered from unforeseen mishaps as from the effects of a devastating flood. Thus in 1402-03 A.D. when some villages near Valuvūr (TJ.) were lying fallow since the time the river Kaveri overflowing its banks had washed away the demarcation bounds, silted up on the irrigation channels and in consequence the tenants had abandoned the fields, the Government restored the channels, repaired the boundary banks, and rehabilitated the villages with tenants on certain favourable conditions and fixed graded rates of assessment.¹⁷ At times the income from the tanks was utilised for their maintenance. Thus the income from the lease of the fishery from the tank at Koḍuṅgaḷūr (N. Arcot) was given away by Daḷavāy Śevvappa Nayakar for deepening the tank at the place.¹⁸ In certain cases, local bodies like the Village Assemblies consented to maintain a cart driver who was to look after the upkeep of a tank.¹⁹ They also acted as the trustees of the endowments made for the maintenance of the tanks and met the expenses of the same perhaps from the interest on the capital.²⁰

The importance of maintaining tanks with drinking water was well realised especially in areas depending on rain water only. In 1518 for instance a grant of land was made for the maintenance of an *uram* at Maravamadura in the modern Pudukkōṭṭai State.²¹

Tanks and other irrigation works were repaired whenever necessary. In 1396-97, when an irrigation channel came to be blocked up, it was soon restored under the orders of Mallappa Voḍayār.²² In 1424 A.D., when the dam constructed across the river Haridrā by Bukka Rāja gave way, Nāgaṇṇa Voḍayār, the great minister of Dēva Rāja, got the necessary money from Kāma Nṛpāla, the commander-in-chief of the army, and reconstructed the dam.²³ In 1450 A.D. when three tanks in the village

15. E.C. IX, C.P. 156; see also M.A.R. 1915, p. 93.

16. 8 of 1922 Rep. p. 49.

17. 422 of 1912: (Rep. 1913. p. 52). Tj. 710 in Madras Topographical List of Inscrps, where the author draws attention to the fiscal importance of the Record.

18. 145 of 1924; see also 424 of 1922, 118, 133 and 194 of 1921.

19. E.C. IV, N.G. 39.

20. 474 of 1925.

21. P.S.I. 725.

22. 66 of 1912.

23. E.C. XI, D.V. 29.

of Kiliyanūr (S. Arcot) had breached owing to a severe storm, a local chief repaired them and built a sluice.²⁴

Private effort was not, however, lacking in the repair of irrigation works ; and in such cases also the Government in recognition of such large-hearted private effort made grants to the citizens undertaking such repairs. In 1541 A.D. the tank at the village of Timmadihalḷi (A.P.) breached in three places and the residents of the village, that is, Cennagaḍa and Timma Gaḍa, repaired the breaches at their own cost. They were granted one *kaṇḍūga* of *kaṭṭukōḍe* by the local chieftain.²⁵ In 1636 A.D. when the Laṅgaṇṇavāḍu breached, Mekala Bomma repaired it and got one-fourth part of the wet lands near the breaches as *Dasa-vanda*.²⁶ But it appears that private individuals would not repair such tanks unless they received some benefit from the Government. It was perhaps under such circumstance that, when a tank near Sidalāyanakōṭe breached in 1554 A.D., the Gawḷas, Sēnabōvas and subjects of the village made petition to the Mahānāyakācārya and offered to have the tank built if the lands under the sluice were granted to them.²⁷

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

Irrigation disputes as regards the portion and turn of water supply to the ryots of neighbouring villages do not appear to have been rare in the Vijayanagar days. When a channel was dug near Tirumalai (C.T.) by the authorities, the residents of the locality raised a serious objection to its completion on the ground that it was detrimental to the best interests of the village. The locality in question was therefore inspected by the Sthānattār and Adhikāri, Yeṇṇarasar, and the work was stopped on finding that the objections were legitimate.²⁸ In 1406-07 there arose an irrigation dispute between the villagers of Ālattūr, a hamlet of Uttaramērūr, and Attipaṇṇu, another village nearby, regarding the supply of water from the local tank. It was settled among themselves in the presence of Mahāpradhāni, Arasar (Tipparaśar).²⁹ According to another record at Cellūr (C.T.) belonging to the time of Vīra-naraśingayya Mahā Rāya, an agreement was made among the residents of the three villages, Madaivilāgam, Śilaiyūr (Cellūr) and Kaṇḍiḍu, regarding the right of irrigation from the channel called Sadāśivakōṇa.³⁰ Thus such disputes appear to have been decided amicably by the local residents themselves.

24. 154 of 1919.

25. 49 of 1917.

26. E.C. X, B.G. 71.

27. E.C. XI, H.R. 22.

28. T.T.D.I. 224.

29. 357 of 1923.

30. 419 of 1525.

New Light on the relationship between the British and the Nawwab Muhammad Ali Walajah

By

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To the students of the history of South India, the English and the French records have, so far, been the chief basis for a study of the history of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic. The Persian books on the subject have been practically a sealed book to them. A study of the Persian Chronicle like the "Tūzak-i-Wālājāhi"¹ by Burhān Ibn Ḥasan of Trichinopoly sheds fresh light upon the relationship between the British and the Nawwābs of the Wālājāhi family of the Carnatic.

It is a well-known fact in the history of South India that the English and the French who, in the beginning, were trading communities in this country, had to take part in the local feuds of the princes, lent their support to one party or another, and developed their sphere of influence. To understand this we must know the then state of affairs in the Carnatic.

The kingdom of the Carnatic included Bālāghāt and Payanghāt. The sūbah of Arcot belonged to Payanghāt which in former days was ruled by the Hindu Rājās from their capital at Gingee (Nuṣrat-gadh). The Mughal emperor, Muḥammad Awrangzēb Ālamgīr (1658-1707), directed Dhul Faqār² Khān Nuṣrat Jang, son of Jumatul Mulk Asad Khān, to take possession of Payanghāt. He made great and bold attempts, brought the whole country under his control, and annexed it to the kingdom of the Pādshāh. Some like the rulers of Trichinopoly,³ Tanjore, Ramnad, Śivaganga and others were left undisturbed, and in return for their submission and obedience were promised the protection of the Pādshāh. Nawwāb Dhul Faqār Khān was the administrator of the Carnatic for twelve years. Then according to the order of the Pād-

1. An English translation of this work is now being published by the Madras University, and the first part of it was published in 1935.

2. (The Zulfikār Khān of the text books). See the Madras University Edition of *Tuzāk-i-Wālājāhi*, p. 59 for a summary of his career.

3. See *Ind. Antiquary*, 1917 July.

shāh he appointed Dāwūd Khān,⁴ an Afghan of the rank of *manṣab-dār* of the Pādshāh, as Nāib in his place at Arcot, and returned to Delhi. Nawwāb Dāwūd Khān was very brave and strong. He carried on the administration of the Sūba of Arcot with justice and equity. His *nizāmat* of Payanghāt lasted for about seven years. Then he appointed his own Diwān, Saādatullāh Khān, a member of the Nāit community, as the Nāib at Arcot, and returned to Delhi. Nawwāb Saādatullāh Khān was the first Nāit Nawwāb of the Carnatic. Thus within a period of about twenty years after the Muslims had taken possession of the Carnatic, the Nāits became its ruling community. By the time the imperial power at Delhi waned, the *Nāzims* of the Carnatic became independent. After the death of Saādatullāh Khān, there was great dispute about the succession to the throne, and eventually Nawwāb Alī Dōst Khān, his brother's son, became the *Nāzim* of Arcot. The new Nawwāb had a son and successor named Safdar Alī Khān and five sons-in-law. The chief of them were Ghūlām Murtaẓā, the younger brother of the Jāgirdār of Vellore; Taqī Alī Khān the Jāgirdār of Wandewash; Husayn Dost Khān popularly known in history as Chanda Sahib, the ruler of Trichinopoly. Thus the Nāits firmly established their authority in the Carnatic, and became independent after the dismemberment of the Mughal empire.

The *Nāzims* of the Sūba of Arcot had, from the days of Nawwāb Dbul Faqār Khān, direct relationship with the emperor of Delhi, and had no connections with the *wazīrs* of the Deccan. Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh Nizām-ul-Mulk, when he was appointed as *Wazīr* of the Deccan by the emperor at Delhi, planned that the Sūba of Arcot also should be brought under his control. But he did not get an opportunity till the murder of Nawwāb Safdar Alī Khān, when confusion and turmoil occurred, and the affairs of the government were in a state of neglect. Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh then found a favourable chance. He immediately descended on the Payanghat with a big army, entered the town of Arcot without any trouble or opposition, established himself, and set in order the affairs of the Government. All the nobles submitted to him and presented him with *nadhr*. The confusion which was prevalent among the Nāits slowly subsided. Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh entrusted the reins of the management of the Sūba of Arcot to Khwājā Abdullāh Khān, and according to the request of the latter made all the peoples of the Nāit community captives, took them along with his army and departed from Arcot. On the following day when Khwājā Abdullāh Khān was getting ready for the early morning prayer, he slipped suddenly from the platform, fell on his face, and breathed his last. Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh, who had not covered even a mile, halted at once on hearing this news. He formed a council, and

4. The Daud Khān of the Text-books.

chose Nawwāb Anwarud-Dīn Khān Bahādur, one of his devoted nobles, as the *Nāzim* of Arcot. The newly-appointed *Nāzim* had great respect and consideration for men of rank. So he requested Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh that the *Nāits* be released and enabled to accompany him to Arcot. The *Wazīr* who had gauged the enmity and mischief of the *Nāits* advised him not to plead on their behalf, and said that they would awaken the sleeping mischief, and hatch intrigues which it would be beyond his power to suppress. Nawwāb Anwarud-dīn did not view the situation with the same mature wisdom as Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh. Finally, after considerable pleading, the chains of bondage were removed from these people, and they were enabled to accompany him as free and honourable men. We shall presently see that the liberation of the *Nāits* was one of the great blunders of the new *Nāzim*.

Nawwāb Anwarud-dīn Khān Bahādur reached Arcot with the *Nāits*, and took charge of the government. He enquired into the conditions of his subjects and soldiers, and did all things that would give them comfort and peace. He bestowed excessive kindness on his nobles, and the *Nāits* were enfolded in his kind disposition; all the *jāgīrdārs* and *zamin-dārs* became obedient. The European merchants who were settlers in the Carnatic, submitted the customary gifts, paid *pēshkash* for the estates under their management, and gave proof of their sincerity and fidelity. But the *Nāits* were always a source of trouble to the new *Nāzim*. There were two parties among them, one was led by Muhammad Husayn Khān Tāhir, the *Jāgīrdar* of Amburgadh and formerly *diwān* of Nawwāb Ali Dōst Khān, and the other led by Mir Asadullāh Khān, the *Jāgīrdār* of Chetpet and previously the *diwān* of Nawwāb Safdar Ali Khān. The two *diwāns* differed from each other in religion as well as in politics: the one was a Sunni and a Shafi, while the other belonged to the sect which believed in the twelve *Imāms*. It was out of this enmity between the two that the Nawwāb Safdar Ali Khān was murdered before the advent of Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh to Arcot, and his son during the rule of Nawwāb Anwarud-dīn. Besides, they were a discontented lot since they had lost their power, and were always aiming to get it back. The French who were closely bound by ties of friendship with them when they were in power and enjoyed special privileges during their regime were also displeased with the new *Nāzim*, because he was just and fair to every interest. Further, as a result of the impartial administration of Nawwāb Anwarud-dīn, the high position of the French was adversely affected, and the power of the English began to rise. Naturally, the French were upset by the growth of the English power, and wanted to destroy their prosperity. Just then war broke out in Europe between the English and the French, and the contagion spread to their colonies on the Indian coast. Dupleix, the Governor at Pondicherry, wished to send an army for the subjugation of Fort St.

George and Fort St. David belonging to English, but he feared he would be blamed by the Sarkār for this aggression. He revealed his secret intentions to the nobles of the Nāit community, and sought their help in the affair. The Nāits, who were biting their hands in rage after the decline of the prosperity they had enjoyed under the *nizāmat* of their own community, and were eagerly looking for such mischief, emboldened the French in their design. By all kinds of argument they implanted in their breasts the possibility of the subjugation of the two forts. The French were won over by these arguments, and in 1158 A.H. (1745 A.D.) they attacked Fort St. George. After its subjugation, they marched towards Fort St. David. On hearing of this, Nawwāb Anwarud-Dīn was agitated, and gave expression to these words :

'Both these two groups are under the protection of the Sarkār. What authority is there for the one to raise its hand against the other ? If there be differences between the two groups, it is only in their homeland, and not in this land of peace, this heart-exhilarating country. This is a region under the shadow of the protection of our Pādshā free from confusion and disturbance. 'This is under my jurisdiction by the *farmān* of justice that adorns the world, preserved from the damage of tyranny and baseness. It behoves me that I put forth the hand of discipline, pull the ears of the wicked and help as far as possible the obedient.'"⁵

Then he despatched his son, Muhammad Mahfūz Khān Bahādur, with an army for the purpose of expelling the French from Fort St. George, and restoring it to the English. The French, who, at the instance of the Nāit nobles, had lost all respect for the Nawwāb, arrayed their troops, and attacked the forces of the Sarkār during the night. The Nawwāb's army, which was not prepared for a night assault, got confused and dispersed. Distressed at the news of this defeat, Nawwāb Anwarud-dīn directed his other son, Nawwāb Muhammad Alī, to put an end to the mischievous activities of the French in this language :—

"Now the French have crossed the limits and have subdued and brought under their control Fort St. George belonging to the English. To maintain the honour of our administration, to establish the power of *Nizāmat*, to teach a lesson to the proud and the vain, to help those who hold fast the handle of trust-worthiness and obedience, to improve the standard of administration, to discharge all these responsibilities of a sovereign, we commissioned Muhammad Mahfūz Khān Bahādur, your elder brother, and entrusted him with the task of capturing from the French and restoring to the English their lost possessions. We come to know that he is worthless and inexperienced. We wished to engage

ourselves in this enterprise, but emancipation due to old age and the sickness of our body prevents us. We leave to your hands the untying of this knot, which cannot be easily united. Our good name rests on the release of Chennapattan (Fort St. George) from the hands of the French and its restoration to the English, on the demand of the expenses of the expedition from that weak enemy, on the capture of the fort of Pulcheri (Pondicherry) and of the expulsion of the French from the territory of the Carnatic. These should be carried out properly. Finish this work, and let the happy news of your victory spread far and wide.”⁶

This letter gives us an idea of the situation. The French were primary offenders against a subject community loyal to the ruling power. It was but natural for the *Nātim* to help the English and undo the wrong done to them by the French. Nawwāb Ali marched with his army, reached Fort St. David, consoled and comforted Mr. John Hinde, the Deputy-Governor of the place, who was much distressed on account of the smallness of the forces and the absence of help. Next day the Nawwāb's forces were drawn up in battle-array, a fierce fight ensued, and Muhammad Ali returned to his tent victoriously full of joy and happiness. On the following day, he invited the Deputy-Governor of Fort St. David to his presence, and after happy inquiries and kind words, honoured him with the present of a pair of horses and a pair of *khilat*. Thus his assistance to the English at the time of difficulty made them feel thankful, placed them under obligation and made them join hands with the Nawwāb. This was the first occasion when Nawwāb Muhammad Ali Wālājāh helped the English. In the words of Burhān, “The white Frangs and the black Indians are as intimately united as the white and the black of the eye.” Nawwāb Muhammad Ali was so friendly with the English that the two kings George II and George III addressed him with the title of “Brother”, and wrote letters to the following effect.

“As long as our authority over England and the administration of Nawwab Muhammad Ali Walajah in the Carnatic continues generation after generation, the friendship and union between the two powers will be permanent and firm.”

Thus the interest of the English in the new dynasty and the interest of the French in the *Nāits* gained strength day by day. Then the death of Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh Nizām-ul-Mulk, the Wazir of the Deccan, happened just at the time when Husayn Dōst Khān (Chanda Sahib), an able member of the *Nāit* community, was released by the Mahrattas. Naturally troubles arose in the Deccan. Husayn Dōst Khān set up

6. *Ibid*, p. = 118.

Hidayat Muhideen Khān (later on Muzaffar Jang), grandson of Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh as the Wazir of the Deccan and promised him the support of his community as well as that of the French. But the Nāzim of Arcot who owed his allegiance to Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh had naturally to uphold the claims of Nawwāb Naṣir Jang, the son of the late Wazir, and the English who were indebted to the Nāzim of Arcot for help against the French and who depended upon the good will of the Nāzim for their future welfare naturally took sides with him.

The years that followed the death of Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh were full of stirring events. There was the battle of Ambūr and the death of Nawwāb Anwarud-Dīn Khān Bahādur.

Nawwāb Naṣir Jang, the son and successor of Nawwā Āsaf Jāh, arrived at Payanghāt to punish Hidayat Muhiyud-dīn Khān and Husayn Dōst Khān. Nawwāb Muhammad Ali Wālājāh met him at Belpūr, and both marched towards Pondicherry. Hidayat Muhiyud-Dīn Khān and Husayn Dōst Khān who had already been put to flight by the forces of Nawwāb Muhammad Ali came out from Pondicherry with some French troops and artillery, and pitched tents at a distance of twelve miles. Nawwāb Naṣir Jang and Nawwāb Muhammad Ali reached the camp of the two Khāns, and lost no time in pitching tents and beginning the attack. When Husayn Dōst Khān and the commander of the French forces saw the firmness and boldness of the Wazir's army, they had not the courage to oppose them. They turned the reins away from the field of battle, ran to Hidayat Muhiyud-Dīn Khān, explained to him the situation, and suggested that a retreat to Pondicherry would be advisable in the circumstances. When they saw Hidayat Muhiyud-Dīn struggling between shame and repentance, they abandoned their friendship, and ran towards Pondicherry, leaving him alone. Hidayat Muhiyud-Dīn Khān, anxious and friendless, grew sick and distressed, and spent the whole night on the elephant's back. Next morning, he was taken prisoner by the order of Nawwāb Naṣir Jang. Some days passed, and Nawwāb Naṣir Jang desired to attack and subjugate Pondicherry, and bring back his sister, the mother of the imprisoned Khān, and to expel the rebellious French from the Deccan. But their allies tried in all earnestness to lay out plans and destroy all the attempts of the Nawwāb to carry out his wish. The well-wishers of the Nawwāb advised him to proceed in person to pull down and subdue the fort of Pondicherry, pointed out to him that the existence of Hidayat Muhiyud-Dīn Khān would augment mischief and ferment the humour of rebellion, and suggested that the destruction of the Khān would be a prudent measure. But the enemies of justice, namely Himmat Bahādur Khān, the jāgirdār of Cuddappah, Abdul-Nābi Khān the Nāzim of Kurnool, and others joined Rājā Rāmdās the *Peshkar-bakhshi* of the army of the Nawwāb

Nasir Jang and conspired among themselves for the purpose of improving and strengthening the position of Hidayat Muhiyud-Dīn Khān. They came to an understanding with the French by which they were to somehow induce Nawwāb Nasir Jang to go to Arcot, divert him from his thoughts of laying siege to Pondicherry, and thus gain time. Eventually, the Nawwāb was deceived by their arguments, and gave orders for the army to March to Arcot. Nawwāb Muhammad Ali became aware of the possible consequences, and invited, from the adjoining Fort St. David, the English whom he had found to be bold and trustworthy. He arranged for an interview of the English with the Wazīr, and favourably recommended them to him. In the meanwhile, the conspirators instigated the jāgirdārs of the Nāit community to supply the necessary things to the French army who were strengthened by their assistance. They first attacked the fort of Tiruvadi (Tiruvadikai) near Panrutti, and subdued it in two days. They got reinforcements, descended on Chinglepet, and occupied the fort without great effort. Nawwāb Nasir Jang was afflicted by these losses, and desired to march in person on Pondicherry. But the conspirators were there again with their deceitful arguments, and dissuaded the Nawwāb from his purpose. According to their advice, Tahmāsp Khān, a Turk and an able Sardār holding a *mansab* from the Padshāh, was despatched to Chinglepet, and Nawwāb Muhammad Ali was chosen to settle the affairs at the fort of Tiruvadi. Muhammad Ali attacked the fort with his own army, and that of the English. Owing to the severity of the siege and the firing of the guns by the English forces, the besieged were reduced to narrow straits, and the fort was about to fall. On being informed of this situation, Husayn Dōst Khān and Dupleix immediately wrote to the conspirators as follows:—

“It is certain that the fortress at Pulcheri (Pondicherry) will be reduced to narrow straits in case the fort of Tiruvadi goes out of our hands on account of the brave attack of Nawwāb Wālahāh and the English. It is prudent to find a remedy before the calamity happens. Work out such a plan that will end the friendship of the English with Nawwāb Walajah.”

The conspirators became vigilant at this suggestion. They recalled to their minds a former request of the English through Nawwāb Muhammad Ali seeking the grant of the jagir of Poonamale in return for their undertaking to subjugate Pondicherry. Further they saw clearly the inevitable expulsion of the French and the destruction of their settlements. Hence they submitted the Wazīr the following arguments in such a manner as to deceive him.

“Nawwab Walajah had secured the friendship of the English by giving them the hope of the grant of the jagir of Poonamale. If the

power and the will of Husayn Dost Khan and Hidayat Muhiyud-Din Khan had not invested the French with authority, all this mischief and anarchy proceeding from injustice of the Christians would not have happened at all in this kingdom of Your Highness. At present the preference of Nawwāb Walajah for the English and the promise of the grant of the taluk of Poonamale to them do not appear to be untainted from deceit. What troubles it may give birth to and to what extent it may bring disappointments are not known. The removal of such evils if allowed to grow will become an arduous task; the remedy for these troubles is beyond our reason and intelligence."⁷

The Wazir's mind was agitated at this. Immediately he resolved that the territory of the Deccan should be freed from all European merchants. He issued a strict order to Nawwāb Muhammad Ali requiring him to sever his relationship with the English and drive them from their settlements. He appointed Abdul Nabi Khān and Hummat Bahādur Khān, the Nāzims of Cuddappa and Kurnool, to subjugate Fort St. David and Fort St. George. The mind of Nawwāb Muhammad Ali was afflicted to learn this. He understood it to be the mischief of the conspirators, and feared that, were the English expelled, the strength of the French would certainly increase, Pondicherry would become the refuge for the enemies, and it would be a perennial cause of confusion. In great sorrow he withdrew from the siege of Tiruvadi, and hastened to Arcot. He sent a large sum of money from the collection of the revenues of Arcot to Rājā Rāmdās, the Bakhshi of the Wazir's army, to whom he confided his secret in the following manner. "Though I would leave off my friendship with the English in obedience to the command of the Wazir, I request your favour for allowing them to continue in their present position and save them from the calamity of expulsion. Else, it will be proclaimed as far as Europe that such destruction befell that community because of my friendship." The Rājā agreed to the proposal. The Nawwāb Muhammad Ali appeared before the Wazir in the company of Shāh Nawāz Khān, the dīwān, and submitted as follows: "The present rebellion of the French is directed mainly to disturb the peace of other Frang merchants. Perhaps this may lead to their union also, which will not find appreciation at the hands of far-sighted statesmen according to the wisdom contained in the verse 'If ants unite among themselves, they will eat away the skin of the furious lion.'"

Thus Nawwāb Wālājāh prevented the two Sardārs from marching against the settlements of the English. This is the second occasion when the Nawwāb underwent great anxiety, and made great exertions to save the English.

Sometime later, Dupleix was recalled by the French Government. He reached home, and spent one full year forlorn and in humiliation on account of the displeasure of the king. Finally, he gave the king a detailed account of the state of the country of Hindustan and its wealth, and assured him that the country could be easily conquered with a little but firm endeavour. The French king was deceived by these details and despatched Lally to Pondicherry giving him command over a well-organised army equipped with the necessary implements of warfare for the purpose of subjugating the country of Hindustan. He reached Pondicherry at a time when the English and the Nawwāb Muhammad Alī had, on account of declaration of war by Sirājūd-Dawlā, the ruler of Bengal, despatched under Clive almost all their forces to Calcutta by ship. In various forts and other places of the Carnatic all that was kept was barely necessary to guard them. Lally reached Pondicherry and opened hostilities. Muhammad Najibullāh Khān, the brother of Nawwāb Muḥammad Alī, joined the French with the army of the Sūba of Nellore, Ghulām Murtaza Khān, the Qilādār of Vellore, and every one of the nobles of the Nāit community who possessed jāgīrs and forts came out from every nook and corner with their army, troop after troop, and reached Pondicherry in great jubilation. Haydar Ali Khān also shot forth from another side. The zamindars and pālayagārs in the kingdom of the Carnatic rebelled against Nawwāb Muhammad Alī, and joined the French and Riza Ali Khān (Rājā Sāhib). The orders of Salābat Jang also arrived, supporting the French; Busy marched from Chicacole with his large army, and joined Lally; and in these difficult times Nawwāb Wālājah alone was firm and ready to help the English.

The combined forces of the French and the allies first attacked the fort at Chētpet and subjugated it. Lally then held a council of war, and decided to postpone his plan to strike at Fort St. George, particularly for the reason of the presence there of Nawwāb Muhammad Alī, and chose Fort St. David for his attack. Then he laid siege to the fort. The commander applied for speedy help to George Becket, the Governor of Fort St. George. The latter deliberated with the members of the council, but felt too helpless to render succour to Fort St. David, because of the smallness of the army and of the absence of the major portion of it in Bengal. So he presented himself before Nawwāb Muhammad Alī with General Lawrence and others, delivered the letter of the commander of Fort St. David, and submitted as follows :

“In former days the fort was preserved from the attack of the French owing to the help of the sarkār, and the enemy turned away with disgrace and shame. At present, we, the devoted servants, without your lordly support, feel it impossible to repel the calamity by our endeavour.” In reply to this the Nawwāb Muhammad Alī advised them to

vacate all the forts and concentrate their attention on the two forts of Fort St. George and Trichinopoly. George Becket and the members of the council and General Lawrence valued this suggestion greatly; they vacated all the forts; some were filled with gunpowder, set fire to, and blown up. Then they exerted themselves to strengthen the forts of Fort St. George and Trichinopoly. Two-thirds of the available forces of the English as well as of the Nawwāb were sent to defend Fort St. George, and the remaining one-third was deputed to guard Trichinopoly. Lally, after subjugating Fort St. David, reached Fort St. George, laid siege to it, pulled down and destroyed its towers, and filled up the ditch on one side of the Fort. The anxiety of the besieged increased day by day. So, Nawwāb Muhammad Ali started to Trichinopoly by sea, to send them from there the necessary reinforcements. The Nawwāb arrived at Trichinopoly, and despatched an army under the leadership of Muhammad Yūsuf Khān and Abdul Wahab Khān. Lally fought against these two at Frangikonda, but was compelled to retreat to Fort St. George. Abdul Wahhab Khān Bahādur attacked the army of Lally at night and put them to flight. Lally was convinced of the hopelessness of his attempt against Fort St. George. On the same day, and in the midst of much confusion, he saw, by means of a telescope, three British ships arriving. He understood that it was impossible to stay there further, and so he left his equipage, lost his discretion, and ran towards Kanchi.

This was the third critical occasion for the English, and they overcame this difficulty with the help of Nawwāb Muhammad Ali Wālājāh. Thus, from the beginning of the declaration of hostilities by Nawwāb Anwarud-Dīn Khān Bahādur against the French, Nawwāb Muhammad Ali helped the English in all their difficulties with men and money, not only out of his generosity, but also out of respect for the policy enunciated by his father. He brought his influence to bear on all their activities, so that in course of time the English grew powerful, and the French were vanquished.

Later on, the relationship between Lord Macartney and Nawwāb Wālājāh became unsatisfactory, and even strained. Once, in the open council at Fort St. George, General Coote disputed with Lord Macartney thus: "It is not the manner of the wise to wound the feelings of a benefactor. As far as possible there must be consideration for Nawwāb Walajah." Lord Macartney replied "In the face of justice we have got rights over him (Nawwāb Wālājāh), for without our support it is impossible for him to maintain his rule." Coote retorted, "General Lawrence and I have been here in this country for a long time. We know these disputes from the very beginning. I have grown grey in these services. I have heard much from General Lawrence and others. We know more

of the past than you, for you are young. Though our people helped him in all affairs, yet we have found suitable wages and presents to the extent of our labour, and realised the advantages of such a help. Kindness to our people especially on three occasions of difficulty, is such as cannot be repaid. The help and support he gave on these three occasions is the reason for the stability of the English nation to-day in this country of Hindustan. But for this help, the French, instead of our people, would have been all-powerful in the affairs of this country.”⁸

8. Part I—Burhān's *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhi*, Part I, pp. 124-25.

The Dindima Poets and Arunagirinatha of the Tiruppuhal

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Two inscriptions of the village of Mullandram, North Arcot district, mention the Diṇḍima Kavis of that place. One of them, No. 396 of 1911, states that the Mahājanas of the village Praudhadēvarāyapuram, alias Mullandram, including the poet Diṇḍima Kavi, assigned house-sites to certain masons. It is dated in the cyclic year *Raudri* which corresponded to A.D. 1440 or 1441. Another, No. 397 of 1911, dated Śaka 1472, Sādhārāṇa (A.D. 1550), speaks of 'the gift of land by a Brāhmaṇa lady to the shrine of Aṇṇāmalainātha, built by her in the temple of Svayambhunātha for the merit of herself and her husband Kumāra Diṇḍimar Aṇṇāmalaināthar.'¹ This Brāhman lady was a descendant of a Diṇḍima Kavi who was also known by the name of Aṇṇāmalaināthar, and who was fit enough to be worshipped.² The general belief is that this Aṇṇāmalaināthar was Aruṇagiri, the inspired poet whose songs, collectively known as the *Tiruppuhal* or 'sacred praise' in honour of Lord Subrahmanya, are still reverently sung in the Tamil country. Since the inscription couples the names of Aṇṇāmalaināthar and Diṇḍima, it behoves us to discover the relation between the author of the *Tiruppuhal* and the Diṇḍima Kavis of Mullandram.

An attempt was made by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, to utilise these two inscriptions and a manuscript chronicle (preserved in the village of Mullandram), to establish the identity of Arunagirinātha.³ But, unfortunately, some discrepancies are noticeable in his observations, and hence, the whole question has to be re-examined.

The literary materials used by Mr. Gopinatha Rao included (1) the *Vibhāgapatra-mālā* or the chronicle mentioned above, (2) the *Subhadrā-*

1. V. Rangacharya's 'Topographical List of The Inscriptions, Madras Presidency'; N. A. Nos. 208 and 209.

2. It is possible to argue that the shrine of Aṇṇāmalaināthar was one of Śiva, but it is very unlikely, as there would have been no need to construct a Śiva shrine within another Śiva shrine. Aruṇagirinātha's image is commonly worshipped in many Subrahmanya shrines.

3. *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, pp. 79, 83, 94-100 and 125-34.

dhanañjaya nātaka, by Rāmakavi, (3) the *Sōmavalli-yōgānanda-prahasana*, (4) the *Bhāgavata-champu* of Rājanātha, and the same poet's (5) *Achyuta-rāyābhyudaya* and the *Śāḷuvābhyudaya*.

The *Vibhāgapatramālā* is a local chronicle. It states that a Cōḷa king brought, on his return from a pilgrimage to Benares, eight learned Brahmans belonging to eight different gōtras, and gave them an agra-hāram called Mēṭṭaippāḍi. From the first of these donees was descended a renowned poet Tyāgarāja, the father of two sons Svayambhū and Gurusvāmi. As contemporaries of Svayambhū, there were twenty-one householders, all directly descended from the eight learned people brought to the south by the Cōḷa.

Gurusvāmi of the Kāśyapa-gōtra had twins, one a girl called Abhirāmāmbikā, and the other a boy named Sōmanātha. The girl was given in marriage to one Rājanātha of the Sāmaga-Gōtama gōtra, and she gave birth to a son named Śōṇadhara or Aruṇagiri in the expired Kali year 4400, i.e. A.D. 1299. Before his marriage, his parents died, and when he was living in the house of his uncle Sōmanātha, he was ill-treated by his aunt, whereupon he ran away to Puttūr where he slept in the Śiva temple. There he obtained the grace of Śiva, and became a poet of great repute. His fame reached the ears of the newly-crowned Prauḍha-dēvarāya, whose friend he became. He married Yagñāmbikā belonging to the Sāvarnya-gōtra.

Later, he wanted Prauḍha-dēvarāya to make him a gift of a garden in that neighbourhood and, not getting it, he went to the court of the *Suratrāṇa*, pleased him by his inspired poetry, defeated the court poet *Anapāya* alias *Kavimalla*, and obtained the title of 'Diṇḍima Sārva-bhauma-kavi. Then he returned with an order from the *Suratrāṇa* to the effect that Prauḍha-dēvarāya should make over the garden to him. Prauḍha obeyed, and Aruṇagiri constructed an agra-hāram there and also a temple in it for Śiva in the form of Sabhāpati.

From the foregoing account it is seen that Aruṇagiri was a Sārva-bhauma Diṇḍima Kavi, born in A.D. 1299. The Prauḍha-dēvarāya mentioned in it could not be Dēvarāya II of the date A.D. 1422-1449. The ruler of Aruṇagiri's locality at that time was Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III (A.D. 1292 to A.D. 1342). That king had suffered losses because Mālik Kāfur had looted and destroyed Halēbid; but in A.D. 1316 he had restored the capital. In A.D. 1328-9, he made Anṇāmalai, the southern capital of his kingdom. In A.D. 1336 the Vijayanagar kingdom had been established; but Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III ruled till A.D. 1342. In A.D. 1339, he was 'ruling in happiness in Śrī Vijaya Virūpākshapura.' That name

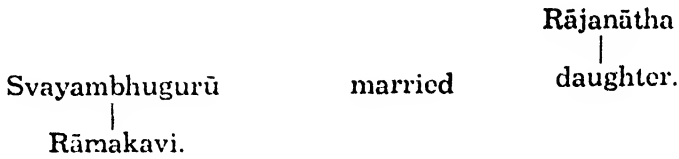
was given to Hospet, his newly-constructed capital, in honour of his son Vira Vijaya Virūpāksha whom he crowned in A.D. 1340.⁴

It is quite possible that the *Vibhāgapatramālā* calls Vira Vijaya Virūpāksha by the name of Praudha-dēvarāya. There is some justification for this view, because at a later period we find that Vira Vijaya Śrinirīnātha, the younger brother of Dēvarāya II, is called in the Satyamangalam Copper Plate grant by the name of Praudhapratāpa Dēvarāya. In the same document Dēvarāya II is called Suratrāṇa.⁵ The *Vibhāgapatramālā* might also (like the Satyamangalam Plate) have applied the term Suratrāṇa to the overlord Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III. The word *Suratrāṇa* need not be equated with 'Sultan' as Mr. Gopinatha Rao does and as Sewell also does.⁶ The chronicle uses the epithet 'Suratrāṇa' along with other epithets, namely, 'Jagat-trāṇa', 'Dviija-trāṇa' and 'Nija-trāṇa' meaning 'the protector of Dēvas', 'the protector of the world,' 'the protector of the twice-born' and 'the true protector.' In that connection, the *Vibhāgapatramālā* says that the poet "went to the city called Hastinā".⁷ We know Hastināpuri was an alternative name for Ānēgundi or Hospet (Hampi). The author means that Arunagiri went to see Ballāḷa III at Vira Vijaya Virūpākshapura, the newly-erected capital. Probably, at that time, the prince (Vira Vijaya) was in the southern capital Tiruvannāmalai. We know that the chronicle also says that Praudha-dēvarāya had been newly crowned.⁸ Thus we can infer that Arunagiri went to the court of Ballāḷa III only after A.D. 1340. His securing the Sārvabhauma title must have happened between A.D. 1340 and A.D. 1342; for Ballāḷa III died in 1342.

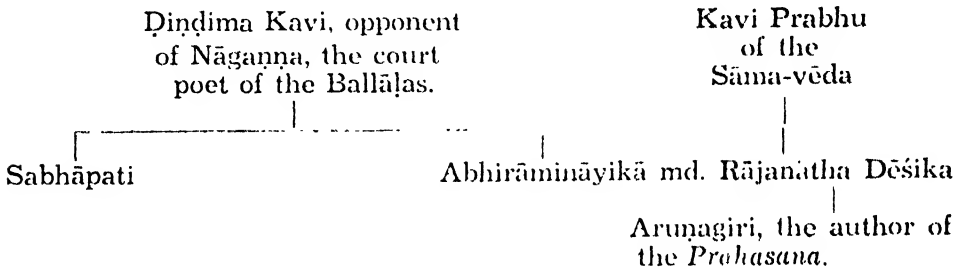
It seems, therefore, that there is no inconsistency in the chronicle; on the other hand, it contains genuine historical material.

Mr. Gopinatha Rao utilises the information furnished in the *Subhadrā-dhanāñjaya-nāṭaka* by the poet Rāmakavi of the Kāśyapa gōtra, and draws up the following genealogy :

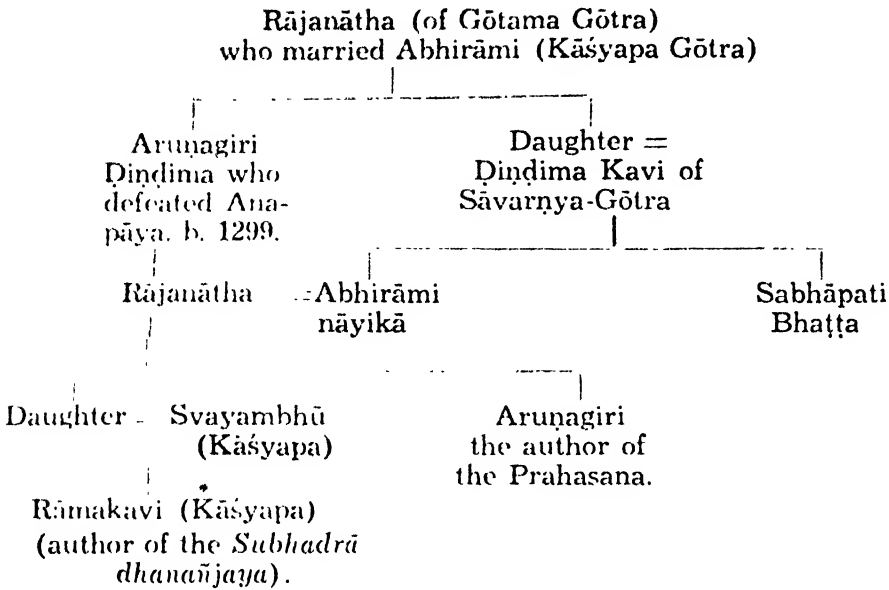
4. S. K. Aiyangar : 'South India and her Muhammadan Invaders,' pp. 170-2.
5. Sewell and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar : p. 214.
6. *Ind. Ant.* 1918, p. 95 ff; Sewell and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, p. 214.
7. "Jagāma puram hastinākhyām" *Ind. Ant.* 1918, p. 128.
8. "Sa tōshayāmāsa navābhishiktam tam". *Ind. Ant.*, 1918.



This is correct, but we must find out who Rāmakavi was. *The Sōmavalli prahasana* is used by Mr. Gopinatha Rao to draw up the following chronology :—



Who was the Kavi Prabhu of the Sāma-vēda, and who was the Dīṇḍima Kavi, who defeated Nāgaṇṇa, the court poet of the Ballāḷas? Again, was this Dīṇḍima of the *Vibhāgapatramālā* who defeated Anapāya the court-poet of Ballāḷa III? It is easy to find out that the two were different; because the opponent of Nāgaṇṇa ought to have belonged to a Gōtra different from that of Kavi Prabhu, Rājanātha and Aruṇagiri, the author of the *Prahasana*, all of whom were of the Sāmaga-Gōtama Gōtra like the Dīṇḍima of the *Vibhāga-patramālā*, who was the son of Rājanātha of the Gōtama Gōtra. Otherwise the marriage alliance between Dēśika and Abhirāmanāyikā could not have taken place. So, we have to find out the Gōtra of the Kavi-Prabhu. The author of the *Prahasana* says that he was the sister's son of Sabhāpati Bhaṭṭāraka.⁹ That shows that Sabhāpati was calling himself Sabhāpati Bhaṭṭa. In the list of names given in the *Vibhāgapatramālā*, as belonging to the descendants of the eight original ancestors, we find only one having the title Bhaṭṭa. That is Sūryabhaṭṭa of the Sāvarṇya Gōtra. We are also told (as noticed before) that Dīṇḍima (son of Rājanātha of the Gōtama Gōtra) had married a girl of the Sāvarṇya Gōtra. Thus, it is possible to infer that the Dīṇḍima who defeated Nāgaṇṇa was of the Sāvarṇya Gōtra. The relationship can be made clear by the following genealogical table :



From the table, it will become evident that (1) the two Ḍiṇḍimas were brothers-in-law; (2) the name Abhirāmināyikā was borne by the Sōmavalli-prahasana Aruṇagiri's mother, because she was the granddaughter of the Abhirāmi who was the mother of Aruṇagiri Ḍiṇḍima; (3) the Prahasana author's father was called Rājanātha, because he was the grandson of the same Ḍiṇḍima's father; (4) and again that Rāma Kavi of the Kāśyapa Gōtra was the maternal grandson of Rājanātha of the Gōtama Gōtra. That is why he says that his "ancestors were held in great respect of Sārvabhauma and others."¹⁰

Now we may roughly fix the dates of these poets. We start from A.D. 1299 in which Aruṇagiri Ḍiṇḍima was born. His son might have been born between 1325 and 1330; and his son Aruṇagiri of the *Prahasana* might have been born between 1350 and 1355 A.D.

The authors of the two Abhyudayams :

Mr. Gopinatha Rao takes the view that only one poet Rājanātha was the author of both, and of the *Bhārata-champu*. That view cannot be accepted for two reasons. One is that the same poet would not sing in praise of Śāḷuva Narasimha and also of the family which usurped the throne of the Śāḷuva. Secondly, the author of the *Śāḷuvābhyudayam* bestows upon his father very lavish praise. The author of the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* does not even name his father. The titles applied by the author of the *Śāḷuvābhyudayam* are worthy of notice.¹¹ Aruṇagiri the

10. Ind. Ant. 1918. p. 97.

11. They are given in detail by Mr. Gopinatha Rao. Ind. Ant. 1918, pp. 97-8.

father, is spoken of as a Sārvabhauma Ḍiṇḍima, as an 'Ashta-bhāshā-paramēśvara' or master of eight languages; as the 'Prathamārādhyā of Cēra-Cōla-Pāṇḍya'. That shows that he was greatly honoured by the Tamils. He is also called 'Shaḍ-darśana-Shaṇmukha'. That proves that he was the master of the Six Darśanas and probably was equal to Lord Subrahmaṇya. Further, he is praised as the expert in 'Chitra-prabandha' i.e., as being capable of singing the *chitra* mode of poetry (with specially difficult artistic metre).

All these praises seem to lead to the conclusion that this Ḍiṇḍima Sārvabhauma was the author of the Tiruppuhal. Accepting this hypothesis, we have to regard him as the grandson of Aruṇagiri, the author of the Sōmavalli-Yōgānanda-prahasana, and as the father of Rājanātha, the author of the *Śāluṇvābhyudāyam*. In that case, this Ḍiṇḍima must have had a father Rājanātha, born perhaps between 1375 and 1380 A.D., and himself might have been born between 1400 and 1405 A.D. This scheme of dating is very favourable to the fixing of the identity of the Aruṇagirinātha of Tiruppuhal or Aruṇagiri Ḍiṇḍima, father of Rājanātha, the author of the *Śāluṇvābhyudāyam*; for we know that the Tiruppuhal poet was a contemporary of Dēvarāya II (1422-1446 A.D.). If the poet was born between 1400 and 1405 A.D. he could very well have come to the notice of Dēvarāya II about the year A.D. 1435 when he was thirty or thirty-five years old.

Let us examine the probability of the poet of Tiruppuhal being this Sārvabhauma Ḍiṇḍima. There happen to be some songs in the Tiruppuhal, which almost directly state that the poet was enjoying all the honours of a Sārvabhauma. In song 80, he says, "I am Madhura-kavirāja. I move about with my white umbrella, distinctive flag, drum and palanquin. Will not this false self-glorification cease?"¹² Again, Song 860 proves that he desired to possess the ability to sing beautifully-worded songs. He prays to god for that boon thus: "O! God, confer upon me the ability to sing copiously in *Sundat tamil* about you."¹³ Again, in song 863 he asks for the grace of God to become a Madhura-

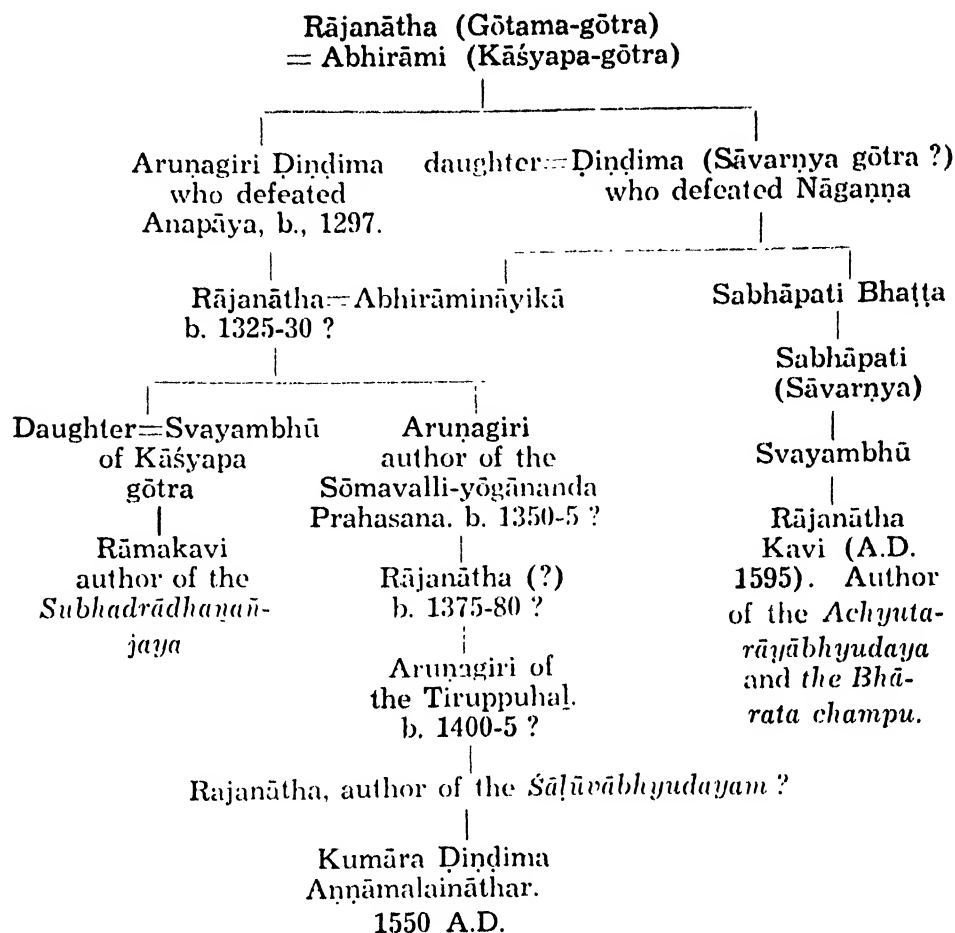
12. மதுரகவி ராஜனா னென் னென்குடை
விருதுகொடி தாள மேள தண்டிகை
வாசையொடுலாவு மாலகந்தை தவிர்ந்திடாதோ.
13. ரிதிபொங்கப்பல தவங்களானை
மொழியும் புத்திகள் தெரிந்து நானனை
நிகர் சந்தத்தமிழ் சொரிந்து பாடவு மருந்தாராய்.

kavi.¹⁴ In song 870, he asks for the ability to sing 'chitra-kavi'.¹⁵ Song No. 1132 says that he got celebrity in 'all the seven worlds' by singing the Tiruppuhal.¹⁶

All these, and a few more similar allusions, warrant us in inferring that he occupied the position of a Sārvabhauma, but according to the tradition about him, he finally became one with the God of Tiruvannāmalai. Many of his contemporaries must have regarded him as divine. At the present time, his image is worshipped in innumerable Subrahmanya shrines. Very naturally, therefore, we can conclude that his direct descendants ought to have erected a shrine in his honour after he died. That is borne out by the Mullaṇḍram inscription. The Brāhman lady was evidently the wife of one of his descendants.

As for the poet Rajanātha who wrote the *Achyutarāyābhyaṇḍayam* and (according to Mr. Gopinatha Rao) also the *Bharata-champu*, it seems very likely that he was a poet of the later days. There is a Rājanātha Kavi, figuring as a composer in Śaka 1517 i.e. in A.D. 1595. He was the son of Svayambhū, son of Sabhāpati of the Sāvarnya Gōtra. All these were composers of the Sāsanas of the Vijayanagar rulers. They were also probably descended from the Viṇḍima who defeated Nāgaṇṇa, the court-poet of the Ballālas, and who was, as noticed above, of the Sāvarnya Gōtra. The full genealogy is given below :

14. மதுரகவிபடைவு பாடி வீடு கவி
முருகு ஆரிய நம்மேழோனையாக கொளி
செனமுடைய வழிபாடு சேருமருள் தக்கிடாதோ?
15. செஞ்சொல்சேர் சித்தத் தமிழாலுன்
செம் பொருள்வத்தைப் பெறுவேனோ?
16. ஆ பாதனேன் மிகப் பிரசித்தி பெற்றினி துலகேழும்
யானாக நாம அற்புதத்திருப்புகழ்
தேனுற வோது.....



The Capitals of Ceylon—Ancient and Modern

By

MR. ANDREAS NELL, M.R.C.S., M.R.A.S.

AN inquiry from Dr. S. K. Aiyangar as to the comparative status of Kandy and Colombo as capitals of Ceylon led me to compile a short paper explaining the rise and fall of Kandy. In tribute to that learned and honoured scholar, I submit for the Commemoration Volume an expansion of that essay into an account of events determining the use of certain places as capitals or royal abodes. The historical interest of changes in location is not slight, but my narrative will not be too long. The chronicles quoted are the translations into English from the Pāli :— (a) Prof. W. W. Geiger's version of the *Mahāvamsa* in three parts, published for the Pali Text Society ; (b) Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara's version of the *Pūjāvalīya* ; (c) his version of the *Rājāvalīya* ; and (d) the *Nikāya-Sangrahavāra*, translated by Mr. C. M. Feranda and revised by Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana. These last three have been published by the Ceylon Government Press. There are other confirmatory but subsidiary sources, which will be used when it is necessary to indicate the trend of barely noticeable changes. The dates given are those at present accepted by workers in the field of Ceylon history, though probably only approximate up to the termination of the sixteenth century of our era, after which we are able to fix the dates with more certainty.

The first royal residence mentioned is that of the Āryan prince Vijaya, who came in B. C. 483 with 700 followers and overcame the Vedda rulers. He established himself at Tambapanni, a site not identified as yet. "Here and there did Vijaya's ministers found villages. Anurādhagāma was built by a man of that name near the Kadamba river ; the chaplain Upatissa built Upatissagāma on the bank of the Gambhīra river, to the north of Anurādhagāma. Three other ministers built, each for himself, Ujjenī, Uruvelā, and the city of Vijita." (*Mah* : vii, 43-45). Only two of these settlements require notice. Upatissagāma, on one of the right-bank tributaries of the Malwatṭe-oya (the Gambhīra river), was used as the centre of rule after the death of Vijaya, viz., by the council of ministers until his nephew-successor arrived from India, by that ruler, Paṇḍuvāsudeva, and by his son and successor Abhaya, also by the nine brothers of Abhaya who usurped rule for seventeen years until the grandson-heir Paṇḍukābhaya gained the mastery after his long warfare.

Like the first royal seat, Tambapanni, this second royal seat, Upatisagāma, sank into insignificance, and even the exact sites of these two towns have not been ascertained as yet. The third, Anurādhagāma, had a nobler destiny. Paṇḍuvāsudeva's queen Subhaddakaccānā (from India) was followed by her brothers, one of whom called Anurādha settled at Anurādhagāma; Anurādha built a tank, and when he had built a palace to the south of this, he took up his abode there." (*Mah.* ix, 11). This place was chosen by the victorious Paṇḍukābhaya for his royal residence, and the chronicles immediately change its designation from *gāma* to *pura*. "When he was thus left victor in battle, Paṇḍukābhaya went thence to the dwelling place of his great-uncle Anurādha. The great-uncle handed over his palace to him and built himself a dwelling elsewhere; but he dwelt in his house. When he had inquired of a soothsayer who was versed in the knowledge of (fitting) sites, he founded the capital, even near that village. Since it had served as dwelling to two Anurādhas, it was called Anurādhapura, and also because it was founded under the constellation Anurādha". (*Mah.* x, 73-76). From its auspicious rise, this city was the royal seat for twelve centuries, and for twenty centuries enjoyed the titular distinction of being known as *Mahānuwara*, the great city, or equally frequently as *Nuwara*, the city. Its fame and prosperity for twelve centuries began with the judicious administrative measures of Paṇḍukābhaya. (B. C. 377).

That energetic king deepened and enlarged a pond of water, making the reservoir or artificial lake called in Ceylon a "tank". He also added another tank; he did town-planning in thorough fashion. The warlike aboriginal tribes, who had been his allies during seventeen years of warfare to gain the throne, were given special quarters in the new royal city. Among other measures suburbs were planned for special purposes,—cemeteries for different classes of people, quarters for huntsmen, for religious mendicants and religious sects, and corps of workers organized for cleaning streets and sewers, carrying corpses, watching cemeteries and other purposes. Municipal rules were made and the King's own uncle appointed "governor of the city" Nagaraguttika; in an inscription of circa A.D. 876, the officer in charge of the city is a Nuwara-ladda.

The capital grew in importance and magnificence during the subsequent reigns. Paṇḍukābhaya's son and successor added a great garden of fruit-trees and flowering-trees. The next king Dēvānampiyatissa (B.C. 247-207), subsequent to his fervent adoption of Buddhism as the state religion, added temples and dagabas, monasteries and nunneries. Duṭṭha-Gāmini (B.C. 101-77) built bigger dagabas and monasteries. King Vaṭṭa-Gāmini (B.C. 29-15), better known as Valagambāhu, built the huge northern dagaba, and Mahāsēna (A.D. 277-304) the larger eastern dagaba. By these and the numerous benefactions of other kings the

ancient capital acquired an abiding renown among the people who wrote and spoke of Anurādhapura as "the great city", Mahānuwāra, or more simply as "the city", Nuwāra, up to the early years of the seventeenth century A.D.

Frequent Tamil invasions from South India, countenanced by the increasing resident Tamils, deranged the security of the royal capital, and in the 7th century the kings moved to Pulatthinagara, now known as Polonnaruwa. Except for two returns to Anurādhapura, in A.D. 787 and 866, Polonnaruwa was the royal city of residence for nearly six centuries. There had been an earlier interlude when the parricide king Kassapa (A.D. 479-497) went to the rock-fortress Śigiri in fear of his brother Megallana the rightful heir, who did succeed in defeating him, and who resumed the use of Anurādhapura for royal residence.

The second great city of old Ceylon, Polonnaruwa, was crowded with a variety of buildings, contrasting with the general uniformity of the structures at Anurādhapura. Fifty years of Chōla domination in the first half of the 11th century produced a rock-cut image of the sage, Śaivite shrines and images. Restoration of Sinhalese Buddhist rule led to the conversion of some Hindu buildings into Buddhist shrines with partial conversion in structure and ornament. The energy and grandiose temperament of king Parākkamābāhu (A.D. 1153-1186) produced great dagabas, colossal rock-cut statues, and large edifices in brick as well as stone. His brilliant reign was followed by court intrigues and chaotic reigns (except for an interlude of 9 years). Within 29 years of the death of this embellisher of Polonnaruwa, a Dravidian invader overran Ceylon destroying shrines and dagabas. When, 21 years later, a Sinhalese prince from South Ceylon restored Sinhalese sovereignty, he established the royal residence at another place, Dambadeniya, in the western area. Except for one king (A.D. 1272-1283), Polonnaruwa was never again the residence of the ruling monarch. Dambadeniya in turn was replaced by Yapahu, Kurunegala, Gampola, and Rāyigāma for short periods. All these claim distinction as former royal cities until the rise of Koṭṭe, the seat of the suzerain king of Ceylon for nearly two centuries, with a formidable contesting rival at Sitawaka (A.D. 1521-1594), and one short interlude at Kelaniya.

The rise and fall of Koṭṭe illustrates the disunion and jealousy of the princes and people, notwithstanding the urgent need for union.

In 1521, the king was deprived of his throne and life by his three sons, who divided the realm into three kingdoms, the eldest at Koṭṭe being the suzerain. The brother at Rāyigāma gave no trouble, he and his realm sank into insignificance, and at his death it was no longer of any account; but, the brother at Sitawaka aspired to deprive the eldest at

Koṭṭe of the suzerainty of Ceylon, and thus there was war between the king of Ceylon at Koṭṭe and the king of Sitawaka who was in theory subordinate to him. The Portuguese, who had come to Colombo in the reign of their grandfather, in A.D. 1505, were formidable fighters in the estimation of the Sinhalese. The report made to the king ran thus:—“There is in our harbour of Colombo a race of people fair of skin and comely withal. They don jackets and hats of iron; they rest not a minute in one place; they walk here and there; they eat hunks of stone (biscuits) and drink blood (wine); they give two or three pieces of silver for one fish or one lime; the report of their iron is louder than thunder when it bursts upon the rock Yugandhara. Their cannon-balls fly many a mile and shatter fortresses of granite”. In a few years, the factory for trading purposes at Colombo was replaced by a fortress, and the neighbouring king at Koṭṭe enlisted their aid against the rival at Sitawaka, who sought aid from the Malabar ruler at Calicut. It was this strife between the two Sinhalese kings that strengthened the Portuguese position. Koṭṭe (short for Jayavardhanapura-kōṭṭe) was the royal residence from A.D. 1412 to 1597; but from 1529 the “foreign seaport” Colombo was rising in importance as the fortress and settlement of the Portuguese, whose power was rising as the domineering allies of the titular lord of Ceylon against his rivals. Incessant conflicts between the jealous and disunited Sinhalese rulers only increased the importance of the Portuguese who allied themselves to the Koṭṭe King for their own purpose of gaining rule over Ceylon. Their supremacy *defacto* became suzerainty *de jure* in the year 1540. The harassed and unwarlike king at Koṭṭe, to secure the position of his heir an infant grandson, sent an embassy to Lisbon with a golden image of the infant to be installed by the king of Portugal as heir-apparent; this was duly done. The warrior king at Sitawaka sustained some reverses in his warfare against Koṭṭe and the Portuguese, but was never overwhelmed.

Meanwhile, a subordinate principality in the hill-country became involved in the conflict for greater power. One unsuccessful aspirant to the throne at the hill-capital, Sankadagalanuwara, sought aid from the Sitawaka ruler. The successful ruler allied himself with the Koṭṭe king and the Portuguese. In 1580, the new ruler at Sitawaka, one of the boldest and greatest of Sinhalese warriors, whose generalship had won his father many victories, went into the hill kingdom to chastise the presumptuous ruler, annexed that kingdom and expelled the prince and his family. That deposed prince fled to Trincomali where he died of smallpox, directing his nephew to be regent until his infant daughter became qualified to occupy the lost throne which was to be regained. The Portuguese baptized the infant girl as Dona Catharina, and the nephew as Dom Philip. Another offshoot of the same royal family was baptized Dom John of Austria, and was educated and trained in military

arts at Colombo and Goa, so that he became known as a bold and skilled soldier. In 1590, the Portuguese held all the trump-cards. The heiress to the realm upon the hills was under their care, the prince nominated as regent was their faithful adherent, and the fearless Dom John a captain in their army. Accordingly, they resolved to invade and annex the hill-country, which had revolted against the Sitawaka ruler, and had invited the nominated regent to occupy the vacant throne. This expedition was also calculated to ease the pressure of the persistent warfare against Colombo by the dethroned warrior-king of Sitawaka, who was proving himself a dangerous and implacable opponent.

The expedition into the hill-country was successful; the capital, Sankadagalanuwara, was occupied by a mixed force of the Portuguese and their Sinhalese allies under the Sinhalese commander, Dom John of Austria, whose Sinhalese name was Konappu Bandara, and a fort to cover the ferry was built at Gannoruwa. Dom Philip had the king proclaimed at the entry into the kingdom, and he was now installed at the capital; but this did not please the ambitious and bold Dom John. Dom Philip died suddenly under suspicious circumstances, Dom John proclaimed his renunciation of all allegiance to the Portuguese rule and the Catholic religion, declared that he was a Buddhist and rightful ruler of the realm in the hill-country, attacked and defeated the Portuguese at Gannoruwa, and proclaimed himself king under the name of Vimala Dharma Sūrya. Neither the Sitawaka king nor the Portuguese could tolerate their loss of the hill-country, but his attempt against the new ruler in 1592 failed, and he died the next year, when the Portuguese annexed his kingdom of Sitawaka. The Portuguese made an attempt against the ruler of the hill-country in 1594. Disastrous failure was accompanied by the capture of their protégé, Dona Catharina, by Vimala Dharma Sūrya who promptly married her,—the only Sinhalese rival with any claim to the throne of the hill-country. In 1580, the puppet king at Kotte had bequeathed his realm and his suzerainty over Ceylon to the king of Portugal; and when he died in 1597 this bequest came into force. The Portuguese at Colombo were now rulers of the Kotte realm, and had gained the kingdom of Sitawaka also; the only disputant of their claim to all Ceylon was the newly established king in the hill-country, hitherto a subordinate principality, but now claiming the overlordship of Ceylon. Each power tried its utmost to overpower the other without any decisive result in spite of a prolonged and bitter warfare. The hill-country ruler, with his royal residence at Sankadagalanuwara, was called “*Kaṇḍe uḍa rata rājā*”, king of the country upon the hills, or for short, “*kaṇḍe rājā*”, a title the Portuguese made into ‘King of Kandy’. The name “Kandy”, thus originated, continued in use among the Dutch who acquired the whole of the Portuguese domains in Ceylon by 1656; and the British used the term Kandy for the capital

once known as Sankadagalanuwara, and the term Kaṇḍyan for the realm upcountry which they annexed in A.D. 1815, nineteen years after acquiring the maritime domains of the Dutch in 1796. Though the Portuguese used the name Kandy for the capital Sankadagalanuwara, a more significant change was made by the Sinhalese.

The ancient royal residence at Tambapanni and Upatissagāma were forgotten; the transient period of royal residence at Śigiriya was kept in memory by its great gallery and its frescoes in pockets of the rock; Polonnaruwa was kept in memory by the great structures of famous Parākkamabāhu; Danbadeniya, Yapahu, Kurunegala, Gampola, Rāyigāma and Kotte were of minor importance compared to Anurādhapura, and Polonnaruwa; but even in the greatest day of Polonnaruwa, Anurādhapura, the place of the sacred Bo-tree and the mighty structures of the great kings, retained in speech and in writings the titles *Mahānuwara* and *Nuwara*. To the common people, the Great City or the City meant Anurādhapura, notwithstanding the removal of royal residence and the neglect and ruin of its buildings. Early in the 17th century, as King Vimala Dharma Sūrya consolidated his power at Sankadagalanuwara, the proud pre-eminence for twenty centuries of Anurādhapura as "the great city" or "the city" passed away, and those titles went to the latest and only Sinhalese royal capital, which was known as Sankadagalanuwara previous to its elevation as the capital of Ceylon. Though known to the European conquerors as Kandy, it was known to the Sinhalese as "the great city" or "the city", during the period of two centuries of resistance to invasion, and the names survive to this day in Sinhalese speech and writing to the exclusion of its former name. Even the Sinhalese in the maritime province subject to the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English for the next two centuries, used their new Sinhalese title for the capital of the realm upon the hills. It was the national capital of the Sinhalese people, whilst Colombo was the capital of their European rulers. After a hundred and twenty years Colombo became the seat of the supreme government; but Kandy is still known to the Sinhalese as Nuwara the city, and *Mahānuwara* the great city.

Colombo, regarded by the Sinhalese as a foreign port, was a great straggling seaside hamlet frequented by Arab traders and their descendants. A Muhammadan tombstone found at Colombo bears the Hejira date 337, equal to A.D. 949. In 1344 the celebrated traveller Ibn Batuta found it ruled by a Muslim with the help of foreign troops. The Chinese knew it as a trading port in 1349. When the Portuguese first came in 1505, they called the traders occupying it "Moors",—the term they used for their Arab-Muslim opponents in Morocco. Gradually overcoming these settlers in Colombo, the Portuguese made Colombo their capital town. The Dutch did the same when they overcame the

Portuguese in Ceylon, and further rebuilt its strong fortress. The British continued the use of Colombo as the capital town, from their occupation of it in 1796. When the Kandyan realm was taken by the British in 1815, Kandy was no longer the capital, notwithstanding the separate administration of it. In 1833, for administrative reasons, the separate administration of the Kandyan realm was abolished, and Colombo became more firmly established as the capital of all Ceylon. Kandy however retained the old title in Sinhalese speech and writings, and retains it to this day; it is still Mahānuwara and Nuwara, since the opening years of the 17th century.

Irai, Irai-kaval and Irai-yili

By

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THE period of Cōla rule in South India was marked by a great advance in administrative organisation. Hundreds of stone inscriptions and half-a-dozen copper plate grants have conserved a large number of interesting facts bearing on the details of daily administration. I propose here to discuss the exact significance of some land revenue terms which occur frequently in the inscriptions, and a correct understanding of which is essential to a proper estimate of the actual working of the tax-system. We derive no assistance from literature, indigenous or foreign, in the elucidation of these terms, and we must depend solely on the possibility of the texts of various inscriptions interpreting one another when they are read together. Though a sure method, this is necessarily slow, and cannot be pursued on a large scale when the majority of inscriptions remain unpublished. Sometimes we derive much knowledge from a casual phrase in an otherwise unimportant inscription. The collective responsibility of village assemblies for the payment of land revenue, for instance, is nowhere categorically stated; but it does not take the study of many inscriptions to find this large fact borne in on us in a hundred different ways.

Irai and *Vari* are the two most general terms for tax. Though both these terms are employed of land tax as well as other taxes and dues, still *Irai* is more particularly associated with land, while *vari* has reference to the other taxes. True we have terms like *tari-irai* (tax on looms), *Sekkirai* (tax on oil-mills), and so on; we have also the term *šillirai*, minor dues, to describe collectively a number of sundry small assessments. But the phrase *irai-irādu poṇār*, 'those who have gone without paying the tax', is often found employed to describe default in land tax; and the distinction between *irai-nilam* and *iraiyili* (-*nilam*) is among the most striking features of the Cōla land-revenue system. It will be recalled that the possession of a minimum extent of *irai-nilam* (tax-paying land) was prescribed as a qualification for a candidate who sought election to one of the *vāriyams* (executive committees) of the Sabhā of Uttaramērūr. The village assemblies were responsible for the payment of land-revenue, and lands from which taxes fell in arrears escheated to the village after some time, as is seen from the phrase *irai-irādu-ūr-nōkki viḷunda bhūmi*, 'land that had fallen

to the village on account of arrears in its revenue dues', which occurs in an inscription from Uttaramērūr.¹

The word *vari* also occurs in connection with land revenue as well as other items of revenue. In phrases like *ūriduvari* and *śilvari*,² i.e., taxes or dues levied by the *ūr* (township) and minor dues, the word seems to have no reference to land-revenue, but to other parts of the tax-system. But the term *peruvari*³ (major taxes), as opposed to *śilvari*, does not include the land tax among others. The expressions *puravu-vari*, *varippottayam*, *varikkaṇakku*, *variyil-īḍu* mean respectively the land tax, tax-register, land revenue accounts, and an entry into the register; the same terms are found employed also to describe the officers in charge of the respective duties.

The term *Iraiyili* means land which is not taxed, and at first sight it may appear that such lands were totally exempt from all payment of taxes and dues. In fact, we find the term often employed in this sense in the Tanjore inscriptions of the reign of Rājārāja I. Some villages granted by the king to the Tanjore temple are, for instance, described in detail, and the extent of the lands in each village, non-taxable as well as tax-paying lands, is recorded in one of these inscriptions.⁴ This inscription describes the *iraiyili* lands as opposed to *irai-kattiṇa-nīlam* in the following terms: *ūr-nattamum, śrīkōyilgaḷum, kulaṅgaḷum, āḍa-ruttuppōṇa vāṅkālgaḷum, paraicēṇṇum, kaṁm-ṇaccēṇṇum, śūḍu-tāḍum ulliṭṭu Iraiyili nīlaṅgaḷum*, i.e., tax-free lands including the residential part of the village, sacred temples, tanks, channels passing through the village, the habitat of the Pariahs and of the artisans, and the cremation ground. In the sections that follow in the inscription, the total extent of each village named is first given, then the extent of *iraiyili* lands as defined above, and finally the extent of tax-paying land with the taxes thereon. But apart from the non-taxable lands just mentioned, instances of such outright exemption are comparatively rare; we have an example of this in a record of the fifth year of a Rājakēsari-varman from Tiruvērumbūr⁵ which states the decision of the Sabhā of Śrī-kanṭha-caturvēdimaṅgalam in the following terms:

ittiruverumbūr ālvār eppērppaṭṭa iraiyum

kaḍavarallāmaiyl it-tēvasvam eppērppattadum sabaivōm koḷ-
lapperādōmāgavum,

1. 17 of 1898.

2. 193 of 1924. All my citations from unpublished inscriptions are due to the courtesy of the Archaeological Department.

3. 147 and 149 of 1925.

4. SII. ii. 4.

5. 133 of 1914.

i.e., 'as this Ālvār (god) of Tiruverumbūr has not got to pay any kind of *irai*, we, the members of the Sabhā, are bound not to take anything from the properties belonging to this deity'. The inscription also lays down drastic punishments, including ex-communication (*anyōnyasahavāsam varjjippadāgavum*), against any one who violated this decision. This is an early Cōḷa inscription, and for its contents, it is remarkably free from technical terms. It is clear, however, that this is a case of full remission by the Sabhā of all taxes due from the temple, and apparently for no consideration; but there is no indication whatever that the revenues of the government underwent any diminution on account of this decision; the villagers evidently had to make good to the central government the tax due from the temple by distributing it among themselves. There are numerous examples in the Tanjore inscriptions and elsewhere calculated to show that, after a careful survey of lands in a village, the officers of the central government fixed the total of the taxes due from the village in cash and in kind, and that the detailed assessment according to holdings was left to the local assemblies. The assembly of Śrīkaṇṭhacaturvēdimāṅgalam made up its mind not to assess anything on the lands held by the temple, and therefore not to collect anything from it. That this decision put an additional burden on the landholders of the village, and that it was natural for them to seek to escape this burden by making the temple contribute its normal share to the revenues of the state, may be inferred from the safeguards provided against attempts to violate the decision then reached. When remissions went in reduction of the revenues of the central government, this fact was clearly recorded, and the procedure was far more elaborate as may be seen from the Anbil plates, the Tirumukkūḍal inscription of Virarājendra⁶ and other records.

The procedure adopted by the Sabhā of Śrīkaṇṭhacaturvēdimāṅgalam, that by which some lands were made tax-free by the taxes due from them being distributed over the other holdings in the village, gave rise to a class of land which gets a special name in the later records; that is *ūr-kīl-iraiyili*, meaning tax-free under the township. This is clearly expressed in the following sentences that occur in an inscription.⁷

....innilangaḷukku ūr-viḷukkāṭṭuppaḍi pottagappaḍi parri vanda nilam engal pērgalilē ērri irṛukkak-kaḍavōm āgavum; engalpakkaḷ viṛrukoṇḍārum stridhanam perrārum marrum perru uḍaiyārum ippaḍi irukkakkaḍavargaḷ āgavum, meaning, 'for these lands we bind ourselves to pay the taxes as an excess (contribution) distributed *pro-rata* over our holdings held in accordance with the record (of land-rights), and

6. EI. XV, XXI.

7. 109 of 1911.

those who buy land from us, or get it as dowry or otherwise, will also be bound to pay likewise (this excess-contribution).'

But very often lands were made *iraiyili* by the villagers for a consideration. The village assemblies accepted a lump sum of money and made the land *iraiyili*. The usual instances under this head were those of gifts of land to temples, *mathas*, and for other charitable purposes by donors who paid down cash to cover not only the price of land (*vilai-dravyam*) but also the tax-dues on it (*irai-dravyam*), and we have accordingly several sale deeds which contain the phrase *vilaidravyamum iraidravyamum arak-konḍu* i.e., having received the entire amount of the price-money and the tax-money. The *iraidravyam* in such instance was doubtless a sum equivalent to the capitalised value of the future dues, which was to serve as an endowment, from the interest on which the future dues could be met as they accrued. This is clearly brought out by the term *irai-kāval-dravyam* 'money securing the *irai*', which is sometimes employed. It may be noted that an inscription⁸ of the thirteenth year of Rājarāja I has the words: *innlattukku irai-kāval candradittaral irakku vēṇḍum dravyamellām nāṇḡaḷ arak-konḍu*, 'We having received in full all the money required (to meet) the *irai* for all time (as long as the moon and sun endure) as *irai-kāval* for this land'. The *iraidravyam* might be paid either with the price of the land or at any subsequent time, and, in any event, this payment was sometimes acknowledged by a separate document setting forth the amount received and the taxes to be met from the proceeds of the investment thereof.⁹

A number of inscriptions from Uttaramērūr speak of *pūrvācāram* (lit. ancestral practice) in this connection, the Sabhā collecting *pūrvācāram* before making lands *iraiyili*.¹⁰ This is no doubt the same as the *irai-dravyam* of the other records, with the additional implication that the amount was calculated according to rates fixed by ancient custom. We must also note in passing that the *irrai-dravyam* was in no sense a trust fund to be kept intact in order that the *irai* may be met from time to time; the Sabhās often spent these amounts on immediate requirements, and paid the taxes from their general revenues in the succeeding years; but there is much evidence to show that care was taken to spend such 'trust funds' (as we should call them) on items of productive capital expenditure, generally the improvement of irrigation facilities in the village or the reclamation of waste land.

8. 266 of 1917.

9. 194 of 1925; 168 of 1929.

10. See *The Cōlas*, Vol. I, Index s.v. *pūrvācāram*.

A Cōla inscription of uncertain date from Ūṭṭattūr¹¹ enumerates the following as examples of *iraiyili* lands: *dēvadānam*, *tiruvīdaiyāṭṭam*, *pallicandam*, *ayyan-pātti*, *maḍappuram*, *agarapparru* and *bhaṭṭavṛtti*. We cannot enter into a detailed examination of all these terms here; but their citation is enough to show that the generic term *iraiyili* is applied to cover a variety of exemptions and immunities, not all of the same character or extent. We have already seen that it is applied even in cases where the taxes were not remitted, but only commuted by a lump sum payment in advance. And we find here a list of the types of *iraiyili* lands which must have differed a good deal from one another in the nature of the immunities attaching to them. That *iraiyili* lands were by no means in the enjoyment of absolute immunity from taxes and dues, but had to meet sundry payments, becomes clear from several inscriptions. An inscription of A.D. 1116 from Uttaramērūr¹² states that no *iraiyilk-kāśu* would be collected from some land for the year then current, but that in subsequent years the land would have to pay five *kāśus* per annum under this head. Again we find from an inscription¹³ of the reign of Rājarāja I that some lands in the enjoyment of the Jain temple of Tirruppāmalai (North Arcot) and described as *iraiyili-pallicandam*, had yet to pay two cesses—*karpūra-vilai* and *amniyāyavāva-daṇḍa-irai*. The payment of these cesses, particularly the *karpūra-vilai*, diminished the usefulness of the land to the temple, and on the specific representation of a Lāḍa princess that these dues should be remitted, her husband, the Lāḍa chieftain, who held the *sief* area, consented to remit the collection of these dues for the future.

Before concluding, we may draw attention to one other interesting, if somewhat difficult, term which occurs in connection with *iraiyili* lands, and that is *kāśu-kollā-iraiyili*. I think this term should be interpreted in the light of the other term noticed a little earlier, *iraiyilikkāśu*, and I am inclined to suggest that lands described as *kāśu-kollā-iraiyili* were exempted from the payment of *iraiyilikkāśu*. The question then arises what is *iraiyilikkāśu*? We may be tempted to see in this another form of the *irai-kāval-dravyam*; but I think the two terms are different and have nothing to do with each other. For in no single case in which *irai-kāval* is said to have been paid in cash is the phrase *iraiyilikkāśu* employed; and the Uttaramērūr inscription cited above shows that the latter was a small annual payment, while the former was a more considerable lump sum payment paid in lieu of the regular land tax accruing

11. 525 of 1912.

12. 168 of 1923.

13. 19 of 1890; E I. iv. p. 139. My interpretation of the record differs from Venkayya's.

for all future time. To understand the real meaning of *iraiyilikkāṣu* we must, it seems to me, think of another aspect of the Cōla tax-system. A distinction is often made between *nellāyam* and *kāṣāyam*, income in kind and income in cash. It may be suggested that *iraiyili* lands, in view of their status, were not expected to pay all the cash dues in full, but to make some contribution on a reduced scale in lieu of the regular cash dues to which other lands were subject, and this contribution came to bear the name *iraiyilik-kāṣu*. And the lands which were excused even this payment were the *kāṣu-kollā-iraiyili*. It is only on some such interpretation that the phrase *kāṣukollā-ūr-kīl-iraiyili*, sometimes found in inscriptions,¹⁴ becomes intelligible as applying to lands, of which the taxes in kind were paid by the villages while the cash dues stood entirely remitted. These suggestions must be considered tentative, and must await confirmation by further study.

The Purvaraja of the Velvikkudi Grant

By

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FROM the dawn of authentic history the Far South of India beyond the Kṛishṇā and the Tūṅgabhadrā has constituted a world by itself. As pointed out by Dr. Vincent Smith, it was ordinarily so secluded from the rest of the country that its affairs remained hidden from the gaze of other peoples. Enterprising rulers even in this region cherished, however, the ambition of universal Indian dominion, and poets now and then sang of a Southern prince who led expeditions to the North, and was believed to have extended his sway, temporarily at any rate, over the massive plain "decked with the Ganges as with a pearl necklace."

Sa sāgarāmbārām urvīm
Gaṅgāmauktikahārīṇīm
babhāra suchirām vīro
Meru Mandara kuṇḍalām.¹

At times invaders from Northern and Eastern India would push through the rugged valleys of the Narmadā and the Mahānadi, the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā, carry their arms deep into the lands of Kāñchī and Kārṇāṭa, and thus lift the veil in which the mysterious realms of the Far South were shrouded. The most famous among the invasions from the North were those led by the Mauryas in the third or the fourth century B.C. and the Guptas in the fourth century A.D. That a third dynasty which for a time held its court in the old imperial city of Pāṭali-putra also claims to have overrun the Far South of India is not so well known to students of antiquity. The line of kings referred to is the famous Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār. In the Monghyr Plate of Devapāla, his father Dharmapāla—a contemporary and rival of the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarchs of the Deccan in the latter half of the eighth century A.D.—is said to have undertaken a *Digvijaya* in the course of which his followers are said to have performed holy rites at Gōkarṇa, apparently in North Kanara.

* The author uses *ch* for *c* and *sha* for *ṣ* in this article.

1. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 26 (No. 32)—Amarāvati Inscription. Cf. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, pt. iv, The Larger Śīnnamanūr Plates:—"Mahīpatinām Himāchalāropitāsāsānām." The exploits of Rājendra Chōla I are well-known.

Kedāre vidhinopayukta-payasām
 Gāṅgāsanetambudhau
 Gokarnādīshu chāpyanushṭhitavatām
 Tirtheshu dharmyaḥ kriyāḥ.

" (On his expeditions) they (the followers of Dharmapāla) bathed according to prescribed rules at Kedāra and where the ocean is joined by the Ganges, and performed religious rites at Gōkarṇa and other sacred spot "

Devapāla himself is said to have had Kārṇāṭas among his *sēvakas* (servants), and is credited with having "enjoyed the whole earth free from rivals up to the revered (mountain), the source of the Ganges, and as far as the Bridge which proclaims the fame of the destroyer of the ten-headed (*Rāraṇa*), as far as the ocean which is the abode of Varana, and as far as the ocean which is the birth-place of Lakshmi" :—

Ā-Gaṅgāgama-mahitāt sapatna-śunyām
 āsetoh prathita-daśasyaketukirtēḥ
 uvima-Varunanike (ta) nāchcha Sindho-
 aLakshmikulabhavanāchcha yo bubhoja.

The Bādāl Pillar inscription makes specific mention of the fact that Devapāla not only defeated the Utkalas, Huns and Gurjaras but humbled the pride and conceit of the lord or lords of the Drāviḍas :—

Utkilitotkalakulam hṛita-Hūṇagarvain
 Kharvikṛita Drāviḍa-Gūjara-nātha darpaṁ

There is undoubtedly a good deal of exaggeration in these eulogies. But are they absolutely without any foundation? Is there no substratum of truth behind these claims? Have we no corroborative evidence that rulers of Eastern India whose territories embraced Magadha actually figured in the politics of the Far South of India in the eighth and the ninth centuries A.D., the period to which Dharmapāla and his son Devapāla must be assigned? Curiously enough, certain Pāṇḍya records furnish interesting information on the point. The Vēlvikkūḍi grant of about 769—70 A.D. informs us that a Pāṇḍya officer named Māraṅgāri, "crest jewel of the *Vaidyakula*," took part in a fight when *Pūrvavarājar* or eastern kings rose up and put to flight at Veṇbai the powerful *Vallabha* king,* apparently the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa I of the Deccan, on

* Ep. Ind., XVII. 309. The emperors of the Deccan belonging to the royal houses of Chalukya and Rāshtrakūṭa called themselves *Vallabha*, *Śrī Vallabha* or *Śrī Prithvi Vallabha* "beloved of *Śrī* (Lakshmi) and *Prithvī* (the Earth Goddess)" doubtless in imitation of the god Vishnu the Preserver whose name is usually invoked at the commencement of their epigraphic records.

the occasion when the excellent daughter of Gaṅgarāja was secured and offered to the Pāṇḍya king (Koṅgarkōn -- Neḍunjaḍaiyan). The Talegaon plates show Kṛishṇa actually encamped in 768 at Manne in the Mysore State then ruled by the Gaṅgas. The expression *pūrvavarājar* reminds us of the epithet "*Pūrvakshitidhara*" of the Pāla records, and may have been used to denote the Pāla rulers of Eastern India together with their feudatories. The defeat of Kṛishṇa I at the hands of the Pālas and his failure to secure a Gāṅga princess for himself or for one of his sons, probably afford a clue to the well-known hostility of Kṛishṇa's progeny towards the Pālas and the Gaṅgas. The alliance of the eastern kings with the Pāṇḍyas did not however last long. We learn from the Siṅṇamaṇūr Plates that the Pāṇḍya king Śrī Māra Śrī vallabha (who ruled about A.D. 815—862) repulsed a confederation of Gaṅgas, Pallavas, Chōḷas, Kalingas, *Magadhas* and others at a place called Kuḍamūkkil, identified by Tamil scholars with Kumbhakōṇam. The last-mentioned document clearly establishes the presence in the Tamil country, in the ninth century A.D., of warriors from Magadha who had as their allies the Kalingas of the Orissa coast and the Gaṅgas of the South Kanarese region, besides other peoples. It will be remembered that about this time the Pālas exercised sovereignty in Magadha. They claimed to have conquered Orissa. They had Karnāṭas among their sevakas (servants) and had measured swords with a ruler or rulers of Drāviḍa in the Far South of India. The expression *Dravidanātha* can not have sole reference to the contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa emperor as has been suggested by some scholars. It may refer to some Tamil potentate as well.

In this connection it is interesting to note that a part of the Tamil country embracing portions of the Salem and Arcot districts actually came to be known as Magadaimaṇḍala and a famous city in South Arcot bore the name Pāṭaliputtiram.* It is for scholars to find out whether the names Magadai and Pāṭaliputtiram are reminiscent of the Pāla invasions of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. or of the earlier inroads of the Mauryas and the Guptas. Contemporary records of the Imperial Mauryas have, however, not yet been found beyond the Chitaldrug district of Mysore, and the Guptas do not seem to have penetrated beyond Conjeeveram. In view of these facts and the late appearance of the name Magadaimaṇḍala in the South Indian epigraphs, it is not improbable that this territorial designation has something to do with the Pāla invasions of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. It is also important to recall the fact that the final overthrow of the Pāla sovereignty in Bengal

* V. Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, pp. 176, 197, etc.; V. A. Smith, *E.H.I.*, (4th edition), 495.

was the work of a line of South Indian princes (*Dākshinātya kshaunīndra*) who were originally feudatories hailing from Karṇāṭa and the *Vaidyakula* to which the southern ally of the Eastern kings mentioned in the *Vēṭṭikkudi* Plates and the bearers of the royal message (*ājñapti*) belonged, reminds us of the small *Vaidya* community of Bengal who have not been a negligible factor in the social, political and intellectual life of the province since the days of the Pāla kings.

The Contemporaneity of Saints Tirumangaiyar and Gnanasambanda*

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THE Vaishnava hagiologists speak of a tradition of the contemporaneity of Saints Tirumangaiyār and Tiruṅṇānasambanda, the adherents of the Vaishṇava and the Śaiva schools of religion respectively and also of an alleged interview and religious discussion between them. This tradition has not been given its due importance. It was rejected by a set of scholars as a later-day fabrication, as it speaks of a discussion in which the Śaiva saint was defeated and treated badly by Tirumaṅgai Ālvār, and as the ages in which the two saints are said to have lived were proved, on other grounds, to be different. I recently had an occasion to re-consider this question deeply, and weigh all available facts connected with it. At the outset, I wish to point out that the earlier accounts of the Vaishṇava saints speak of the meeting of these two saints as the outcome of mutual admiration and respect which each had for the other, and not as the representatives of the rival schools of religion desiring to discuss doctrines. The story of the alleged religious discussion and the consequent misunderstanding between them appears to have been introduced by later-day chroniclers.

The *Divyasūricharitam*¹ of Garuḍavāhana-panḍita, an ancient treatise on the lives of the Ālvārs, has the following description of the meeting of the saints.

‘ When the Śaiva saint Gṇānasambanda came to know of the return of Tirumaṅgai to Tiruvāli-Tirunagari after gaining a victory over the Bauddhas in discussion, he went and met him (Tirumaṅgai) at the outskirts of Śīkāli (i.e., Shiyali). After each of them had paid his respects to the other, Sambanda requested Tirumaṅgai to visit his village (i.e., Shiyali). The latter replied that he would not visit a village which

* My thanks are due to Mr. T. N. Subrahmanyam who rendered the article into English from the original Tamil. [The author uses *ch* for *c* and *sh* for *ś* Ed.]

1. *Divyasūricharitam*, Tamil translation published by Arisamaya-Divākaram Press, Madura, pp. 140-1. Its date is uncertain. Even if its contemporaneity with Śrī Rāmānuja is not accepted, its early date cannot be questioned as it differs in many places from the *Guruparamparas*.

had no Viṣṇu temple in it. Then Sambanda informed him that there had once been a temple of 'Śrī Rāma in that village, which since then had been demolished by the heretics. He also added that the deity of that temple was then under the roof of a certain *bhakta*, and worshipped by him privately in his house. Thereupon the Ālvār went to the residence of the *bhakta* in company with Sambanda, paid homage to the deity, and sang one distich of verses in praise of that deity. On this, Sambanda ordered his disciples to re-install this image in a temple as before, and thus came once again into existence 'Kāḷichchirāma-*viṇṇa-garam*' i.e. the Śrī Rāma temple of Shiyali."

The *Guruparamparas* speak of a religious controversy and discussion alleged to have taken place between the two saints. It is well known that Sambanda hailed from Shiyali, and Tirumaṅgai from Tiruvāli-Tirunagari very near that place; and it is just likely that, if they had been contemporaries, they would have met. The objection that could be placed against accepting this position, is that Sambanda is an avowed antagonist of the Vaishṇava cult, and that he has spoken low of Viṣṇu in every ninth song of his Tēvāram hymns. But this objection can be treated very lightly in the light of the fact that the adherents of both the Śaiva and Vaishṇava cults were, in those days, working for the wiping out of their common enemies i.e., the Śramanas. Sambanda placed Śiva above all the other gods, and the Ālvār elevated Viṣṇu to the highest place to the exclusion of the other gods, mainly to infuse *bhakti* in that particular cult among the followers of their respective systems.

Further, the *Divyasūricharitam* also speaks of this interview as having taken place while Tirumaṅgai was returning home after a victory over the Bauddhas,² which distinction Sambanda had gained on another occasion. Again, from the materials at our disposal, we do not know of discussions on the merits of several doctrines coming under the pale of Hinduism to have taken place in those days. It is therefore quite likely that the meeting of these two saints would have taken place. And in as much as all the Vaishṇava Guruparamparas speak of this meeting, we have to take this interview as a historical fact, as it is corroborated by other evidence which we shall examine in the sequel.

Historians have discarded this valuable literary tradition as of no account owing to the apparent difference in the chronology of these two saints. Sambanda is said to have lived in the middle of the 7th century A.D., while Tirumaṅgai in the early half of the 8th century by one set of scholars and in the latter half of the 8th century and the first half of the

2. The Buddhists and Jains were known in those days, by their common name Śramanas.

9th century by another set. Let us consider the material which helps us in fixing the dates of these two saints.

The date of Sambanda depends on the following three facts :—

(I) The date of the Pallava king who became a convert to Śaivism from Jainism through the influence of Saint Appar, an elder contemporary of Sambanda.

(II) The date of Śiruttoṇḍar, the General of the Pallava king who took part in the northern expedition against Vātāpi and destroyed it.

(III) The date of the Pāṇḍya who was converted to Śaivism from Jainism through the influence of Sambanda.

I. It is a settled fact that it was Mahēndrāvarman I the Pallava king of Kāñchi who was converted to Śaivism by Appar.³ The *Periappurāṇam* says that this king constructed a Śiva temple at Tiruvadigai with the name of Gunadarēccuram (Guṇabharēśvaram) demolishing a Jain temple there.^{3a} Mahēndra I had the surname of Guṇabhara and an inscription of his in the cave temple at Trichinopoly speaks of his conversion to Śaivism from the hostile religion.⁴ The duration of his reign as well as the period in which he ruled cannot be stated precisely. It is generally admitted that he ruled from Kāñchipuram from circa 600 to 640 A.D. Saint Appar lived to a ripe old age, i.e., 81 years. If it is accepted that Appar was born in the beginning of the 7th century, he ought to have lived till at least the close of the seventies of that century. He met Sambanda very late in his life.⁵ The tradition is that Sambanda lived only for 16 years, and that he was very young when he met his elder contemporary. If we take that Sambanda was 10 or 11 years of age when he met Appar, as it is quite likely, Sambanda's duration of life will be from circa 670 to 686 A.D.

II. Sambanda has praised Śiruttoṇḍar, one of the sixty-three Nāyanmārs, and his verses go to show that he was his contemporary. The *Periappurāṇam* also supports this view.⁶ It is stated therein that Śiruttoṇḍar was the captain of the elephant-force of the king under whom he served, and also destroyed Vātāpi, a city in the north, in the campaign he undertook for the king.⁷ Vātāpi, the capital of the West-

3. V. Venkayya, E.I., Vol. III, p. 277.

3-a. *Periappurāṇam*—Tirunāvūk-karāṣu-nāyanār purāṇam, verse 146.

4. S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 29, verse No. 2 of inscription No. 33.

5. Rao Bahadur K. S. Srinivasa Pillai, 'Tamil-varalāru', part II, pp. 49-54.

6. *Periappurāṇam*—Tirugñānasambanda-mūrtikaḷ-purāṇam, verse 488.

7. *Ibid.*—Śiruttoṇḍa-nāyanār-purāṇam, verse 6.

ern Chalukyas, is known to have been destroyed only by the Pallavas of Kāñchi and as such, Śiruttanḍar was a general only under a Pallava king. But history speaks of two occasions in which the city of Vātāpi was destroyed by the Pallavas. One was in the reign of Narasimha-varman I, the son of Mahendra I who was converted to Śaivism by Appar and the other in the reign of Paramēśvara-varman, the grandson of Narasimha I. So it is necessary for us to settle the question in which of the two expeditions, Śiruttanḍar led an army. Narasimha I reigned from *circa* 640 to 670 A.D. Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller who travelled in the Chalukyan kingdom in 641 A.D., speaks in eloquent language of the glory and splendour of the kingdom and its capital. Pulakesin II was the Chalukyan emperor then. His son came to the Chalukyan throne in 655 A.D. The destruction of Vātāpi was brought about during the reign of Pulakēśin II. An inscription of Narasimha-varman I in the victory-pillar he erected at Vātāpi mentions the 13th year of his reign.⁸ So, the destruction of Vātāpi should be looked for between the years 641 and 655 A.D. It is probable that the invasion of Narasimha took place at the close of Pulakēśin's reign, and it is interesting to note that V. A. Smith has stated that Pulakēśin fell in this encounter.¹⁰

Vikramāditya I, the son and successor of Pulakēśin, could not brook the defeat inflicted on his father and the destruction wrought on his capital by the Pallavas. He therefore prepared and undertook an expedition against the Pallava dominions. His army was camping at Uragapura on the southern bank of the river Kāveri, wherefrom he issued the Gadvāl plates, which bear the date 674 A.D.¹¹ The Pallava inscriptions at Kāñchipuram¹² and the Kūṛam plates¹³ say that Paramēśvaravarman defeated the Chalukyas who made an inroad into his kingdom, and that, in retaliation, he even undertook an invasion of their territory. In an inscription in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchipuram, this Paramēśvara-varman is called "Ugradanḍa, the destroyer of the city of Raṇarasika".¹⁴ That Raṇarasika is the surname of Vikra-

8. All the Pallava documents speak of this invasion: See e.g. Kūṛam, Kāśakkuḍi, Udayēndram, Vēlūrpālayam plates.

9. Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 127.

10. Oxford History of India, 1st Edition, p. 170.

11. Gadvāl plates, E.I., Vol. X, No. 22, pp. 101 ff.

12. S.I.L., Vol. I.

13. Ibid., p. 152.

14. Ibid., p. 13.

māditya I of the Western Chālukyas is an established fact;¹⁵ and this city of Raṇarasika could be no other than his capital, Vātāpi.¹⁶

Further, Paradurga-mardana, a member of the Vēlir family who ruled from Koḍumbālūr in Pudukōttai State, speaks of his victory over Vātāpi.¹⁷ The Koḍumbālūr Vēlirs existed in that part of the country for a long time, and this place is spoken of even in the *Śilappadikāram*. This Paradurgamardana's grand-son Vikrama-kēsari lived in the latter half of the eighth century. He was a contemporary of Viḍēlviḍugu-Muttarayan who, in turn, has recorded an inscription at Malayāḍipattī in the 16th year of Dantivarman, the Pallava,¹⁸ as also in the 10th year of Māraṇjaḍayan, the Pāṇḍya.¹⁹ Dantivarman was the son of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and succeeded to the Pallava throne about 780 A.D., while Māraṇjaḍayan, who can be identified with Jaṭila-varman Parāntaka, came to the throne about 765 A.D.²⁰ Taking that Viḍēlviḍugu Muttarayan and Vikramakēsari lived in 775 A.D., and allowing an average of 30 years' rule for each generation, Paradurga-mardana, the grand-father of Vikrama-kēsari, should have ruled about 715 A.D.^{20-a} But we have no information whether Vikrama-kēsari was an elder or younger contemporary of the Muttarayan, as also of the dura-

15. Gadval plates, E. I., Vol. X, p. 101.

16. Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil thinks that "the city of Raṇarasika" is Urugapura. But Urugapura was only a temporary camp of Vikramāditya's army invading South India, from which camp he issued the Gadval plates. So, the city of Raṇarasika could refer only to his capital, Vātāpi, and to no other place. Dr. Dubreuil contends that, if Paramēśvara-varman had destroyed Vātāpi, he would have called himself—"Destroyer of Vātāpi" like his grand-father Narasimha I, and inasmuch as he had not chosen that title, Raṇarasika-pura, which he destroyed, should have been some other city than Vātāpi. But it is quite probable that Paramēśvara did not use the title *Destroyer of Vātāpi* as he wanted to show that his achievement was not merely a legacy got from his grand-father, and that he used the title of *Destroyer of the city of Raṇarasika* to show that he earned it by dint of his valour. Further, the Koḍumbālūr inscription says that Paradurga-mardana, who took part in the battle at Urugapura, even though young, had also the surname 'Vātāpijit' i.e., conqueror of Vātāpi; and this shows clearly that the conquest of Urugapura is an episode different from the capture of Vātāpi.

See also Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Oct. 1927.

17. Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State No. 14. See also Mr. A. Rangasvami Sarasvati in the *Maharaja's College Magazine*, Vizianagaram, July 1923, pp. 206-9.

18. Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State, No. 18.

19. Inscription No. 10 of 1899, A. R. E. Southern Circle.

20. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom', p. 41.

20-a. The above date is supported by the fact, that Viḍyārāśi, who was living probably in the 8th century, was the preceptor of Mallikārjuna, the guru of Vikrama Kēsari, as stated in the Koḍumbālūr Inscription.

tion of the reigns of Paradurgamardana, his son Samarābhirāma-Yaduvamśaketu, and grand-son Vikrama-kēsari. But according to the Koḷumbālūr inscription, Paradurga-mardana was present in the battle at Uragapura even while he was young. So it is probable that he lived at this time, and took part in the northern campaign of the Pallavas under whose suzerainty these Vēḷirs were chieftains. On the other hand, if this Paradurga-mardana is taken as a contemporary of Nara-simhavarman I, then the interval between him and his grand-son Vikramakēsari would come to a century and a quarter, which is not probable. We know also that Uragapura figured only in the invasion of Vikramāditya I, and not in the invasion of Pulakēśin II. So we can safely say that there was a second invasion of Vātāpi, and that it took place about 675 A.D. in the reign of Paramēśvara-varman I. In which of these two invasions did Śruttonḍar take part it is not clear to infer from other sources. So this does not directly help us in fixing Sambanda's date. On the other hand, the answer to this question depends on the answer to the other.

III. The Periyapurāṇam says that the Pāṇḍya King who was converted to Śaivism by Sambanda was Neḍumāraṇ, the victor of Nelvēli.²¹ Sundaramūrti in his catalogue of Śaiva saints ascribes to him the battle of Nelvēli.²²

The genealogy of the Pāṇḍya kings who ruled the country in the 7th and 8th centuries is given below.²³

1. Kaṇḍuṅḍōn (C. 590-620 A.D.)
- |
2. Māravarman Avanicūḷāmaṇi (620-645)
- |
3. Selivan Śendaṇ (645-670)
- |
4. Arikēsari Māravarman (Victor of Nelvēli) (670-710)
- |
5. Kōccaḍaiyaṇ (710-740)
- |
6. Māravarman Rājasimha (740-765)
- |
7. Parāntaka Neḍuṇḍaḍaiyaṇ (765-815)
- |
8. Śrī Māraṇ Śrīvallabha (815-862)

21. Periyapurāṇam, Niṇṇāśir-Neḍumāra-nāyaṇār-purāṇam, verse 2.

22. Tiruttonḍa-t-tokai, verse 8; 'Nelvēli-veṇṇa-niṇṇāśir-neḍumāraṇ aḍiyārkkum aḍiyēṇ.'

23. Nilakanta Sastri, 'The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom,' p. 41.

Only four kings, who are denoted with even numbers, have the name Māṛavarman. No. 2 came to the throne in the beginning of the 7th century, i.e., long before the time of Pallava Narasimhavarman I, while No. 8 came to the throne at the beginning of the 9th century. Consequently, both of them could not have been contemporaries of Sambanda. No. 6 was on the Pāṇḍya throne from *circa* 740 to 765 A.D., and was a contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Further, this king appears to have been converted to Vaishṇavism by Periyālvār.²⁴ So the only Pāṇḍya who can be identified with this Neḍumāraṇ is No. 4 Arikēsari Māṛavarman. The Vēlvikkūḍi plates say of him that he conquered the vast forces in the battle of Nelvēli,²⁵ which statement is confirmed by the Larger Śinnamaṇūr plates.²⁶ The inscriptions speak of him as a great devotee of Lord Śiva, which is in conformity with the Tēvāram hymns.

It is not possible to fix the date of this king precisely. His great-grandson, Jaṭilavarman Parāntaka (No. 7 in the above genealogy) came to the throne in 767 A.D. Allowing an average of 30 years for each reign, Nedumāraṇ, the victor of Nelvēli should have come to the throne in 677 A.D. Even allowing for longer reigns, his date of accession could not be earlier than 670 A.D. Sambanda, the saint who converted this king to Śaivism, should also have lived then. In this connexion, it may be pointed out that Sambanda's life being very short, and he being a contemporary of Neḍumāraṇ, he could not have been a contemporary of Narasimhavarman I, whose reign in the Pallava kingdom came to an end before Neḍumāraṇ began to reign in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. Thus all the above evidences lend weighty support to the theory that Sambanda lived in the latter half of the 7th century, i.e., from *circa* 670 to 686 A.D.

The date of Tirumaṅgai Ālvār has been dependent hitherto on his reference to Vairamēhaṇ in his *Asṭabuyakaram* hymn. The Ālvār celebrates the prowess of Vairamēhaṇ in such a way that he could not have been any other than his contemporary. This Vairamēhaṇ is differently identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga who conquered Kāñchi in 754 A.D., and his daughter's son, Dantivarman the Pallava, who succeeded to the Pallava throne in 780 A.D. Whoever this Vairamēhaṇ might have been, it is clear that the Ālvār should have been his contemporary, and this gives us the upper limit for fixing his age.

The Ālvār mentions in several of his hymns a mighty king of the North having been vanquished along with the Pāṇḍya king, by the

24. See my Tamil book 'Ālvārkaḷ kālaṇilai', pp. 52-9.

25. E.I., Vol. xvii.

26. S.I.I., Vol. III, part iv.

warriors of Nāṅgūr.²⁷ He extols the warriors of Nāṅgai (or Tiru-nāṅgūr in the Chōḷa-nāḍu) for having so admirably routed a Pāṇḍya king and a mighty king of the North that both of them had to take to their heels. The Ālvār was born of the warrior class, and having distinguished himself as a warrior of great valour, never failed to appreciate courage and prowess wherever he found them. The facts that Tirunāṅgūr, the home of these warriors, is very near his native place, Tiruvāḷi-Tirumagarai, and that the Ālvār uses the words, 'maṇṇum', 'paṇḍ' in the present tense in describing this martial tribe, enable us to infer that he ought to have had a personal knowledge of them. The country in which these two places are situated (the present Tanjore District) was, in those days, under the sway of the Pallavas. Accordingly, the Nāṅgūr warriors ought to have served under the banner of the Pallavas, either directly or under the leadership of some of the local chieftains

In all the three campaigns led by the northern kings against Kāñchi in the 8th and 9th centuries, viz., (1) by the Chalukya Vikramāditya II in 741²⁸ A.D., (2) by the Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga²⁹ in 754 A.D. and (3) by the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III³⁰ about 804 A.D., the Pallavas were miserably defeated. We hear also of the capture of Kāñchi on all the three occasions. Let us now turn our attention to the three invasions over the Pallava dominions in the 7th century. In the first expedition undertaken by Pulakēśin II about 610 A.D., the Pallavas suffered a defeat at the hands of the Chalukya.³¹ The Pallavas attained victory over the Chalukyas only on two occasions. The first occasion was during the second invasion on the southern country by Pulakēśin II in the latter portion of his reign. The then Pallava, Narasimha I, fought many battles against him at Maṇimaṅgalam and other places, and finally defeated him and in turn pursued him as far as his capital, Vātāpi, and destroyed it. The second occasion was when Chalukya Vikramāditya I, the son and successor of Pulakēśin II, marched against the Tamil land to avenge the disgrace inflicted on his father. We have already referred to these incidents. Vikramāditya had a crushing defeat at the hands of Paramēśvara-varman I at Peruvaḷanallūr, and 'had to flee with rags'³²

27. Periya-Tirumoli, 2, 8, 10: 'Ontīraḷ Tenpanōḍa (v) vadavaraśōttam kaṇḍa tinṭīṇalālar nāṅgūr . . .'

28. See Periya-Tirumoli, 4, 5, 6; : 4, 1, 2; : 4, 1, 5; : 4, 6, 2; : 4, 7, 1.

29. Keṇḍūr plates, E.I., Vol. IX, p. 205.

30. Kadaba plates, E.I., Vol. IV, p. 331.

31. Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 127.

32. Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, 'The Pallavas'; English translation, p. 36.

33. Udayēndram plates, S.I.I., Vol. II, part iii, p. 371.

on'. It is therefore more reasonable to infer that the Ālvār's reference is only to the invasion of Chalukya Vikramāditya I, and not of Pulakēśin, as it is more probable that the Ālvār met those who took part in the battle of 675 A.D. than those who had fought in 640 A.D. Again, as Vikramāditya was defeated in the Chōḷa-nāḍu, it is more likely that the warriors of Nāṅgūr had taken an active part in that battle.

The Ālvār's reference goes to prove that the Pāṇḍya also took part in the battle, and was an ally of the Chalukya. We have already stated that the Pāṇḍya king who was then ruling was Neḍumāraṇ, the victor of Nelvēli, and converted to Śaivism by Gūṇasambanda. But whether this Pāṇḍya took any part in this Chalukyan affair and if so, whether as a friend or as a foe of the Chalukyas, are points that require further examination.

Vikramāditya's camp at Uragapura and his defeat at Peruvaḷanallūr show that the scene of action was the deltaic region of the river Kāveri. How did he happen to come there is the question. It is not possible to suppose that, after having scored a victory over the Pallavas, he crossed the Pallava dominions and reached this deltaic region, as in that case, it would have been impossible for Paramēśvara-varman to have gained a victory at Peruvaḷanallūr over Vikramāditya 'whose army consisted of several lakshas', and he would not have had even a breathing space for recuperating his strength and marshalling his army for his subsequent offensive. The only alternative would be that Vikramāditya entered the Chōḷa-nāḍu through Koṅgu, his main object being to conquer the Pallavas and not the Pāṇḍyas. As the Koṅgu-nāḍu was then under the Pāṇḍya rule, the theory that Vikramāditya came to the Chōḷa-nāḍu through Koṅgu as the ally of the Pāṇḍya gains in strength. There are also considerable reasons why the Pāṇḍyas should range themselves on the side of the Chalukyas against the Pallavas. The Pallavas, by the conquest of the Chōḷa territory as early as the time of Simhavishṇu and by their attack on the frontiers of the Pāṇḍya country time and again, had disturbed the balance of power. The frontier question appears to have become so bitter that these two ruling powers had been hostile to each other for generations. The Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II also says that

"There he (Pulakēśin II) caused great prosperity to the Chōḷas, Kēralas and Pāṇḍyas, he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost—the army of the Pallavas".³⁴ Thus it is evident that the Pāṇḍya was one of the adversaries of the Pallavas.

34. E.I., Vol. III, No. 1, p. 11, verse 31.

It also appears that the subjugation of the Kongunāḍu by the Pāṇḍya procured for him an inveterate enemy in the Chēra as he had, on all subsequent occasions, ranged himself on the Pallava side³⁵; the Ālvār also hints that the Chēra was a vassal of the Pallava.³⁶

The passage wherein the Ālvār refers to the defeat of the Pāṇḍya and the Northern king may be interpreted in two ways, viz., (1) "The people of Nāṅgur were so powerful as to see the flight of the Northern king with the mighty Pāṇḍya" or (2) "The people of Nāṅgur were so powerful as to see the flight of the Northern king after the mighty Pāṇḍya's flight." Whichever interpretation we make of this passage, it is clear therefore that the king of the north was very powerful; that he was soon vanquished by the warriors of Nāṅgur; that he was forced to retreat; and that the Pāṇḍya also fought on his side. These agree completely with the contents of the Kūram plates of Paramēśvara-varman I depicting the defeat of the Chalukya Vikramāditya I about the year 675 A.D. This is enough to show that the Ālvār's references to a battle could not have been any other than this one.

There are other evidences to show that Tirumaṅgai Ālvār was a contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, who was on the Pallava throne from 717 to 780 A.D. I have examined them in detail elsewhere.³⁷

As regards the identification of Vairamēṣaṇ with Dantidurga the Rāshtrakūṭa, and his grandson Dantivarman the Pallava, it may be pointed out here that the title *Mēgha* is not foreign to the Pallava family. Mahēndravarman I had the surname of 'Mahāmēgha', while Rājasimha had the surnames 'Chitramēgha' and 'Śrimēgha.' In the passage wherein this reference to Vairamēṣaṇ occurs, the Ālvār says that Kāñchīpuram was full of Vairamēṣaṇ's glory. In this connexion it may be pointed out that Kāñchīpuram was at the height of its glory during the Pallava ascendancy. The hymns of the Ālvār reveal a tendency on his part to glorify the Pallavas, wherever contents admit of such references. The Ashtabuyakaram hymns, wherein the Ālvār has referred to 'Vairamēṣaṇ' are placed in the Periya-Tirumolī, just by the side of his hymns on 'Paramēccura-viṇṇaharam' (i.e., the present Vaikuṇṭa-perūmāl temple at Kāñchīpuram), wherein also he praises the Pallavas. The above facts lead us to infer that this passage appears to refer to the time when the Pallavas were at the zenith of their power. It is therefore quite likely that "Vairamēṣaṇ" referred to by the Ālvār is one of the surnames of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

35. Madras Museum plates, 'Pallavaṇuṅ-kēraḷaṇum . . . aṇuḥa-vandu.'

36. Periya Tirumolī, 2, 9, 1.

37. See my Tamil book 'Ālvārkaḷ Kālanilai', pp. 90-149.

The Ālvār lived to a great age, and he actually refers to his old age in his hymn on Badari and Tirunaraiyūr. Tradition has it that he lived for 105 years. It may be an exaggeration. But we know this much, that he lived to a ripe old age. So we can safely take the tradition as substantially correct. Thus if we take it that the Ālvār was born about 660 A.D., he would have been 14 or 15 years of age at the time of the Chalukyan invasion of South India, and 25 years of age at the time of meeting Sambanda ; and that he would have died about 765 A.D.

We have already seen that it is quite probable that Gñānasambanda lived *circa* 670—686 A.D. All the evidences, that we have brought together tend to show that Tirumaṅgai should have also lived between *circa* 660 and 765 A.D. In the light of the above facts, it is not wrong to infer that Sambanda was a contemporary of Tirumaṅgai, and that the story in the Vaishṇava hagiology of an alleged meeting between the two is not improbable.

The Kadavaraya Problem

By

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1. THEORY OF TWO PERUÑJINGAS UNTENABLE

The needless supposition of two Peruñjingas is weakened by the different dates suggested for the so-called Peruñjiṅga I. One view is that A.D. 1243 marks the end of his rule and that the Tiruvēndipuram and Vāvalūr records belong to him.¹ Another view assumes that he lived in retirement from 1243 to 1249, his 18th regnal year according to Tiruvidaimarudūr inscription.² The third view takes Peruñjiṅga II as the rebel against Rājarāja III in 1230, the earlier rebel being his father, Peruñjiṅga I,³ and makes the former succeed the latter "shortly after" the fourth regnal year of that Chōla king (1220).⁴

(a) *Peruñjiṅga's retirement.* This theory is based on the equation of the 18th regnal year of Peruñjiṅga with 1249. The Tiruvidaimarudūr inscription (135 of 1895) gives only the regnal year, and the date is "incorrect" according to Dr. Kielhorn, who arrives at the date, 30th July, 1249, for the Tiruveṇṇainallūr epigraph of the 7th regnal year of Peruñjiṅga. Thus the B and C of the four dates worked out by that scholar have been confounded by more than one writer.⁵

(b) *Peruñjiṅga and other Kāḍavarāyas.* The failure to distinguish between Peruñjiṅga and any one of the other Kāḍavarāyas and Avaṇiyālapirandāns who were innumerable, is another cause of confusion. One of these latter should not be identified with Peruñjiṅga without specific reasons, without other proof of his existence at the time in question, and without reference to the area of his power and influence at the date of the inscription relied upon for the identification. A record of Rājarāja III's 7th year (1223) mentions a Kāḍavarāya in connection with a battle at Iratti and Peruñjiṅga I is set down as the rebel against that king in 1225.⁶ An Avaṇiyālapirandān Kāḍavarāya of

1. M.E.R., 1923, pp. 96-97. The author uses *ch* for *c* and *sh* for *ṣ*.
2. R. Sewell, *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 147.
3. T. T. Dēvasthānam Epigraphical Report, p. 115.
4. T. T. Dēvasthānam Inscriptions, I, p. 49.
5. E. I., VII, pp. 164-165.
6. T. T. D. Report, p. 48.

the 8th year of Kulōttuṅga Chōla III (1185) is identified with Peruñjiṅga, and the interval of more than 90 years between 1185 and 1278, his last date, is regarded as the justification for the supposition of two Peruñjiṅgas.⁷ Hence R. Sewell's caution: "whatever then the 'Kāḍava' chief of former records may mean, this one (of 1227, Bēlūr inscription) certainly points to the 'Pallava' chief Kōpperuñjiṅga as the one intended."⁸ But the substitution of Pallava for Kāḍava is no real improvement, and the Vriddhāchalam inscription of 1229 seems to be the first definite record of Peruñjiṅga.⁹

(c) *Vāyalūr and Tiruvēndipuram Inscriptions.* The undated Vāyalūr inscription¹⁰ of Aḷagiya Śiyan Avaṇiyālapiraṇḍān Kō-Peruñjiṅga who defeated Pūm Puḡār Śōlan at Tellāru and imprisoned him and his ministers, is assigned to 1222 on the ground that an epigraph of 1224 mentions a Kāḍavarāya as the enemy of Narasimha II, "the establisher of the Chōla Kingdom." This Kāḍava is identified with Aḷagiya Śiyan. The argument for the ascription of the Vāyalūr record to 1222 is therefore palpably weak. Aḷagiya Śiyan may better be taken as an *iraṭṭaipēr* of Peruñjiṅga, some of whose characteristic titles are found in the record in question.

Moreover, the Chōla defeat at Tellāru is regarded as different from that which was the occasion for the imprisonment of Rājarāja III mentioned in his Tiruvēndipuram inscription (1231), as *Sēndamaṅgalam*, the place of imprisonment, is not mentioned in the Vāyalūr record and as the name Aḷagiya Śiyan is to be emphasised. Hence two defeats and two imprisonments of Rājarāja III. by Aḷagiya Śiyan are spoken of. This opinion is stressed by the statement of another writer that Rājarāja III was imprisoned *twice at Sēndamaṅgalam*,¹¹ without any evidence for the additional information. Whether *Sēndamaṅgalam* is mentioned once or twice, the Vāyalūr and Tiruvēndipuram inscriptions cannot be regarded as describing events separated by nearly nine years. The two are obviously complementary to each other, giving versions of the same event from the two different view-points of Peruñjiṅga and Rājarāja III. The resemblances between the two records indicated by the Madras Epigraphist¹² are striking, and the discrepancies are easily explained if the different points of view above mentioned are borne in mind. The assumed two revolts and two imprisonments in almost identical circum-

7. *M.E.R.*, 1922, pp. 107-108.

8. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

9. 136 of 1900, Madras Collection.

10. *M.E.R.*, 1923, p. 96.

11. *T. T. D. Report*, p. 115 and *Inscriptions*, I, p. 49.

12. *M.E.R.*, 1923, p. 96.

stances are not only not supported by evidence but incredible. Therefore the battle of Tellāru a little before 1231 must have occasioned the Hoysala intervention triumphantly described in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription of Rājarāja III.

(d) *Tiruvēndipuram and Tripurāntakam Inscriptions.* These two inscriptions of 1231 and 1243 are regarded as belonging to Peruñjīga I and II respectively, as in the latter record Mahārājasimha is called 'the Sun to the lotus tank of the Chōla family.'¹³ If we suppose only one Peruñjīga this discrepancy vanishes in the light of his new position of independence after Rājarāja III had come to grief. The interval of twelve years between the two inscriptions under survey is thought to be adequate reason for the theory of two Peruñjīgas. But Peruñjīga, after his chastisement by the Hoysalas in 1231 must have regained sufficiently long for rehabilitating his eclipsed fortunes. Since he achieved independence by 1243, it is proper that he counted his regnal years from that date. In short, the supposition of only one Peruñjīga explains the similarities of the Vāyalūr and Tiruvēndipuram inscriptions better, and the interval of twelve years gives enough time for his work towards independence during the bickerings between Rājarāja III and Rājendra III. Above all, this explanation obviates the need for the highly artificial theory of two defeats and two imprisonments of Rājarāja III in the same place and of two Hoysala interventions. The omissions of certain titles from the Vāyalūr inscription are accounted for by the period of the record (in the early career of Peruñjīga) and the characteristic titles of Mahārājasimha mentioned in that record are really significant. The *irattaipeṛ* of Aḷagiya Śīyan appears in some of the later inscriptions, as for instance in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record of his 31st year,¹⁴ with the almost invariable 'Tribhuvana-chakravarti.' Further, the character and achievements of Peruñjīga before and after 1243 possess a remarkable inner unity—the same self-assertion, the same loyalty coupled with love of independence, the same vital energy and integrity, and the same robust optimism. After all the period, 1229 to 1278, is nothing unbelievable. If, however, two Peruñjīgas are supposed, and the first is assigned to 1185-1243, according to one view,¹⁵ and the second to 1243-1278, it becomes really incredible that the father's reign of 58 years was followed by the son's reign of 36 years. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri is right in observing that "there is no sufficient reason yet to depart from the position taken up by

13. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

14. 489 of 1902.

15. *M.E.R.*, 1922, p. 108.

Hultzsch."¹⁶ Therefore, Kō-Peruñjiṅga after his possibly strenuous labours for more than twelve years became independent in 1243, made a Sanskrit rendering of his name and, as Mahārājasimha, prepared himself for the new storms.

2. PERUÑJINGA'S SOUNDING TITLES

The manifold titles of Peruñjiṅga have been regarded as empty boasts by some and suspected by others. It is said that Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I was mainly responsible for most of the achievements implied in those titles,¹⁷ because Peruñjiṅga was only "a petty chieftain." But his inscriptions are largely found in the South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput districts, and to a lesser extent in the Tanjore, Kurnool and Godavari districts. The test of political power and influence cannot be undervalued. The title *Kāvērīkāṃuka* is regarded as the expression of his pious political wish, but his penetration in the Tanjore district is noted with a little surprise by the Madras Epigraphist.¹⁸ There are the pitfalls of epigraphical study, and the tendency to underline the boasts of one party amidst conflicting royal boasts, is not to be acquiesced in. How far are boasts of Jaṭavarman Sundara I to be accepted as historical? In this connection the warning of scepticism is satisfactory.¹⁹ There is, however, no denying the superiority of Sundara to Peruñjiṅga, but the latter was different from a Pāṇḍya satellite. An inscription of 1262 implies his friendship with Rudrāmbā in spite of his earlier hostility to her dynasty. The dangerous game of rapidly alternating hostility and friendship could be played only by a hero of Peruñjiṅga's stamp. Sewell remarks that Pāṇḍya influence "greatly increased" in the South Arcot and Chingleput districts after Peruñjiṅga's death.²⁰ The theory of Peruñjiṅga's subordinate co-operation "²¹ with Sundara Pāṇḍya is all right, provided emphasis is laid on co-operation rather than subordination. Therefore Peruñjiṅga was the able co-adjutor of Sundara whose progress in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam and further north would not have been possible without the co-operation of his former enemy. To deny reality to his boasts on the ground that he was a minor chief is merely to beg the question. There is substance underlying the following titles of Peruñjiṅga : *Pāṇḍyamaṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtradhāra*, *Sahōdara-sundara* and *Karnāṭa-lakshmī-luṇṭaka*. The bare truth is given in the titles, *Kāṭhakalankatilaka*, *Peṇṇānadinātha*, etc.

16. *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 165 n.

17. *T. T. D. Inscriptions*, I, pp. 50-51.

18. *M.E.R.*, 1928, p. 58.

19. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

21. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 166 n.

There is ample justification for his military titles *Sarvagñakhaḍga-malla*, *Vāḷbalaperumāl*, etc., and for his title *Kanakasabhāpati sabhā sarvakārga-sarvakāla-nrvāhaka*. But whether his literary titles *Kavisārvabhauma*, *Bharatamalla* and *Sāhityaratnākara*, are well founded is more than one can say. The fact that he describes himself merely as *Kāvērī-kamuka*, shows his self-restraint. Even in the assumption of sounding titles he was only honouring the traditions of his country and the customs of his age.

3. HIS MORALITY

73 of 1918 records his victory at Perambalūr in 1252-3 over the Hoysaḷa Sōmēśvara, followed by his seizure of the ladies of his enemy and the expiation of his guilt by gifts to the Vriddhāchalam temple. This coupled with his title of *Avanibhōgajāta* is employed to prove his sensuality. But, in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription, "seizing and plundering the women" is mentioned on the part of the Hoysaḷas.²² It stands to the credit of Perunjiṅga, however, that he repented and that he had the courage to assume the title of *Avanibhōgajāta*. This molestation of women is mentioned in many inscriptions of different ages, and even greater barbarities have been on record such as cutting off noses. Sewell²³ notes the loss of the Ceylonese queen-mother's nose owing to the cruelty of Rājādhirāja I.

4. HIS FINAL DATE

The Kāyastha Ambadēva's Tripurāntakam inscription²⁴ of 1291 says that he "worsted" Kāḍavarāya. This evidence is indefinite. A record²⁵ of the 13th year (1289)²⁶ of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam, which refers to money gifts "in the time of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva," is really valuable, but it is best to keep to his last known date, 36th regnal year (1278), found in two records at Chidambaram (455 and 456 of 1902).

5. CONCLUSION

During the 13th Century, the age of storm and stress, Peruñjiṅga attempted with much success the establishment of the power and prestige of the Kāḍavarāyas. His forceful personality and perennial energy made his name and family famous in the triangular struggle for political power in South India, among the Pāṇḍyas, Hoysaḷas and Kākaṭiyas. Hence perhaps later chiefs even in the 16th century claimed Kāḍava ancestry.²⁷

22. E.I., VII, p. 168.

23. Sewell, op. cit., p. 71.

24. 173 of 1905.

25. 418 of 1909.

26. E.I., XI, p. 258.

27. Sewell, op. cit., p. 238.

The Last Great Cera of the Sangam Period

BY

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Yāṇaik-kaṭ-Śey Māntaram Cēral Irumporai is the most outstanding figure among the later Cēras of the Śaṅgam period. Four Śaṅgam poets have sung his praise in the *Pura-nāṇūru* ; and from these poems we can easily gather that he was a great, popular hero, highly loved by the people. His name is Śey ; the other words occurring in his name are descriptive appendages. The presence of Irumporai in his name shows that he was of the northern line, which, as I have tried to show elsewhere, began with Karuvūr-ēriya Ol-vāl-kōp-perum Cēral Irumporai, having its capital at Toṇḍi. The northern province was originally created as a palatinate of the Cēra kingdom for political reasons, as I have explained in my "*Cēra Kings of the Sangam Period*," and after its creation there were two parallel lines of kings in the Cēra kingdom, one line ruling at Vañci and the other at Toṇḍi. Between Ol-vāl Kōp-perum Cēral and Yāṇaik-kaṭ Śey Mantaram Cēral, there were several famous kings in the Northern line, such as Śelvak-kaḷunkōvāli ātan, Perum Cēral, Iḷam Cēral, and, according to me, also Āḍu-kōṭ-pāṭṭu Cēral-ātan ; and we may say, depending upon the evidence of early Tamil literature, that Yāṇaik-kaṭ-Śey was the last great ruler of that line. It has been wrongly asserted by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, to whom South Indian historical research owes a heavy debt, that Yāṇaik-kaṭ Śey is the son of Śen Kuṭṭuvaṇ ; and this incorrect statement has unfortunately found its way into a recent text book of Indian History (Banerji's *Junior History of India*, p. 94.) Apparently the *Cambridge Shorter History of India* commits the same error when it says that Śen Kuṭṭuvaṇ was succeeded by the equally war-like Śey, called Yāṇaikkan " (op. cit. p. 194).

All the great kings of ancient Tamiḷagam were famous warriors, and Śey was no exception. The ancient code of public law, while it laid stress on the protection of the people as the essential duty of the king, also enjoined, probably because it was essential for the satisfactory discharge of that function, that kings should never recede from combat (cf. *Manu*, VII. 88) : but apart from the code, kings often waged war from motives of personal ambition or from sheer blood-lust ; and sometimes they did it in such excess as to forget their primary duty of protection. Thus the first Cēra of the northern palatinate, whose

epithet *Oḷ-vāḷ* (bright sword) is significantly descriptive of his lust for war, had to be admonished by a poet, who addressed the following words to the king :

Detach thyself from those devoid of love
And mercy ; they, indeed, are marked for hell !
Be thou like parents who their children tend !
Protect thy land and people ! 'tis worth while !

(*Puram* 5)

We can see from the poems relating to him, that Śey in spite of his wars with the neighbouring princes, was a benevolent ruler, beloved of his subjects, to whom he secured peace, prosperity and protection from external attacks. In his early wars, he seems to have had uniform success ; but we have no details of those wars. From *Puram* 53 we see he won a victory at Viḷaṅkil

விளங்கில் விழுமக் கொன்ற
காங்கொள் யாலைக் கடுமன் பெயற்பா !

Perhaps he repulsed an enemy's attack on Viḷaṅkil, which appears to be within the Cēra kingdom ; for we have in *Agam* 81

பாண்டன் படலன் விளங்கி லன்ன

He had, however, his reverses in war. In a battle that he fought against Rājasūyam-Vēṭṭa Perumar-Kiḷḷi he was defeated (*Puram* 125). Perhaps this is the battle of Kāriyāru mentioned in the Maṇimēkalai (Cantos 19 ; 24). He was defeated in another engagement also ; and this time by Talai-ālaṅkāṇattu Cēruvenṇa Neḍumceḷiyan, one of the greatest kings of the Pāṇḍya dynasty. We learn from *Puram* 17 that in that battle he was made a captive by the Pāṇḍya hero ; but by his unaided strategem and valour he escaped. This battle cannot be the well known battle of Talai-ālaṅkāṇam, which Neḍumceḷiyan won over the confederate army of the Cēra, the Cōḷa and the five Vēḷir chiefs ; for we learn from *Purams* 76 and 77 and *Agam* 36 that in that battle the Cēra, the Cōḷa and the chiefs that were their allies were slain.

கொடித்தேர்த் தேழியன்
அலங் கானத் தகன்றலை சிவப்பன்
சேரல் சேம்பியன் சினங்கெழு தீதியன்
ஸபார்வல் யாலைப் பொலம்புகன் எழினி
காரரி கறவின் எருமையூரன்
பேங்கம முகலத்துப் புலந்த சாதின்
இருங்கோ வேண்மான் இயதேர்ப் போருநன் என்
றெழுவர் நல்லல மடங்க வொருபகன்
முரசொடு வெண்குடை யகப்படுத் துரைசெலக்
கோன்று களம் வேட்ட ஞான்றை.

Agam 36.

பசும்பூட் சேழியன்
* * * *
* * * *

புனைகழல் எழுவர் நல்வல மடங்க
ஒருதானாகப் பொருதுகளத்து அடலே.

puram 76.

அவரை
மழுத்தப் பற்றி யகல்கிகர் பார்ப்பொய்க்
கனிநீர்நீர் நிலைநெர அட்டதை.

puram 77.

with these two defeats began the downfall of the Cēra hegemony in the Tamil land.

Seys' internal administration appears to have been a blessing to his subjects. Poruntil Iḷam Kiranār says in *Puram* 53 that it requires a poet of Kapilar's eminence to sing adequately the praises of this Cēra. Another poet extols him for his just and wise rule under which his subjects enjoyed the blessings of peace, 'knowing no bow except the rain-bow, and no weapon except the plough'. (*Puram* 20).

நெருவி லல்லது கொலைநில லறியார்
காஞ்சி லல்லது படைமய நரியார்.

puram 20.

His kingdom is praised as a heaven on earth.

மாந்தரஞ் செர லிரும்பொறை யோம்பிய நாடு
புத்திை னாலகத் தறநெனக் கெட்டுவந்
தீனிது கண்டி சின்.

puram 22.

He was a great patron of learning and it was at his instance that the *Ain-kuru-nūru*, a well-known Śaṅgam Collection of *Agam* variety, was re-dacted. The *Pura-nānūru* has a touching poem lamenting his death, written by Kūḍalūr Kīlār who had dreaded the occurrence of the event as he had witnessed the falling of a meteor at midnight when the planets and stars were in a particular position (*Puram* 229). Unfortunately the astronomical details found in the poem cannot help us to discover the date of the demise of this great monarch.

I am tempted to suggest that Yāṇaik-kaṭ Sey is, possibly, the hero of the missing tenth *Patirrup-pattu*. The Cambridge *Shorter History of India* assigns him to the early part of the second century A.C.; and I have myself tentatively placed him in the second quarter of the third century in my *Cēra kings of the Śaṅgam Period*. I give below the

English renderings of two poems from *Purāṇānūru* (*puram* 17 and *puram* 20) which will help us to appreciate the greatness of this good and wise ruler and the love he evoked in the bosoms of his subjects.

The deep sea may be sounded ; and the width
Of the vast earth, the air-pervading space
And eke the shapeless, overhanging sky,
May all be measured ; but, O mighty king :
Thy wisdom, love and generosity
Defy all measure : Those who in the shade
Of thy protection live know but the heat
Of kitchen-fire and of the glowing sun !
They only know the rainbow in the sky
But not the bow of slaughter : Nor do they
Another weapon know except the plough !
Illustrious king ! Thy valiant foes thou hast
With mighty armies vanquished, and their lands
Their fruits for thy enjoyment yield ! Thy earth
Put pregnant ladies out to satisfy
Their craving, and is never touched by foes !
In thy well-guarded forts thy arrows rest ;
And in thy sceptre righteousness resides !
What though new birds may come or old birds leave,
What-e'er betide, thou dost thy kingdom guard
And peace ensure. And so with anxious hope
The world doth pray no harm should thee befall.

Puram 20.

Scion of the royal house whose kings have ruled
As undisputed monarchs o'er the land
Which from Kumari on the south extends
To the high mountain on the north, and lies
Between the eastern and western sea !

Thy sires their royal sceptre even held
O'er all their subjects wheresoe'er they lived,
In hill or mountain, forest or in town.
Protecting them with equal justice, they
Chastised all wrong and, as their due, received
The share of yield from land by law allowed.
O Tondi's lord ! Thy land the mountain fence
Protects. Its sandy beach like moon-light shines.
There flourish stately palms which star-high grow,
Laden with bunches of sweet cocoanuts.
There, spread extensive fields ; and in the ponds
Of water clear bright flaming lotus blooms !

E'en as a strong and stately elephant
 Regardless of the treach'rous pit whose mouth
 Is cunningly o'erlaid, impetuous
 Unto it rushes, and with tusks, full-grown
 And murd'rous, gores the sides and fills it up
 With earth it has dug up and getting out
 Goes back and joins the herd in its old haunt,

So thou, the victor in thy wars, whose foes,
 Bereft of their possessions, bow in fee
 To gain thy friendship or from policy,
 Urged by thy courage irresistible,
 Unmindful of thy foe, didst rush to war,
 And when, to the bewilderment of all
 Thy kith and kin, thou wert a captive made,
 By thy unaided strength and strategem
 Thou didst redeem thy lapse and didst escape
 And to thy realm and relatives return.

O king of Kuḍanāḍ ! I come to praise
 Thy valour and thy fame. Unlimited
 Is thy munificence ! Thy warrior's shields
 For rain-clouds are mistook ! Large swarms of bees
 Settle on thy war-elephants, which they
 Mistake for mountains huge ! Thy battle hosts
 The terror of thy enemies, are vast
 As the great sea to which the clouds resort
 For their supply of water ! And the sound
 Of thy war-drums resemble so the roar
 Of thunder that dread snakes and venomous,
 Trembling with fright hang down their hooded heads !

Puram 17.

The Role of the Brahman in Andhradesa in the Eastern Chalukyan Period

By

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IN this article, I propose to deal with the varied activities of the Brāhmins in the Telugu country in 615—1061 A.D. There were Brāhmins in the Andhra country from very early times, and they were patronised by the kings. We have in particular a large number of copper-plates from the Chalukyan age, most of which are records of grants to Brahmins. These charters enable us to get an idea of the contributions of the community to the culture of the country.

Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, the founder of the dynasty, is praised for his kindness to the Brāhmins in his Chipurpalle Grant,¹ wherein he records donations to Viṣṇu and Mādhava Śarmans, scholars in the Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, Smṛtis, Epics and Purāṇas. The Kolavennu² copper-plates of Chalukya Bhīma II (934—945 A.D.) pay a very high compliment to the family of the *Kramavīd* Kommaṇa : His sons and grandsons, we are told, were youths who were clever in the assemblies of eminent men, and who obtained a succession of *agrahāras* as well as the "highest marks of reverence." Even ladies of the royal household shared in the privilege of extending patronage to Brāhmins, as two³ of the grants of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana III (710-747) testify.

A large number of the Brāhmins were priests to the gods, kings, nobles, and the people. They learned and taught the sacred books, and transmitted the knowledge from father to son or from teacher to pupil, and thus preserved it for all time. Viddamayya,⁴ son of Mādhavasōmayāji, Pōtamayya,⁵ Pōtanabhaṭṭa,⁶ Pāṇḍya⁷ the pilgrim, and Pampana⁸ Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya were typical of the age, with their knowledge of the holy writ and priestcraft. A copper-plate of the eighth century introduces to us a prodigy, Bhāvaśarman,⁹ master of three thousand branches of knowledge and author of a number of commentaries on Śāstras, Vēdas, Aṅgas, Logic, Yōga and the Upanishads.

1. E. I. XX, 16.

2. S. I. I., I, 45.

3. M. E. R. 1914, 85 ; E. I. XVIII, 58.

4. I. A. XIII, 213.

5. E. I. V, 127.

6.

7. I. A. VII, 15.

8. M. E. R. 1925, 77.

9. M. E. R. 1917, 132.

There were *ghaṭikas* or schools of learning, the members of which were given lands by the kings. Jayasimha¹⁰ I (ac. 632 A.D.) visited Asanapura, and made gifts to Rudraśarman, Mandaśarman and Katiśarman who belonged to the *ghaṭika*. Another¹¹ scholar of the Asanapura-*ghaṭika*, Dhruvaśarman, figures in an inscription of Vishṇuvardhana II (663-672 A.D.). Mēdamārya,¹² a distinguished Vaishṇava Brāhman General of the eleventh century, opened two free boarding houses to this community, which had dedicated itself so exclusively and ardently to learning, at Peethapuri and Drākshārāma, two of the most important and sacred cities of the Āndhra country in those days.

The court poets of the Eastern Chalukyas were mostly Brāhmins. They wrote what was later engraved on the numerous copper-plates. Bhaṭṭadēva, Bhaṭṭagunḍa, perhaps the same as the first, Mādhavabhaṭṭa and Pōtanabhaṭṭa served Amma II¹³ (945-70). Ayyana Bhaṭṭa composed the Arumbāka plates of Bādapa.¹⁴ Muttayyabhaṭṭa¹⁵ was an *āsthānakavi* of Rājārāja and his brother Vijayāditya. Bhīmanabhaṭṭa was the poet at their¹⁶ father's court. Nārāyaṇārya¹⁷ was one of the *ashta-diggajas* of Śaktivarman, son of Vijayāditya. Rājārāja¹⁸ II and Virachōḍa had Chētanabhaṭṭa, while Vidyābhaṭṭa, composed the Chellūr¹⁹ grant of Virachōḍa. The most illustrious of the poet laureates was Kavirājaśekhara Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa,²⁰ a versatile scholar and master of Āndhra, Kannaḍa, Prākṛita and Paisācha. He collaborated with Nannayyabhaṭṭa in his monumental work, the Telugu *Bhārata*, in the reign of Rājārāja Narēndra (1018-61). He was the donee of the Nandampūṇḍi charter composed by his friend Nannayyabhaṭṭa. He was adorned with titles like *Kavībhavajrāṅkuśa*, *Ashṭadaśavadharaya chakravarti*, *Sarasvatikarnāvatamsa*, *Chakravarti Trailōkya malladēva-pradhāni*, and *Akaḷaṅkanāmātya*. Poets from foreign countries seem to have visited the Āndhra court as the following line in a grant of Chalukya Bhīma²¹ I bears out. 'Nānādēśa gānānam paṭuvaṭu naṭa sadgāyakanām kavīnām.'

It was not only in the field of Sanskrit composition, but also in Telugu that the Brāhmins were pioneers. It was they who made the people's language the vehicle of higher thoughts, the instrument to popularise the ancient Sanskrit culture. The value of the Telugu Mahābhārata does not lie in its subject-matter, but in the new medium in

10. E. I. XIX, 257 ; XVIII, 56 ; M. E. R. 1920, 99.

11. I. A. VII, 191.

12. S. I. I. I, 56.

13.

14. E. I. XIX, 137.

15. I. A. XIV, 48.

16. E. I. VI, 347.

17. M. E. R. 1914, 86.

18. E. I. V. 71 ; VI, 334.

19. I. A. XIX, 423.

20. E. I. IV, 300.

21. S. I. I, I, 48.

which the people's genius, hitherto expressed in art, could flourish and flower. The Brāhman followed the methods of the Buddhist and the Jain in adopting the vernacular for educating the people morally and religiously, for is not the voluminous *Mahābhārata* the repository of all ancient knowledge and wisdom? If the highest and the most sacred thoughts could be conveyed through Telugu, how could it be called profane, vulgar, inadequate? If Kṛṣṇa, Dharmaputra and Arjuna could speak in Telugu, what more honors need it covet? When a Mahārāja like Rājārāja Narēndra, as famous as any that has figured in Indian History, approved it, and when a Brāhman of Brāhmans, a veritable ocean of knowledge, wrote the magnificent heroic poem in Telugu, its position as a literary vehicle was assured for all future. Hitherto people used only to hear and perhaps see the Bhārata stories enacted; but now they could read for themselves and enjoy the sweetest pleasure of cultivated society.

The son of one Chōla princess and the husband of another, Rājārāja Narēndra fills the first place in Āndhra literary annals. Nannayya's work is the fountain-head of all Telugu literature. To the linguist this first book of the Āndhra Homer appeals as the earliest example of Telugu literary art. To the Telugu stylist it sets a grand standard which he vainly strives for. The historian, besides culling from it a few facts concerning its patron, who took a legitimate pride in the tale of his alleged ancestors, notes it as the culmination of an age of progress, a worthy treasure bequeathed to posterity by a period of all-round activity.

Some of the Brāhmans were tutors to the Princes. Daṇḍin,²² a contemporary of Jayasimha I, gives a long list of the subjects that were taught to the Princes of his time in his *Daśakumāracharitra*. Many of these subjects could have been taught only by the Brāhmans in those days. Jayasimha²³ I was a great scholar and thinker. Vishṇuvar-dhana²⁴ II and his son, Maṅgi, were very learned. Kali Vishnuvar-dhana²⁵ was well versed in political science. Vijayāditya²⁶ III and Chaḷukhya Bhīma²⁷ I had fine literary tastes. Dānārṇava²⁸ was master of sixty-four arts; and Rājārājanarēndra²⁹ was a very accomplished king. Though we read of the culture of the kings mentioned above we know of only one of the royal tutors. Jayasimha I mentions his guru Narasimha Śarman³⁰ to whom he pays his tribute.

22. Purva-Uch. I, last para.

23. E. I. XIX, 256.

24. I. A. XX, 105.

25. I. A. XIII, 51.

26. E. I. VII, 179.

27. M. E. R. 1909, 108.

28. E. I. IV, 240.

29.

30. E. I. XIX, 260.

The calling of the Brāhman had also a few prizes. Some of them as royal purohita influenced the counsels of kings. The purohita had a seat in the cabinet (*pañcapradhāna*) and was the court astrologer, paṇḍita, and interpreter of Smṛtis. Some of them were generals, like Meḍa-mārya,³¹ son of Pōtana, in the reign of Vīrachōḍa. Pōtana was honored by Rājarāja with the title of Rājarāja-brahma Mahārāja³². Some Brāhmans directed the temporal affairs of the State as ministers. Vin-ayādiśarman,³³ minister of Vijayāditya III, is said to have suggested³⁴ an effective plan to overcome his foe Maṅgi Nolamba. We hear also of a Kuppanāmātya, grandson³⁵ of Durgayajvan, minister of Amma II. Smaller jobs were not scorned by the Brāhmans. Beautiful, noble, polite, clever, eloquent, witty, intelligent, learned, honest, religious—such epithets are showered on Koramayya,³⁶ the head of the Writing Department in the royal treasury in the reign of Amma II.

Thus, distinguished by the titles Bhaṭṭa, Ārya, Ayya, Svāmi and Śarman, the Brāhmans were found scattered from 'Dimilevishaya' to Kammanāṇḍu vishaya (Vizag. to Guntur districts), discharging organic functions which kept alive and nourished the State. The name *Dimile* occurring in Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana's epigraph is perhaps derived from Damila or Tamil, and Tamil immigration in small numbers is noticeable from the days of Damila Kaṇha of an early Amarāvati³⁷ inscription to the most spacious times of Vīra Chōḍa, donor of the Pithāpuram³⁸ grant to a large number of Dravidian Brāhmaṇs. There were Kannaḍa and Mahārāshṭra Brāhmans also who accompanied the Chalukyan conquerors into Āndhra,³⁹ and there was a close relation between the Kanarese and early Telugu literatures.

In fine, when we consider the smallness of their number and their economic dependence, we are surprised at the amount of influence they exerted on the State and society in the epoch under review. It can be partly explained by the fact that religion was the foundation on which every institution was built in those days. The moral qualities of the Brahmins, moreover,—temperance, gentility, discipline, selfless and singleminded devotion to duty—made a tremendous impression on kings, nobles and the common people alike, and it is no wonder that one and all of them gave their unstinted support to the community.

31. I. A. XIX, 423.

32. Ibid.

33. E. I. V, 123.

34. I. A. XIII, 213.

35. I. A. XII, 93.

36. E. I. X, No. 1243.

37. E. I. V, 71.

38. E. I. XVIII, 66 I. A. XL, 41.

The Pepper Trade of India in Early Times

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ON an occasion like this, when we are honouring the doyen of Indian historical scholars, it may not be out of place for me to sketch briefly a branch of Indian trade which played an important part in the economic (and political) history of India till a century ago. Pepper is to-day one of the minor articles of trade, and although a pepper 'corner' recently (1935) in London had important reactions on trade and finance, pepper has long fallen from the high place it once occupied in Eastern commerce. Till about 250 years ago, all the world's pepper came from India, and as this spice was essential for comfortable living in all civilized countries, traders came to India from ancient times in search of pepper. It was the chief article which whetted the appetite of the numerous customers of India, and it has decided the fortunes of nations and empires in the past.

I. ROMAN TRADE IN PEPPER

The export of pepper from India has been going on from time immemorial, but the quantity exported annually could not have been large till about 47 A.D. when the monsoon winds were 'discovered' by Hippalus. From that time India's trade with Alexandria through the Red Sea increased to large proportions. The monsoons had indeed been known to, and utilized by, Arab and Indian traders, but the coming of the powerful Romans into the scene made their usefulness much greater.¹ From that time, year after year, numerous ships sailed from Ocelis at the Red Sea mouth, in July, and by throwing the ship's head off the wind with a constant pull on the rudder and a shift of the yard, reached Muziris in forty days.² Thus began a brisk commercial intercourse between Rome and India via Egypt, and it continued in full vigour till the massacre of Alexandria (215 A.D.).

Pepper was the staple commodity of the Roman trade, and formed about three-quarters of the total bulk of the average west-bound cargo. Nearly all the pepper available for trade at the time came from Malabar. Pepper was from ancient times an import culinary spice in Europe and

1. J. Kennedy, J.R.A.S. (1898), pp. 248-87.

2. Pliny, *Natural History*, VI, p. 26.

was used to season food and preserve meat. It was also an unavoidable ingredient of medicines, and was prescribed by Hippocrates (who calls it the "Indian remedy") and by Galen, Pliny, Celsus and other writers on medicine.³ In Rome, the use of pepper seems to have become very popular from the time of Augustus, and according to Pliny (XII, 14) its price was as big as 15 *denarii* (about Rs. 7) per pound. Even higher prices had been quoted. The price in India was not more than half that sum, and the profits realised were therefore as high as 100 per cent according to Pliny.⁴ After the 'discovery' of the monsoons and the consequent facilitation of transport, the price of pepper seems to have fallen, but this made its demand elastic, and such vast quantities had to be imported that about the year 192 A.D. special warehouses called *horrea piperataria* were erected near the Sacre-Via. It was ground in pepper mills (*molae piperatariae*), or mortars, and sold in paper packets in Campus Martius and other market places. The pots or dishes (often of silver) in which pepper was brought to the table was called 'piperatoria'.⁵ Pliny attacked the atrocious tastes of those who needed pepper to whet their appetites. "It is quite surprising that the use of pepper has come so much into fashion, seeing that it is sometimes their substance and sometimes their appearance that has attracted our notice; whereas, pepper has nothing in it that can plead as a recommendation to either fruit or berry, its only desirable quality being a certain pungency and yet it is for this that we import it all the way from India! Who was the first to make trial of it as an article of food? And who, I wonder, was the man that was not content to prepare for himself by hunger only for the satisfying of a greedy appetite."⁶ In spite of such strictures the import trade in pepper grew immensely, and vast profits were made by merchants. In 408, when Alaric the Goth laid siege to Rome, the terms he offered for raising the siege included the immediate payment of 3,000 pounds of pepper along with other similar valuables.⁷

Although the pepper trade brought vast profits to individual Romans, its effect on public finance was ruinous. While exporting valuable commodities, India imported very little from Rome, and therefore the trade with India led to a drain of gold and specie. South India, in particular, had plenty of valuable commodities to export, but needed little in return. In result, gold and silver coin had to be shipped off to S. India to pay for imports to Rome. In this way, a vast quantity of

3. Warmington, *Roman Trade with India*, pp. 181-83; Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 213-15.

4. *Nat. History*, VI, p. 101.

5. Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 183, 303.

6. Pliny, XII, 14.

7. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, III, pp. 271-72; also Schoff's edition of *Periplus*, p. 214.

Roman coins came into India, and this country came to be regarded as the 'sink of precious metals'. Of the several thousand coins that have been discovered in India, the greater part has been found on the Malabar coast and the adjoining districts of Coimbatore and Madura. They are mostly of the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius. The Tamil poems of the time also bear testimony to the export of pepper from Malabar ports in exchange for gold. In *Ahanānūru*, a work written in the first or second century A.D., it is stated that 'the Yavanas came in large vessels carrying gold and returned with pepper'.

“யானை தந்த வினை மாணங்கரை
பெய்தொடு வந்து தறிபொரு பெய்து.”

Similar passages are also found in *purānānūru* and other works of the Sangam Age.

2. CENTRES OF PEPPER TRADE IN ROMAN TIMES

The two chief areas on the West Coast where pepper has always been grown are North Malabar and the region between Alwaye and Quilon. These seem to have been the centres of trade in Roman times also, but the latter territory was perhaps the more important. The chief ports of export then were Muziris and Barake.

Muziris, called Muciri in Tamil and Muzirikkōḍu in Malayalam, was the capital of the Cēra kingdom in ancient days.⁸ It is located at the mouth of the river Periyār (Alwaye River), and is therefore easily accessible to inland traders. Muciri is mentioned as a great port in early Tamil literature; it must have been the trading centre of the Phœnicians and Arabs in the past. But it was during the Roman connection that Muciri reached the zenith of its fame. The 'discovery' of the monsoons by Hippalus made it the gate of India, "*Primum Emporium Indiae*", the first and foremost port of call for trading vessels from Alexandria and Arabia. According to all accounts it was an extremely busy place, with a harbour crowded with ships and craft of all kinds, with large warehouses and bazaars adjoining it, and with stately places and places of worship in the interior. There the native traders came by

8. In early Tamil works the capital of the Cēra kings is also called 'Vañji' 'Karūr' and 'Makōdai', and in certain Malayalam works Tiruvañjikkalam. Possibly, these were all parts of the same city, and Muziri must have been the port adjoining the capital. 'Karūr' occurs in the name Karupadanai, a village near Cranganore, and Makōdai is mentioned in certain ancient poetic writings and in old Syrian Christian documents. Ptolemy called it Karūr (Karoura). Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 & 114, identifies 'Karoura' with Parūr, but that is a town facing Cranganore on the other side of the river.

river with their cargo in *vallams* (country boats), and emptied it into the large and spacious Yavana ships and Chinese junks. The merchandise taken at Muziris consisted of pepper in large quantities, malabathrum, beryl, pearls, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard, diamonds, sapphires, and tortoise-shell. What malabathrum exactly was there is still some doubt. Earlier writers like Heeren, Vincent and McCrindle translated the word into betel, but more recent writers like Schoff and Warmington think that it was the leaf of the cinnamon tree" (*Sans, Tamāla-patra*). Ginger in those days was exported chiefly from Ceylon, and does not figure definitely among the exports from Malabar. Pearls must have come from around Cape Comorin; ivory has always been a distinct Malabar produce, and tortoise-shell was also common. The other commodities must have come from the interior of the Peninsula. Beryl perhaps existed in Malabar, but it chiefly came from Salem and Coimbatore.¹⁰

The imports consisted of Roman coin in large quantities, topaz, thin clothing, figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead, wine, realgar and orpiment.¹¹ Wheat was also imported but only in small quantities for the use of sailors. The bazaars of Cranganore must have been like those of Colombo and Cairo in modern times abounding in all kinds of luxury goods, strange beverages, and curious trinkets. Contemporary Tamil poems speak of "the cool and fragrant wine brought by the Yavanas in their good ships", and refer to the drinking bouts of kings. Among the imports at Barygaza (Broach), mention is made by *Periplus* of singing boys and pretty maidens for the harem, and although no such wares are mentioned in the same work among the imports to Malabar, there are indications that Malabar too had a share in such trade. Nor were the Romans mere travelling pedlars, but powerful merchants trading with military support; and so important had Malabar trade become to Rome and so prominent a resort of Romans had Muziris become that, according to Peutinger Table, a Roman temple dedicated to Augustus existed in that city and two Roman cohorts were stationed there to guard the warehouse.¹²⁻¹³ This is not mentioned by the Greek writers named

9. Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 218-19; Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 186. Cinnamon seems to have been then a trade monopoly of the Somalis of African Coast, and it is not mentioned as an article of import by Roman writers. This must have been a trade secret of the Somalis.

10. Charlesworth, *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (1924), states that the beryl mines of Cranganore were famous (p. 69). This statement is not supported by facts. Most of the beryl exported from Cranganore must have come from Coimbatore and the Nilgiris which were then apparently under Cēra sway.

11. *Periplus*, para 56.

12-13. Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 58. Charlesworth, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

above, but we have a statement in a contemporary Tamil poem that there were Yavana soldiers and mercenaries in the service of the Cēra king and that they struck terror into the hearts of the beholder by their stern looks.

Owing to the importance of foreign trade, Muziris became a centre of non-Vēdic religions. Ancient Tamil literature speaks of the Buddhist vihāras and Jain chaityas there; and there stood also the celebrated shrine of Kaṇṇaki whose story is related in *Śilappadikāram* and *Manimēkalai*. Jews, Arabs and Persians had settled down at Muziris for trade purposes, and each such colony occupied a separate quarter of the town. In A.D. 50 the Apostle Thomas is believed to have landed at Maliankara, adjoining Muziris, and Syrian Christians still regard it as a sacred spot. Tradition has it that he converted a Cēra king, possibly 'Palli-Banar', and of this there is some vague account in the *Kēraḷōlpattu*. In 345, the Syrian merchant chieftain, Thomas Knayi (Thomas of Cana), is said to have landed there with 500 colonists, and possibly these were the Persian colonists of Male (Malabar) spoken of by Cosmas in the 6th century A.D. The Christian headquarters was Makōlai, close to the Chēramān's palace, and nearly every Syrian Christian family north of Tiruvalla traces its origin from Makōlaipattanam.

A rival of Muziris as a pepper mart was Barake (Bacare), of which Pliny gives the following account (Circa 60 A.D.) :—"This (Muziris), however, is not a very desirable place for disembarkation, on account of the pirates who frequent its vicinity, where they occupy a place called Nitrias;¹⁴ nor in fact, is it very rich in articles of merchandise. Besides, the roadstead for shipping is a considerable distance from the shore, and the cargoes have to be conveyed in boats, either for loading or for discharging. At the moment that I am writing these pages, the name of the king of this place is Caelobothras.¹⁵ Another port and a much more convenient one, is that which lies in the territory of the Neacyndi, Barake by name. Here king Pandian used to reign, dwelling at a considerable distance from the mart in the interior, at a city known as

14. Almost all early travellers speak of pirates on the Malabar coast. *Periplus* speaks of pirates, just to the north of Tyndis (page 53). Pliny says they were near Muziris: and Ptolemy calls Malabar the land of pirates. This is confirmed by Marco Polo (III Chaps. 24, 25). This simply testifies to the existence of native shipping at the time, and to the fact that all ports were not open to foreigners.

15. Kēraḷaputra: Curiously enough, the same name is used in the Aśōkan edicts. It was not the name of any particular king, but the common dynastic name.

Modiera. The district from which pepper is carried down to Barake in boats, hollowed out of a single tree, is known as Kottonara. None of these names of nations, ports and cities are to be found in any of the former writers, from which circumstance it would appear that the localities have since changed their names."

The two places named above, Barake and Neleynda, were identified by Kanakasabhai Pillai with Vaikkarai (near Kōṭṭayam) and Nir-Kunnam near Pālai, but that does not square with the known history of the places. It would be more reasonable to identify them with Porakād and Niraram.¹⁶ The best pepper then grew in the valley of the Pampa¹⁷ river in the region, called Kuttanād (Pliny, *Kottonara*) from ancient times.

3. MEDIAEVAL TRADE IN PEPPER.

After the decline of Roman Empire, the pepper trade seems to have fallen into the hands of the Arabs and Syrian Christians. But the Red Sea route seems to have declined after Caracalla's massacre (215 A.D.). The route via Persian Gulf and overland seems to have been maintained. After the rise of Islam, Arab trade expanded and, under Arab control, Calicut became a celebrated port and a great centre of pepper trade. At least two Syrian colonies seem to have settled on the Malabar coast. The first settlement was about A.D. 345 as already mentioned. A second colony, said to have come from Baghdād, settled at Quilon in or about the year A.D. 825 and the Quilon Era which is in use in all Malabar coast and Tinnevely began with the foundation of Quilon. Quilon had a flourishing pepper trade all through the Middle Ages, and, according to mediæval travellers, the Christians managed that trade, just as the Muḥammadan Arabs controlled the trade of Calicut. John Marignoli who visited Quilon in 1348 as legate from the Pope was the first European traveller to give a correct account of pepper culture. "On Palm Sunday, 1348," he writes, "we arrived at a very noble city of India called Columbum (Quilon) where the whole world's pepper is produced."¹⁸ Now the pepper grows on a kind of vines which are planted just as vine in our vine yards. . . . And there is no roasting of pepper, as some writers have falsely asserted; nor does it grow in forests but in regular gardens. Nor are Saracens the proprietors, but the Christians of St. Thomas. And these latter are the

16. See Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, 1931. Mr. I. C. Chacko, a geologist, has convincingly proved this identification.

17. Pampa was wide and deep, and apparently supplied excellent anchorage.

18. This, doubtless, is an exaggeration.

masters of the public weighing office, from which I derived as perquisite of my office as Papal Legate every month a hundred gold fanams and a thousand when I left."

In Europe, Venice and Genoa controlled the pepper trade, but they had not much direct dealings with India, and seem to have obtained their pepper chiefly from the Arabs and Syrians, who were the carriers in the Arabian Sea. However, Europe was no longer the principal customer of pepper. China took a good portion of it, and Chinese junks freely plied in the Indian Ocean. According to Marco Polo (1270), "For one ship load of pepper that goes to Alexandria or elsewhere destined for Christendom, there comes a hundred such, aye and more too, to this haven of Zaylon (in China)"¹⁹ The Chinese took their pepper chiefly from Quilon, and their trade connection with China was a very active one, judging from all accounts.²⁰

Pepper continued to be the principal import from India to Europe till the early 18th century. Its importance can only be realized when we remember that it was essential for preserving meat in winter; fresh meat was rare during winter, as lack of fodder prevented a large supply of cattle being maintained. Cattle was therefore killed in autumn and preserved in salt and pepper for use in winter. It was one of the few delicacies they had in those days. It was the first thing asked for by the "Glutton" in *Piers Plowman*

"I have gode ale, gossib", quod she, "glotown, wiltow assaye?"

"Hastow aughte in the purs any hote spices?"

"I have peper and piones," quod she "and a pound of jarlike

A ferthyngworth of fenel-seed for fastying dayes." (V. 310-13).

Pepper was so much valued in Mediaeval Europe that gifts of pepper were made by the wealthy to churches and monasteries. It was the principal gift of Emperor Constantine to the church, and the valuable treasure bequeathed by the poet Chaucer to a friend was a small quantity of pepper. Pepper rents were not uncommon in the Middle Ages. A part of the tribute made to King Ethelred (978-1016) by the merchants of London at Christmas and Easter was ten pounds of pepper. Pepper merchants were then a large and powerful body in London; a guild of pepperers existed from early days and was later incorporated in the Grocers' Company. The price of pepper was high. It was not less

19. *Travels*, Vol. II, Chapter 82.

20. *Ibid*, p.378, speaks about Kublai Khan's diplomatic intercourse with Quilon.

than two shillings per pound, which was equal to 4 days' pay of a carpenter.²¹

THE SEQUEL.

The high price of pepper in the Middle Ages and the large fortunes amassed by Venice and Genoa by that trade roused the rivalry of the nations of western Europe, and this served as a powerful incentive for them to discover a new route to India and thus break the monopoly enjoyed by the Italian cities. Thus came about the discovery of America by Columbus—a direct result of the quest for pepper. In 1498, Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut, and from that time the Portuguese, and following them the Dutch, controlled the pepper trade. Towards the close of the 16th century, the Dutch came to control the pepper trade of Europe. They also introduced the pepper plant in the eastern islands, and thus broke India's world-old monopoly. The Zamorin then remarked that Malabar's peculiar climate would shield her, but did not, although Malabar has still a monopoly in quality. By various methods, questionable and otherwise, the Dutch established a powerful monopoly in pepper, and raised its price in Europe from 3 shillings to 6 shillings per pound. This roused the ire of the London merchants to such an extent that they joined together, and obtained a charter from Queen Elizabeth for trading with the East Indies. This was the beginning of the East India Company which came to India for pepper but stayed to carve out an Empire. In the meantime, the demand for pepper in Europe had also declined, owing to changes in taste and to steadier supply of fodder in winter, the absence of which before the days of Turnip Townsend had made it difficult to keep cattle during winter and therefore made pepper essential for preserving meat. Thus the price of pepper fell, and with it also its place in world trade. Such is the romance of pepper—a record which rouses the jealousy of those great commodities which to-day loom large in international trade.

21. T. Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, p.627; Dowell, *Taxation and Taxes in England*, II, pp. 35-36'; George Unwin, *Guilds of London*, p. 58.

A Note on Kali or Bhagavati Cult of Kerala

By

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WE often hear of reference to 'Malayāla Bhagavati' in the various streets of Madras wherever there is a small Amman-kōil where worshippers congregate to sing songs in praise of Amman (Mother). The reference has become almost mythical, so that no one takes notice of it, or enquires what the term signifies. The Malayāla-Bhagavati deserves special mention of the kind indicates that there is something particularly noteworthy in the cult, which is associated with Bhagavati or more appropriately called Kāli in Kēraḷa, and which occupies a distinct place in the culture of Kēraḷa from remote times. One who has bestowed any thought on the subject will be surprised at the universality of the cult in the West coast. Kāli in one form or other is worshipped by all the Hindus of Kēraḷa from the highest to the lowest. In the Namboodiri *Illams*¹ as in the royal families, with few exceptions, Kāli is worshipped as a family deity. In the 'Kāḷaris' or gymnasiums where people were trained in the art of war in ancient times, one corner was set apart for Kāli-worship which preceded the daily lessons or exercises. The central room of every Nair house is dedicated to Bhagavati. Coming lower down in the social scale, we find the Thiyyas and others worshipping one form or other of Kāli, celebrating periodical festivals to propitiate the goddess in their own household. Among the aboriginal tribes and mountaineers, a goddess generally called *Nili*,² another manifestation of Kāli, is looked upon as their sovereign deity that protects them from all dangers and diseases. It is thus seen that Kāli in one form or other is worshipped by all sections of the Hindus in Kēraḷa,

1. Namboodiri houses are called 'Illam' in Malayalam. The word is common in Tamil and Telugu (*Illu*). The houses of various communities are known by different names in Kēraḷa. Nāyar houses are called 'Vitu'. Royal houses are known by the names, *Aramana*, *Kottāram* or *Kōrilakam*; the houses of aristocratic Namboodiries and Paṭṭar Brahmins are called *Mana* and *Madhom* respectively. There are also separate names for the houses of the lower orders such as, *Chāla*, *Pura*; Moplahs call their houses *Kuti*.

2. 'Nili' is the name by which mountain-goddess is known in Malabar. The name seems to have been derived from the colour of the idol. Among the lower classes 'Nili' is a common personal name for women.

and the history of the cult affords an interesting study for the antiquarian.

Kāli temples are generally called 'Kāvu', which literally means a cluster of trees; and there are even now Kāli temples under banyan trees with no roof. Even in temples without roofs there are seen apertures, in places which are directly above the idols which expose them to sun and rain. This may be taken as the relic of the primitive times when man had no habitation of his own and used to take shelter under trees. When he has no house for himself we cannot expect him to find a habitation for his gods. We may therefore reasonably suppose that the primitive worship of god commenced under the trees which, as shelter, endeared themselves to man; and the temple which came into existence later on took its name from the tree, the original place of worship.³ The name 'Kāvu' is also applied to the serpent shrines (Pāmpum-kāvu), and the temples of Ayyappan⁴ and Vēṭṭakāran⁵ two other primitive gods of Kēraḷa. Temples dedicated to Śiva and Viṣṇu are not called by the term 'Kāvu', which fact clearly indicates that they are of later origin. Another peculiarity of the Kāli temples is that every shrine has a jurisdiction of its own called *Taṭṭakam* or *Kāvuvaṭṭam*. People living in that particular area are supposed to come under the influence of the presiding mother goddess of the locality, and no other deity can claim power or jurisdiction over them. This feature again is traceable to old village organisations which were self-sufficient isolated entities in regard to the various amenities of life.

As there are different types of Kāli such as Kaṇḍemkāli⁶ and Karimkāli⁷—the latter two are supposed to be more militant than the former. There are many forms of rituals intended to propitiate Kāli.

3. Vide the following observation of J. M. Fergusson in his notable work on *Tree and Serpent Worship*. "There is such wondrous beauty in the external form of trees and so welcome shelter beneath their own arching boughs that we should not feel surprised that in early ages groves were considered the fittest temples for the Gods."

4. Corresponds to the Ayyaṇār of the East Coast.

5. The full name is *Vēṭṭakorumakan*, literally the 'son for hunting'. This god, according to the local tradition, was the son born of Śiva and Pārvati, who appeared before Arjuna as hunters and presented him the *Pāśupatāstra*.

6. This name is given to Kāli after the father Kandhe-Kālan-Śiva who has poison in the neck.

7. The name Kāli is derived from the dark colour of the goddess. To this is added the word 'Kari', which again means 'black'. Though these words are sometimes used as synonymous with Kāli, they are believed to be separate manifestations of the goddess, particularly ferocious in form and power, and are worshipped by the lower orders. There are also separate temples for them.

Already reference has been made to the *Kalaris* in which a corner is set apart for *Kāli*, which practice gives the deity the position of a war-goddess. This custom conforms to the Śakti-conception of the Mother of other parts of India, and has since given rise to the Śākta form of worship which was practised in secret by members of the royal families and nobles of bygone days in *Kēraḷa*. Evidence of the popular aspect of worship is seen in *Kāli* temples where, once a year, the village folk assemble and offer worship in a variety of ways.

In every community in ancient times there used to be a priestly section, a member of which would officiate in *Kāli* temples owned by that particular community. In temples owned by the *Nāyars*, the two communities of the *Nambūdiris* or *Einbrāns* (*Mangalore Brahmans*), which came to be bound together by various ties, gradually took the place of the *Nāyars*. But there are even now many well-known *Kāli* temples where the *Nāyars* officiate as *Pujāris*. There is also the practice in some temples to set apart a few days in the year when the *Brahmans* can officiate. In the famous temple called *Tiruvalayanāṭṭu-kāvu* at *Calicut*, which is dedicated to the family deity of the *Zamorin Rājā*, one season is set apart for the *Brahman*-worship, when the *pūja* is conducted according to *Brahmanical* rites, and in the other season the hereditary-*pūjāri*—*Mūsad* (a *Nāyar*)—officiates and uses meat and alcohol for the *pūja*. In the well-known *Cranganore Kāli* temple, where the patron-goddess of the *Cranganore* royal family reigns supreme, one section of *Nāyars* called 'Aḍigaḷ' performs *pūjā*. Originally, the custom must have been for the priestly section of each community to officiate in *Kāli* temples owned by that community.

Animal sacrifice was common in these temples from primitive times. It reminds once again of the conditions of primitive society when man lived on hunting and had nothing else to offer to god except the flesh of the animal killed by him. In modern times also our offerings to gods are generally the articles of food and other things we use. In shrines where *Brāhman* influence gradually penetrated, animal sacrifice came to be discontinued long ago. In temples owned by the *Nāyars* the practice still lingers here and there, but it is bound to disappear in course of time as public opinion against it is getting stronger day by day, and the orthodox have to do it either in secret or at a distance from the temples. The lower orders, who are generally non-vegetarians, continue the practice; but the influence of the higher castes is gradually feeling its way among them.

Kāli is supposed to protect people from contagious diseases like small-pox, cholera, etc.; and in the seasons when these diseases usually appear, the temple authorities are generally busy with various rituals

performed at the expense of different devotees and the annual festivals. *Kālampāṭṭu* or "*Dārīka vadham*", in which the traditional song narrating Kālī's victorious encounter with Dārūka is sung by a member of the Kurup caste, who were originally Nāyars and became temple servants later on, are the most popular and the least costly among them. Kālī is worshipped as a patron deity by those who practise black magic and witchcraft. *Pāna* and *muṭiyēṭṭu* also are other important ceremonies.

Kālī temples are innumerable in the West Coast, but the following well-known temples in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore deserve mention.

1. Māṭai-kāvu (N. Malabar). The family deity of the Chirakkal Rājās.
2. Lōkanār-kāvu (near Badagara). The family deity of the Kathanad Rājās.
3. Tiruvalayanāḍ-kāvu. The family deity of the Zamorin Rājās.
4. Tirumānthānkunnattu-kavu (S. Malabar). The family deity of the Walluvanad Rājās.
5. Pazhayannūr-kavu (Cochin State). The family deity of the Cochin Mahārājās.
6. Koḍungallūr-kāvu. The family deity of the Cranganore Rājās.
7. Chōttānikkara-kāvu (near Tiruppunnittura, Cochin State).
8. Chērtalakkāvu (Travancore).
9. Kiliyūr-kāvu (Travancore).
10. Āttingal (Travancore). The family deity of the ancient Travancore Mahārājās.

THE LEGEND OF KĀLĪ

Kālī, according to Kēraḷa legends, is the daughter of Śiva and not his consort as believed in other parts of India. Once the Dēvāsura war ended in the total extinction of the Asura race. Only two women of the line named Dānavati and Dārūmati managed to hide themselves and survive the great calamity. They invoked Brahma by penance, and requested him to bless them with progeny. As a result of the boon Dānavati gave birth to Dānava and Dārūmati brought forth Dārūka. The latter secured numerous boons from Brahma so that he could not be killed by God or man. As he did not ask for immunity from women, Pitāmaha cursed him to meet his end at the hands of a woman, at Sandhya which is neither day or night. He grew to be a formidable menace to the Dēvas, whose women were forced to be servant-maids to his wife Manōdari. Once he waylaid Nārada, who divided

his time between the presiding deities of those holy abodes by singing their praise, and asked him to sing his glory instead of that of Śiva and Viṣṇu. Nārada, after leaving Dāruka's presence, made towards Kailāsa, and reported to his patron-deity the insult offered to both of them by Dāruka. Since the Asura king had not solicited immunity from women, the Gods Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahma, Subrahmaṇya, Dharmarāja, and Indra, each created out of their immanence a goddess and conferred immense power on 'the mothers' to challenge Dāruka and kill him. On their way they were joined by Vēṭālam, the huge ghost, whose thirst for blood was never quenched. With a big army they raided Dāruka's palace, with the result that the Asura king became furious and drove them away. Śiva's rage at this unexpected turn of events, knew no bounds; and there rushed forth, immediately from his eye of fire, a prodigious figure of a woman who was called after her colour Kāli--or 'the Dark Goddess.' The situation was explained to her, and she with an enormous force advanced towards Dāruka's territory. A terrible fight ensued, and even Kāli was found to give way when Umā, knowing that Dāruka's prowess depended on the two *mantras* given him by Brahma, disguised herself as a Brāhman woman, approached Manōdari who was the only other person who knew the Mantras, and requested her to teach the sacred utterance to her so that they might chant them together for the victory of her husband. Believing her, Manōdari disclosed the *Mantras* to Umā who immediately disappeared. Brahma had told Dāruka that, if the Mantras were revealed to any individual except his wife, their efficacy would immediately vanish. Dāruka knew by intuition what had happened, returned to his palace, and warned his wife of the consequences of her indiscretion. He afterwards made a desperate stand which culminated in his death at the hands of Kāli. She then returned to Kailās, the fury of destruction still raging in her. Śiva immediately asked Gaṇapati and Nandi to be at the gate as children, so that, at their sight, the motherly instinct of Kāli would prevail over her ferocious aspect. After expressing satisfaction at her conduct in the war against Dāruka, Śiva asked her to go to Malanād (Malabar), where she would receive eternal homage from the people as his daughter."

8. They are called Vaishnavi, Māhesvari, Brāhmī, Kaumāri, Vārāhi and Indrani after their progenitors.

9. This summary is based upon the version contained in 'Badrōlpathi Kilip-pattu', which is a notable literary work. The same legend, with a few variations in details, is recorded in a number of sacred songs which are generally sung at the various rituals, particularly at 'Kālampattu', in which the figure of Kāli is drawn on the floor by means of powders of different colours, and offered pūja. It is interesting to note that this legend seems to be the contribution of Kēraḷa towards the Dēvi Cult.

South India as a Centre of Pali Buddhism

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IN this paper South India has been used to denote the Deccan proper excluding Western India (Mahārāṣṭra and Aparānta). The expression, Pāli Buddhism, is employed to denote Theravāda, the tradition of Buddhism as preserved and developed by the Theriyas or Sthavīras.

For the beginning of the history of Buddhism in general and of Pāli Buddhism in particular, the earliest known authentic records are the Edicts of Aśōka. So far as South India proper goes, the find-places of Aśōka's Edicts are Maski in the district of Raichur, Palki-gunk Hill near Kopbal in the extreme south-west corner of Haiderabad, Siddāpur, Jatinga-Rāmeswar and Brahmagiri in the Chitaldrug district of Mysore, and Yerraguḍi in the Karnul district of the Madras Presidency. In each of these places has been discovered a copy of Aśōka's Minor Rock Edict standing out, as it does, as a notable example of *Dhammasāsana* or proclamation of the greatness of *Dhamma*, while in Yerraguḍi there has come to light a set of fourteen Rock Edicts in addition to a copy of the Minor Rock Inscription. The places above-named were presumably the localities near about Aśōka's official headquarters in South India. If Aśōka's *Dhamma* is not pure Buddhism, but a norm consisting of certain universal principles of duty and piety, it may be doubted if the copies of the Minor Rock Edict have any bearing on the spread of Buddhism, particularly of Pāli Buddhism, in the South. Having regard to the nature of the message contained in the Minor Rock Edict, it will be difficult to deny the historical bearing of the Edict on the point at issue. The message contained in it is evidently intended to urge all, high or low, to be earnest and active in their own cause by holding before them immediate prospects of heavenly life. The message is sought to be rendered all the more effective by giving an account of Aśōka's change in faith, as well as of what he had achieved by the strenuous effort he made in the cause of Buddhism. The places in South India that find mention in Aśōka's Rock Edicts II and XIII are Āndhra, Pārindra, Choḍa, Pāṇḍya, Satyaputra, Kēraḷaputra and Tāmraparṇi.¹ Of these, the first two places were situated within the empire of Aśōka, while the re-

1. The name Tāmraparṇi is used in Pāli to denote the extreme south-western region of Southern India bounded in the north by the Tāmraparṇi river and the extreme north-western region of the Island of Ceylon.

maining places were independent. The extent of propaganda of the Dhamma made by Aśoka can be envisaged from what Aśoka himself says in these two records. It is particularly in the Rock Edict XIII that Aśoka points out that he was constantly in inter-communication with the inhabitants of these places through his emissaries who were employed as powerful agents for the propagation of his Dhamma. The Yerraguḍi copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict fully testifies to the means employed in furthering the cause of the *Dhamma*, the means consisting in the beat of drums, the employment of Brāhman preachers, the elephant-riders and the chariot drivers, well-trained for the purpose. The Pāli tradition embodied in the Samantapāsādikā and the two chronicles of Ceylon, is unanimous as to the despatch of Buddhist missions by Aśoka to different places in India and to Ceylon. So far as South India proper is concerned, Aśoka is said to have sent missionaries named Mahādēva and Rakkhita to Mahīṣamaṇḍala or Mahinsakamaṇḍala (Mysore) and Vanavāsa or Vanavāsī (North Kanara) respectively, the former being the place in which as many as three copies of the Minor Rock Edict were set up. The latter, namely, Vanavāsī continued to be the centre of Buddhism as late as the 1st century B.C., during which king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī of Ceylon built and consecrated the great Thūpa in his capital, inviting many eminent theras from different parts of both Ceylon and India, the great thēra Candagutta visiting Ceylon from Vanavāsī with 80,000 monks. (Mahāvamśa, Chap. XXIX, verses 41-43)

Pāli tradition contained in the Dipavaṃsa, the Kathāvatthu Commentary, and the Mahāvamśa, preserves the names of some later schools of Buddhism, such as the Hemavatā, the Rājagiriya, Siddhattakā, the Andhakā, the Pubbaseliyā, the Aparaseliyā and the Vājiriyā. The names of these schools go to indicate that they were local developments. At least three of these schools, namely, the Andhaka (Āndhra), the Pubbaseliya (Pūrvaśaila) and the Aparaseliya (Aparaśaila) arose and were established in South India, particularly in the Āndhra country. The reign of king Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Pulamāyī saw the erection of the Mahācaitya at Amarāvati which became the centre of the Caityikas (Pāli Cetiyavādā), an offshoot of the Mahāsaṅghikas, while the reign of the Ikṣvākus (2nd or 3rd century A.D.) witnessed the erection of the Mahācaityas at Jaggayyapēṭa and the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, on the two banks of the river Kṛishṇā, both of them being situated near Haiderabad. Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, as borne out by many of the inscriptions, was principally the seat of the Aparaseliyas. If so, how can it be said that any of these three places was equally a centre of Theravāda or Pāli Buddhism? The evidence, however, is not far to seek. Some of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions go to prove that there was a Mahāvihāra or great monastery near about the Mahācaitya of the locality built for the accommodation of Buddhist recluses, coming from

different countries. ("Mahāvihāre Mahācetiya-pādamule pabajitānaṃ nānādesa-samanāgatānaṃ mahābhikkusamghasa parigahe"). The inscriptions do not keep us in the dark as to the countries from which the Śramaṇas used to come. The countries mentioned are Kāsmira, Gāndhāra, Cīna, Cilāta, Tosali, Avarānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsī, Yavana, Damila, Palūra (Dantapura), and Tambapaṇṇidīpa. Two at least of these places, namely, Vanavāsī and Damila (Tamil country) are situated in South India. What is of real importance is that in this particular reference the Śramaṇas coming from the above-mentioned countries are said to have been those known as Theriyas or adherents of Theravāda (Theriyānaṃ).² The same inscriptions also go to show that there were other monasteries, one of which was built for the residence of the Bhikkhus from Ceylon (Sihala). In two of the inscriptions we read that the monk Bhadanta Ānanda under whose supervision some of the new building operations connected with the Mahācetiya at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa were carried out, belonged to the school of the teachers of Ariyasamgha or Theravāda with whom the five Nikāyas, Dīgha, Majjhima, and the rest were the original and authoritative texts, Ānanda himself being a specialist in the study of the Majjhima Nikāya.

We have seen that the Andhaka (Āndhra) was one of the later powerful schools of Buddhism that developed in South India.³ This school built up a Commentatorial tradition of its own, which has been quoted by name and discussed by Buddhaghōṣa in his *Atthasālinī*.⁴

The three main centres of Pāli Buddhism in India (Jambudvīpa) mentioned in the *Gandhavaṃsa* (J.P.T.S., 1886, pp. 66-67), are: (1) Kāñcīpura, (2) Avantī and (3) Arimaddana. Of them, Kāñcīpura is no other than the capital of the ancient kingdom of Cōḷa, and its modern name is Conjevaram. Buddhaghōṣa in the *Nigamana* (colophon) to his *Manōrathapūraṇī*, the commentary on the *Āṅguttara-Nikāya*, refers to Kāñcīpura and other places in South India as centres of Pāli study. Unfortunately, in this colophon he does not expressly mention the names of places other than Kāñcīpura (Kāñcīpurādiṣu mayā pubbe saddhiṃ vasantēna). In the colophon, however, to his *Papañcasūdanī*, the commentary on the *Majjhima Nikāya*, Buddhaghōṣa tells us that he under-

2. Apart from other references brought forward by Mr. D. L. Barua (Ic, I, No. 1) there is another clear reference in Buddhaghōṣa's *Commentary Visuddhimagga*, Vol. II, p. 711, to prove that the term *Theriyā* in *Theriyānaṃ* is used to mean no other than the adherents of Theravāda—"vibhajjavādi-setṭhānaṃ theriyānaṃ yasassinaṃ Mahāvihāravāsinaṃ vamsajassa vibhāvino."

3. See Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Points of Controversy*, Prefatory Notes, XLII.

4. See 'A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics' by Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Introductory Essay*, xxii.

took to write this particular work at the instance of the venerable Buddhāmitta⁵ who had made this request to him when they lived together at Madhurasuttapaṭṭana, which cannot but be Madura, ancient Madhura, the Pāṇḍya capital. The name of the port as met with in the Siamese edition, is rather Mayūrasuttapaṭṭana than Madhura.

("Āyācito sumatinā therena Bhadanta Buddhāmittena pubbe Mayūrasuttapaṭṭanamahī saddhim vasantena paravādaiddhamsānāssā Mājjhima Nikāya seṭṭhassevāham Papañcasūdanīmatṭhakatham Kātuṃ āradḍho"). Similarly in the Colophon to his Manorathapūraṇi, Buddhaghōṣa says that he undertook to write this commentary at the instance of the venerable Jotipāla who made this request to him when they lived together in Kañcīpura and other places. ("Āyācito Sumatinā therena Bhadanta-Jotipālena Kañcīpurādisu mayā pubbe saddhim vasantena")⁶ Buddhaghōṣa undertook to prepare also the *Sāratthapakāsinī*, the commentary on the Samyutta Nikāya, in compliance with the request made to him by the same venerable Jotipāla (Saratthapakāsinī colophon; "Etissā karanattham therena Bhadanta-Jotipālena.... jācamānena maṃ subhabhūtena yaṃ samadhiyata").⁷ Now, let us see if any additional information is available from other sources. The first direct source to which one may turn one's attention consists of colophons to different works of Buddhādatta, who was a native of Uragapura (modern Uraiyūr in the Trichinopoly District), the ancient capital of the Cōlas.

In all of these colophons, as is well known, Buddhādatta has been unusually eloquent in his patriotic description of the kingdom of Cōla of which he was proud to be an inhabitant. He himself resided in a monastery built by one Viṣṇudāsa (Veṇḥudāsa) or Kṛishṇadāsa Kaṇhadāsa in the village of Bhūtamaṅgala near the flourishing inland port of Kāverīpaṭṭana. ("Kāverī-paṭṭane ramme, nānārāmapasobhite, Kārite Kaṇhadāsenā dassaṇīye manorame").⁸

Buddhādatta flourished during the reign of Accutavikanta or Accutavikkama of 'Kalamba' dynasty. According to the *Gaṇṭhipadavaṇṇanā* of the *Vinayaṇīyicchaya*, Accuta was but the same epithet as the Nārāyaṇa. "Accutassa Nārāyaṇassa viya vikkantaṃ etassāti Accutavikkanto" (Buddhādatta's *Manuals*, P.T.S., Pt. I, 1915, p. 140). The

5. Cf. *Gandhavaṃsa*, p. 68, which gives the name of Buddhāmitta without mentioning the name of the place.

6. Cf. *Gandhavaṃsa*, p. 68 which gives an altogether different information. "Aṅguttaranikāyassa aṭṭhakathā gandho Bhaddantanāmattherena saha ājivakena āyācītena Buddhaghōṣācāriyena kato."

7. Cf. *Gandhavaṃsa*, p. 68.

8. Buddhādatta's *Manuals*, pt. I, 1915; *Abhidhamāvatāra*, Introduction, p. xiii.

manuscripts of the *Vinayavinicchaya* give three spellings of Kalamba, namely, generally Kalamba, and exceptionally Kalambha and Kalabha (Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, Pt. I. 1915, p. 140). The reference is certainly not to a king of the later Kadamba dynasty but to a king of the earlier Kalabhra dynasty that established itself in the kingdom of Cōḷa⁹ when Buddhadatta wrote all his works in Kāverī at the instance of the venerable Sumati and venerable Budhasiha and the venerable Saṅghapāla.¹⁰

("Kalambhakulavamsa jāte Accutavikkamanāme Coḷarājini Coḷa-
raṭṭhaṃ samanūsāsante ayam vinicchayo mayā āradhho ceva samāpito
cāti," Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, Pt. I, 1915, p. 140).

Buddhaghōṣa refers to Kāñcīpura without mentioning the name of the king who then held sway over the kingdom of Cōḷa, but in the colophon to his *Samantapāsādikā*,¹¹ the commentary on the *Vinayapiṭaka*, he points out that he began to write and completed this work during the reign of king Srinivāsa or Siripāla, while according to the *Cūḷavamsa* (p. 17) Buddhaghōṣa visited Ceylon and produced the *Visuddhimagga* and other works during the reign of king Mahānāma. Apart from other evidences considered by me in my *Life and Work of Buddhaghōṣa* (Chap. V.) there is one interesting reference which should not be lost sight of in determining the contemporaneity of Buddhadatta and Buddhaghōṣa. This reference is no other than the fact that both of them undertook to write certain works at the instance of one venerable Saṅghapāla, praised almost in the same terms by both these teachers.¹² From

9. Vide *The Cōḷas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 119.

10. Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, pt. I, pp. 137-138, pt. II, p. 229 and p. 303. Cf. *Gandhavaṃsa*, p. 69, according to which the *Abhidamāvatāra* was written at the instance of Buddhadatta's disciple Sumati, the *Vinayavinicchaya*, and *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary at the instance of Buddhasiha, and the *Uttaravinicchaya* and the *Jinālaṅkāra* at the instance of Saṅghapāla.

11. "Pālayantassa sakalaṃ Laṅkādīpaṃ nirabudaṃ Yañño Sirinivāsassa Siripāla-yasassino samavīsati me kheme jayasamvacchare ayaṃ āraddhā ekavisaṃ hi sampatte parinīṭhitā."

12. Buddhadatta's colophon to the *Uttaravinicchaya*, Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, pt. II, p. 303.

"Khanti-soracca-sosīya-buddhi-saddhā-dayādayo
paṭiṭṭhitā guṇā yasmin ratanān' iva sāgare
vinayācārayuttēna tena sakkacca sādaraṃ
yācito Saṅghapālena therena thiracetasā."

Buddhaghōṣa's colophon to his *Visuddhimagga*, Vol. II, 711-12.

"Bhadantasanghapālassa sucisallekhavuttino,
Vinayācārayuttassa yuttassa paṭipattiyam.
Khantisoraccamettādi-guṇabhūsitacetaso,—
ajjhesanaṃ gahetvā va karontena imaṃ mayā."

these references it is clear that in the time of Buddhadatta and Buddhaghōṣa there were at least three great centres of Pāli study, namely, (1) Kāñcīpura (2) Kāverīpaṭṭana and (3) Mayurasuttapaṭṭana, or Madhurasuttapaṭṭana.

According to tradition, the great Buddhaghōṣa was a native of Magadha who afterwards became a celebrity of Kāñcīpura and Anurādhapura. The *Gandhāvamsa* gives at first a list of ten Buddhist teachers all of whom were men of South India and wrote various works, and then speaks of twenty other Buddhist teachers of South India who produced Pāli books at Kāñcīpura. The ten teachers are Buddhadatta, Ānanda, Dhammapāla, two unnamed former teachers (*Pubbācāriya*), Mahāvajirabuddhi, Cullavajirabuddhi, Dīpaṅkara, Culladhammapāla, and Kassapa (J. P. T. S. 1886, p. 66). In the extant text of the *Gandhāvamsa* the names of the other twenty teachers cannot be traced.

According to the *Sāsanaṅkavamsa* (p. 33), Dhammapāla resided at Padaratittha also known as Bhadratittha (J. Gray, *Buddhaghōṣasūppatti*, Introduction, p. 25) in the Tamil kingdom adjoining Sihaladīpa or Ceylon, while in the colophon to the *Paramatthavinicchaya*, Dhammapāla is said to have been a native of Tambaratṭha which is no other than the kingdom of Tāmrāparṇi or Tinnevely in South India. He resided in the city of Tañjā in Tāmraratṭha (Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, pt. I, p. xiii, "Tambaratṭhe vasantena nagre Tañjanāmake.").

The list of Pāli works that stands against the name of each of the ten teachers is as follows :—(1) Buddhadatta, the author of *The Vinayavinicchaya*, *Uttaravinicchaya*, *Abhidhammāvatāra*, *Rūpārūpavibhāga*, *Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭakathā*, and *Jīnālaṅkāra*; (2) Ānanda, the author of *Mūlaṭīkā* to the *Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā*, (3) Dhammapāla who wrote *Nettipakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*, *Paramatthadīpanī*, a serial commentary on the *Itivuttaka*, *Udāna*, *Cariyāpīṭaka*, *Thera-Therīgāthā*, *Vimānapetavatthu*, *Visuddhamagga-ṭīkā* to the commentaries on the first four Nikayas, *anūṭīkā* to the *Dhammaṭṭhakathā*, *ṭīkā* to the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, *ṭīkā* to the *Niruttipakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*, *ṭīkā* to the *Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā*, (4 & 5) two former teachers (*pubbācāriyā*) who wrote *Niruttimañjuṣā* and *Mahāniruttisāṅkhepa*, (6) Mahāvajirabuddhi who wrote *Vinayagaṇṭhi* (a glossary of the five vinaya books), (7) Cullavajirabuddhi, the name of whose work is not found, (8) Dīpaṅkara who wrote the *ṭīkā* to *Rūpasiddhi* and *Sampapañcasatti*, (9) Culladhammapāla who wrote the *Saccasaṅkhepa* and (10) Kassapa, the author of *Mohavicchedanī* and *Vimativicchedanī*.

The *Gandhāvamsa* says that these teachers wrote works mostly of their own accord (*attanō matiyā*) [pp. 69-70, J.P.T.S., 1886]

The Talaing records give us a list of Buddhist teachers of South India, which includes Kaccāyana, the author of the first Pāli grammar; Buddhavīra, the author of the Sutta-saṅgaha; Nāṇagambhira, the author of the Tathāgatupatti; and Anuruddha, the author of the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha (Buddhaghōsuppatti, p. 26). With regard to Anuruddha and his works, Mrs. Rhys Davids in her preface to the *Compendium of Philosophy* observes, "the *Manual* (Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha) is ascribed to a teacher named Anuruddha. Of him nothing further is recorded, save that he was the author of at least two other works on philosophy (namely Paramatthaviniechaya and Nāmarūpapariccheda) the former of which (and possibly the other two also) was compiled at Kañcipur or Conjevaram on the Madras coast, a seat of learning associated at an earlier date with the name of Dhammapāla Ācariya, the Commentator."¹³

Anuruddha's Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha superseded as a "text book" the earlier compendium, saccasaṃkhepa (outlines of truth) ascribed in the Gandhavamsa to Culladhammapāla. The great importance enjoyed by Anuruddha's Manual may be indicated in the following words of Mrs. Rhys Davids: "The utility of the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha ranks very high among the world's historical documents. For probably eight centuries it has served as a primer of psychology and philosophy in Ceylon and Burma and a whole literature of exegesis has grown up around it, the latest additions to which are but of yesterday." South India continued to be the centre of Pāli Buddhism as late as the 12th century A.D., a date to which Anuruddha, the celebrated author of the Abhidhammattha is assigned. The Kalyāṇi stone inscriptions of King Dhammazedi (1472-1492 A.D.) and the Sāsana-vamsa of Paññāsāmi (A.D. 1861) give an account of Chapada who returned to Burma, his native place, during the reign of King Anawratha (10th century A.D.), taking with him to Arimaddana-nagara (city of Pagan) five Buddhist savants, well-versed in the Pali lore, two of whom, namely, Ānandathera and Rāhulathera, were residents of Kāñcīpura.¹⁴ Thus it is clear that Pāli Buddhism flourished in South India even centuries after the time of Śaṅkara.

EDITORS' NOTE.

[It would be very interesting to consider the bearing of the data given in this informing article on the date of the *Mañimēkalai*.]

13. According to the Burmese tradition Anuruddha was a thera of Ceylon, and wrote the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha at the Sinhalese vihāra founded by Somadevi, Queen of King Vattagāmaṇi (88-76 B.C.), which is, however, far from the truth.

14. Sāsana-vamsa, pp. 40, 65 foll.

Saivism and Tamil Genius

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It is generally known that a variety of philosophical doctrines go under the common name of Śaivism, though they differ one from another even in fundamental concepts, such as the identification of Śiva with a personal God or a super-personal Absolute, the relation of Śiva to the jīvas, the means of release, and so on. The belief that northern (what is known as Kashmir) Śaivism is monistic, while southern Śaivism (known as the Siddhānta) is pluralistic (teaching a doctrine of identity in difference) provided, till recently, a comfortable basis of classification of these doctrines. But it was found that a good many northern (Kashmir) writers, like Rāmakaṇṭha, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha and others, were Śaivaites, not of the monistic but of the pluralistic type. The territorial classification, and any theories based thereon, have therefore had to be given the go-by. The assumption may no longer be ventured that Kashmir Śaivism and the Śaiva Siddhānta owe their difference to the regional or temperamental peculiarities of northerner or southerner, Āryan or Dravidian.

There is however no doubt that the Siddhānta has its stronghold in the south. And it has there received certain developments at the hand of Tamil writers and commentators, which are worth noting. Whether they will afford the basis for a generalisation, however cautious, about Tamil genius, it is too early to say.

Śaiva-siddhānta, as taught in the south, is based on twelve Sūtras constituting the *Śivajñānabōdha*. These Sūtras, in their Sanskrit version, are said to form part of the Raurava Āgama. Tradition has it that the Tamil Sūtras are translations made from the Sanskrit by the first of the Tamil Santāna-ācāryas, Meykaṇḍa Śiva. This tradition has been questioned in recent years, on patriotic grounds supported by some analysis of both versions. The internal evidence reveals, no doubt, a divergence here and there; but this of itself leads to no conclusion as to the priority of either the Sanskrit version or the Tamil; for what appears less developed doctrine may be, in truth, a reaction from what appears more developed, the appraisalment of more and less depending on the philosophic view-point of the appraiser. External evidence, though not conclusive, may be of some help. The fourth of the Santāna-ācāryas, Umāpati Śiva, who should have come within a century of Meykaṇḍa, was

well versed both in Sanskrit and Tamil Śaiva lore ; and he is credited with a *bhāṣya* on the *Pauṣkara Āgama*. In this work (published at Chidambaram in Grantha characters) there are at least four references to the Sanskrit version of the *Śivajñānabōdha*.¹ As already stated, this is by no means conclusive ; for even if Umāpati be acquitted of all intention to detract from the originality of his master's master's master, Meykaṇḍa, it is not finally established that he was the author of the *Pauṣkara bhāṣya* that we have. The general uncertainty is strengthened by the fact that the chapter on *Pramāṇas* contains a quotation from the *Nyāyāmṛta*, a late Mādhva work. However this may be, the discussion has lost much of its practical value in view of the fact, pointed out some years ago by Dr. Ramaṇa Śāstrin, that, behind the so-called Tamil Śaivism, there is a good deal of Sanskrit literature pre-supposed in the works of Sadyōjyōtis, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, Rāmakaṇṭha, Bhōja, and so on. Some of these books have been published by the Śaivāgama-paripālana Sabhā of Devakotah ; and one of the important works, *Narēśvaraparīkṣā*, has been issued in Kashmir. A study of these will convince any one that, whatever may be the merit of the Tamil ācāryas (and there is no question of their merit), there is no point in seeking to ascribe to them a degree of originality not claimed by themselves or by their proximate disciples. One of the corner-stones of Tamil Śaivism, the *Tirumantiram*, is the work of Tirumūlar, who, according to tradition, brought down Śaivism to the Tamil land from the north. There is no reason to discredit this tradition as entirely a fairly tale.

Though the question of Tamil originality in respect of the Siddhānta seems to defy solution, there would appear to be some grounds for assessing the reaction of the Tamil mind to the system in general. It is thought that the Tamilian is primarily practical ; that, though not impervious to mysticism, he seeks to drive it in harness with his practical sense ; that his philosophy, though it may bake no bread, will yet keep it in eatable condition. Some justification for this position may be found on a comparison of the Sanskrit and Tamil *Śivajñānabōdha*.

There is a good deal of similarity between Śaivism, even of the Siddhānta type, and Advaita-vēdānta. The 'original sin' is primal ignorance ; it is not mere absence of knowledge, but is of a positive nature ; it is called *āṇava* by the Śaiva, and *mūlāvidyā* by the Advaitin. Since our ills have ignorance for their cause, release can come only through knowledge. There are no doubt prescribed codes of conduct and ritual ; these, however, are of service only in securing knowledge through the onset of grace. Grace, expressing itself as *dākṣā*, is an absolute necessity according to the Śaiva-siddhānta ; for ignorance is

1. See pp. 14, 29, 256, 447.

positive, and requires something over and above knowledge to remove it, inasmuch as knowledge as such can remove only its own absence. Such emphasis on the Lord's Grace is found even in Advaita-vedānta, though in a different form. Karma, however, is of service only as a channel to knowledge. This being the case, there should be admitted (1) release even while embodied, since, when knowledge comes, further delay is unintelligible, and (2) the inapplicability of prescriptions and prohibitions to the jīvanmukta. It is interesting to note that, while there is agreement between the Sanskrit and Tamil scholiasts on the first point, there is no agreement on the second.

The Sūtra that relates to this matter is the twelfth. In the Sanskrit version, only the first half of it is of doctrinal value, the latter half merely purporting to give the name of the work, "Know thus the ascertainment of all topics connected with Śiva, from (this book) the *Śrajjñānabōdha*." The first line is thus interpreted by the commentator, Śivāgrayōgin : "(He who seeks knowledge) in order to secure release, should get to (the company of) good people, adopt their marks, and do service to the temples of Śiva." The good ones are the assemblies of preceptors who wear rudrākṣa and sacred ashes, and delight in Śiva-knowledge. Their company is to be sought in order to serve them and obtain knowledge through their grace. Their marks are to be adopted, i.e., sacred ashes are to be worn and so on, for the same purpose. Service in Śiva temples, such as cleaning, decorating, tending the flower-gardens etc., is enjoined with the same end in view. All these have the effect of purifying the mind, preventing distraction and removing obscuration by *āṇara*, which, though removed, is never absolutely destroyed. As to this much, there is agreement ; but for whom is the injunction ? On this there is difference. Śivāgrayōgin holds that the Sūtra relates to him who belongs to the lowest grade of eligibles, who is competent only for the *dāsa-mārga*, the path of service, as contrasted with the paths of knowledge and internal devotion.' The last two have been disposed of in Sūtras 8 and 11. The former runs thus : "'Having remained in the company of huntsmen, the senses, you do not know yourself (as a prince)'; being thus taught by the preceptor to be not other (than himself), and released from those (senses), the happy one attains that state (which is Śiva)." Release is knowledge or realisation, as of the forgotten gold ornament round one's own neck ; knowledge is the exclusive cause of release, not karma, not another. The next Sūtra (9) seems to enjoin the contemplation of Śiva and the recitation of the sacred pañcākṣara. Here the commentator says that, for those who have realised, there can be no injunc-

2. See commentary on Sūtra 12, *Śrajjñānabōdha*. So too in his commentary on the *Śrajjñānasiddhiār*, Sūtra 12, verse 1, he says that the Sūtra deals with *bāhya-bhakti*, external devotion.

tions or prohibitions, and that the apparent injunction is only a description of the conduct of those who have realised. Or, in the alternative, he says, even an injunction may be intelligible since it is not for the sake of enjoyment in this world or the next, and for the released there is absence only of such injunctions as are worldly (for the sake of enjoyment here or hereafter). This is decidedly weak; if there are no injunctions for the released, it must be because there is nothing else for them to accomplish, and because there is not a Being other than them to enjoin; the worldliness or otherwise of the injunction is not relevant to this. It is in the realisation of this weakness that it has been offered as an alternative interpretation. Sūtra 11 relates to those who are not directly eligible for knowledge, but have to seek it through intense devotion of the mind. Such supreme devotion to Śiva is instrumental to knowledge and thence to release. "Even as the soul is the revealer (of objects) to the senses, Śiva is the revealer (of himself) to the soul; therefore (he who desires knowledge) should practise the most supreme devotion in regard to Him who (thus) helps the soul." There are other souls who cannot rise even to this level. For them is enjoined the path of the servant (dāsa-mārga), and this is what Sūtra 12 relates to. Nor is it that there is any unintelligibility in the final Sūtra turning to what is the lowest of the paths: for, the procedure is paralleled in the Vedānta-sūtras, which, in Śaṅkara's interpretation, treat of the lower saṁgā-vidyā, in the final sections.

As against such an interpretation, the Tamil commentator, Śivajñānayōgin, holds that Sūtra to treat of the jīvanmukta and to enjoin on him various acts of service in order to guard against the overpowering of the knowledge he has secured, by successive waves of the residue of all-powerful āṇava. Āṇava has been removed, but its saṁskāra is left, as also prārabdha-karma, because of which the present body persists. The enjoyment of the fruit of prārabdha-karma is likely to lead to fresh karma and fresh obscuration even by the residue of āṇava. This can be avoided only by seeking constantly the company of the holy, behaving as they do, wearing their external marks, and worshipping them and Śiva temples as Śiva himself. On the purificatory efficacy of what is prescribed and as to the prescriptive character of the Sūtra there is no dispute; the difference is as to the person on whom the injunction lies, whether it is the jīvanmukta or he who is eligible for the dāsa-mārga. On the hypothesis that the Sūtra relates to the jīvanmukta, it may be yet possible to hold, as Śivāgrayōgin does in respect of Sūtra 9, that there is no injunction, but only a description, of behaviour. This is summarily rejected by the Tamil commentator on the basis of injunctive words like "worship (தொழுத)" occurring in Meykaṇḍa's elaboration of the Sūtra, though in the Sūtra portion itself there is only a descriptive word "அரனைத் தொழுமே." The whole Sūtra is in-

tended to lay down the objects of the conative, affective and cognitive powers of the jīvanmukta. He is to get rid of the threefold mala, since it communicates ignorance instead of knowledge ; this should be his cognitive activity. His affective side should find expression in association with the saintly, and his conative side in the worship of saints and temples. In the words of Meykaṇḍār himself, there is little conclusive indication of these injunctions being intended for the mukta instead of the sadhaka. The only words that may be taken to be at all indicative are the vocative “ *oṭṭāṭṭā* ” in a verse of the fourth adhikaraṇa, interpreted as “ O thou that hast realised non-duality,” and “ *oṭṭāṭṭā* ” in another verse of the same adhikaraṇa, which is taken to mean “ subsequently to realisation.” It is open to legitimate doubt whether these words are not capable of some other construction.³ The *Siddhiyār* may be expected to throw some light on the disputed point since it is a simpler and more extensive work treating the same topics, and based on the Tamil *Śivajñānabōdha*. Unfortunately, the verses here too, with the exception of the first, are ambiguous. The first alone seems to refer to God-intoxication in unmistakable terms. The reference to the jīvanmukta is therefore *prima facie* plausible. It must be confessed, however, that the dāsa too may be God-intoxicated ; and the possibility is not completely ruled out, in view of Śivāgrayōgin's comment that this Sūtra relates to bāhya-bhakti. But taking the verses by and large, it is the conduct of the jīvanmukta that seems to be inculcated in this Sūtra as handled by the *Siddhiyār*. Now neither Meykaṇḍār or Aruṇānandi (the author of the *Siddhiyār*) has left us any book in Sanskrit. Though they must necessarily have known the Āgamas in Sanskrit, it may not unreasonably be presumed that they were not too much impressed with Sanskritic developments of Śaiva doctrine. In any case, we have in the third great Śaiva writer in Tamil, Umāpati Śivācārya, one who not merely knew both traditions, but left works in both languages. If the Sanskrit tradition be presumed to be antagonistic to the laying down of injunctions for the jīvanmukta, and if Umāpati was influenced by it, one may expect a trace of it in his writings. And that is just what one finds. The *Śivaprakāśam* makes no mention of prescriptions or prohibitions for the jīvanmukta. While, in the *Tiruvuruṭṭayan*, there is an explicit description of the jīvanmuktas, their illimitable bliss, their immeasurable compassion, their non-cognition of worldly things, their freedom from aversion and attachment, and their freedom from all activity whether like that of the Lord or like that of bound souls, there is not a word about what they are bound to do or are prohibited from doing. On the contrary, in contrast with the supposed teaching of the *Bōdha*,

3. For instance, *oṭṭāṭṭā* may mean the same as the Sanskrit “ tasmāt ” in “ tasmāt tasmin parām bhaktim kuryād ātmo-'pakārake.” (Sūtra 11).

that, in the enjoyment of the fruit of *prārabdha*, fresh karma would accrue, to avoid which a certain type of behaviour is necessary, we are expressly told in verse 98 that, while *prārabdha* dies with the present body, any other karma that may accrue before bodily decease (and after realisation) is nullified even by the Lord's grace. The influence of the Sanskritic tradition would appear to have gone against *jñāna-karma-samuccaya*. Such a guess is reinforced by what we have already seen of the Sanskrit version of the *Bōdha* and Śivāgrayōgin's commentary thereon.

May we then conclude that the emphasis on the practical, vaguely indicated in *Meykaṇḍār* and *Arul-nandi*, and forcefully developed by Śivajñānayōgin, is characteristic of the Tamil genius and constitute its contribution to Śaiva doctrine? The insistence in the Tamil *Siddhānta* on the centrality of the individual, the teaching that even in release it is he who sees, with the aid of Śiva, not Śiva who sees through him, these would square with a doctrine of *jñāna-karma-samuccaya*. But the guess is extremely hazardous, since the view that knowledge must be combined with karma is neither peculiarly Śaiva, nor peculiarly Southern. Vedāntins like Bhāskara have held this view, and, among Śaivas, Śrīkaṇṭha, about whose domicile nothing is known, also held that view. Further, *Siddhāntins* like Umāpati and Śivāgrayōgin were also Tamilians. The most then that may be ventured is that, in so far as Śaivism appealed to the characteristically Tamil genius, it had a more practical turn than in other cases, and adopted doctrines like that of *jñāna-karma-samuccaya*. And this position derives some support from the fact that five out of six commentators on the *Śivajñānasiddhiyār* favour the view of an injunction applicable to the *jīvanmukta*, the dissentient being Śivāgrayōgin whose Sanskritic leanings have already been noted.

Asoka's Dhamma (Dharma)

By

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THE problem of Asoka's *Dhamma* has received the serious consideration of several eminent scholars since the middle of the nineteenth century, and a fresh study of the same after so many writers have traversed the ground may appear at once futile and uncalled for. But the recent attempts of some scholars¹ to revive the old controversies and propound new theories might be taken as a reasonable justification for opening up the whole question once more.

All Buddhist chronicles²—Ceylonese as well as Indian—are unanimous in saying that Aśoka embraced the faith of the Buddha, and tried to spread it among his subjects and those of the neighbouring states. But since the publication of the inscriptions of Piyadasi,³ some scholars have questioned the veracity of those chronicles and have expressed divergent views regarding the faith professed and preached by Aśoka. H. H. Wilson⁴ was the first to dispute the connection between Buddhism and Aśoka's *Dhamma*, and Edward Thomas went a step further by affirming that Aśoka was originally a Jain and was afterwards attracted towards the Buddhist ideals and doctrines.⁵ Dr. Fleet, while conceding that he was a convert to Buddhism, asserted that the object of his edicts was 'not to propagate Buddhism or any other particular religion, but to proclaim the determination of Aśoka to govern his kingdom righteously and kindly in accordance with the duty of pious kings'.⁶ According to Bühler, Aśoka had actually entered the *Samgha*,

1. M. Ghosh : 'Religion of Aśoka' in the Proc. and Trans. of the 2nd Oriental Conference, pp. 553-8; Rev. H. Heras : 'Aśoka's Dharma and Religion' in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XVII, pp. 255-76; V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar : The Mauryan Polity, pp. 276-99.

2. The Dipavamsa; the Mahāvamsa; the Divyāvadāna and the Samantapāsādikā.

3. Otherwise known as the Edicts of Aśoka.

4. J. R. A. S., XII, pp. 234-256.

5. E. Thomas : 'Early Faith of Aśoka' in J. R. A. S., IX (N.S.), pp. 155, 187 see also M. Ghosh : op. cit.

6. J. R. A. S., 1908, p. 491-2.

and had become a Buddhist monk.⁷ While holding a similar opinion, Dr. V. A. Smith says that Aśoka was a Buddhist monk and monarch at the same time, and it was due to 'his heartfelt adherence to the teaching of the Buddha' that the doctrine could 'impose itself upon the faith of India and half of the civilized world'.⁸ Dr. F. W. Thomas endorses⁹ the view of Dr. Smith. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar¹⁰ is of opinion that 'Aśoka was himself a lay follower of Buddhism, and preached to the house-holders,' and that his teaching was based on what that religion ordained for its laity.' Dr. R. K. Mookerji makes a distinction between his personal religion and the religion he sought to preach and introduce among his people by his public measures. While admitting that Aśoka's personal religion was Buddhism, he says that his public religion 'was certainly not Buddhism, his own religion The *Dharma* of the edicts is not any particular Dharma or religious system, but the moral law, independent of any caste or creed, the *sāra* or essence of all religions'.¹¹ Recently, Rev. H. Heras has made a powerful attempt to controvert the Buddhist faith of Aśoka. "We have been misled" says he¹² "by the Buddhist chronicles long ago. Modern criticism cannot accept other documents referring to Aśoka than his own inscriptions.¹³ And these do not say that he embraced the doctrines of Gautama. No document records his embracing a new faith. We know moreover that his family, and especially his father Bindusāra, professed Brahmanical faith. Hence Aśoka remained Hindu and Brahmanical till the end of his days." Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar accepts the opinion of Rev. Heras and says¹⁴ that Aśoka was neither a Buddhist nor a Jain, but a follower of the established religion of the land which he calls the earlier form of Hinduism.

These extremely divergent views are *inter alia* based upon the alleged total unreliability of the Buddhist Chronicles, the apparent ambiguity in the terminology of the Aśokan edicts, and Aśoka's benevolent attitude towards other creeds and sects.

7. See Ind. Ant., VI, p. 156.

8. V. A. Smith: Aśoka (1920), pp. 35 and 47.

9. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 504-5.

10. D. R. Bhandarkar: Aśoka (1923), p. 123.

11. R. K. Mookerjee: Aśoka (1927), p. 69.

12. *op. cit.*, p. 276.

13. Still when it suits him, he cites the authority of the *Rājatarāṅgini*; see his paper, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

14. *op. cit.*, p. 288; see also Proc. and Trans. of the 5th Oriental Conference, Vol. II, p. 934.

I

The Buddhist chronicles that have come under severest adverse criticism are the *Dipavamsa* and the *Māhavamśa*.¹⁵ They are considered to be unreliable by some because they are full of accounts of prodigies and portents, mythical stories and moral reflections; others reject them because they abound in sectarian matter. Rev. Heras says¹⁶ "The Buddhist chronicles of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries have deceived many scholars. To count so great a monarch as Aśoka among the disciples of Gautama was unquestionably a distinct advantage to the declining Buddhist monachism. Hence their statement is not reliable at all."

But no tradition deserves *total* condemnation simply because it is mixed up with didactic and supernatural legends. The remote past of any nation cannot be unveiled without the aid of traditionary materials, and extreme scepticism about their evidential value is unscientific and uncalled for in historical investigations. A historian should critically scrutinise them with a view to sift the substratum of fact from the superstructure of fiction. Otherwise there is nothing to prevent one from denying the very existence of the Buddha¹⁷ or Christ of whom tradition waxes so eloquent. When a tradition is in conflict with known facts or is inherently absurd, it should certainly be discarded. But under no canon of historical research can a historian be justified in rejecting the *entire* tradition when only certain parts of it are disfigured by inconsistencies and exaggerations. Glaringly absurd statements in the *Indika* of Megasthenes¹⁸ have not debarred historians from utilising the residuum of sober information contained in them. When certain portions of the Buddhist chronicles receive confirmation from archaeological evidence, it is wrong to assert that 'any endeavour to utilise them for historical purposes is to get ourselves stranded on the shore of imaginary history.'¹⁹

The tradition embodied in the Ceylonese chronicles is not a didactic romance of the type of Xenophen's *Cyropaedia* or Firdausi's *Shāh-*

15. These works will be quoted below as *Dīp.* and *Mhv.* respectively. Jointly they are known as the Ceylonese Chronicles.

16. *Op. cit.*, p. 255. This opinion of Rev. Heras is on a par with that expressed by him about certain Vijayanagara records: these he regards as fabrications of the ascetics of Sringeri Math to whom he attributes similar mercenary motives. See his 'Beginnings of Vijayanagara History (1929)', pp. 34-5.

17. See Senart: 'Essai sur la legende du Buddha.'

18. See McCrindle: 'Ancient India (Megasthenes and Arrian), *Fragments* xxix-xxxi and xxxix-xl.

19. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar: 'Mauryan Polity' p. 278.

nāmā. Both the *Dīpavamsā* and the *Mahāvamsā* are founded on the *Atthakathās*, the commentaries and chronicles preserved in the monasteries of Ceylon;²⁰ and some of the facts noticed in them and other Buddhist works find support in the Aśōkan inscriptions and other antiquities :—

(a) Before the discovery of the Maski record, the identity of Piyadasi of the Rock and the Pillar Edicts of Aśōka was settled by Tournour on the authority of the *Dipavamsā*.²¹

(b) We learn from the Ceylonese Chronicles²² that Aśōka secured the throne for himself by killing his brothers, and that there was an interval of four years between his accession to the throne and his coronation. That there is some truth in this tradition is suggested by the Aśōkan edicts, which date the events of his reign from his coronation²³ as if to distinguish it from accession.

(c) According to the Ceylonese chronicles,²⁴ Aśōka announced to the king of Ceylon²⁵ his own conversion to Buddhism thus : “ I have taken my refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha ; I have avowed myself a lay-disciple of the Doctrine of the Sakyaputta.” Is it not an echo of his confession of his great reverence for and faith in the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha* registered in the second Bairāt Rock inscription ?²⁶ In this record he also recommended to the clergy and the laity for their practice certain expositions of the *Dhamma* which have been identified by competent scholars with certain Buddhist texts.²⁷ This public declaration of his on an imperishable rock is sufficient to prove that he was converted to Buddhism, and that the chroniclers have recorded this fact in their own inordinately extravagant style. To say that, as he addressed the monks themselves, he could not say otherwise,²⁸ is to accuse him of hypocrisy and presumptuousness.

(d) The Chroniclers indicate two stages in Aśōka's progress towards Buddhism : those of the *Upāsaka* (lay-worshipper) and the

20. See Oldenberg : ‘The Dipavamsa’, Intro. p. 7-8 ; Max Muller : ‘The Dhammapada’, Intro. p. XXI. (S.B.E. X) ; and Rhys Davids : ‘Buddhist India’, pp. 273-278.

21. George Tournour in J.A.S.B., 1837.

22. Dip., VI, 21-22 ; Mhv., V, 18-22.

23. See R. E. IV, VIII, XIII ; P. E. V, VI, VII.

24. Dip. XII, 5 ; Mhv. XI, 34.

25. Devanampiya Tissa.

26. Also known as the Bhābrū or the Calcutta-Bairāt Rock inscription.

27. See E. Hultzsch : ‘Inscriptions of Aśōka’ (C.I.I., Vol. I), p. 174, Note 1.

28. Rev. H. Heras : *Op. cit.*, p. 275.

Sāsanadāyāda (kinsman of Buddha's religion).²⁹ It is said that he claimed the latter status in the midst of the *Saṅgha* after the expiry of nearly three years from the date of his conversion. That this tradition is not entirely baseless is proved by his announcement³⁰ that for more than two years and a half he had been an *upāsaka* without exerting himself for one year; and that when for more than a year he made some sort of *connect on with the Saṅgha*,³¹ he strenuously exerted himself. Further, the chronicles tell us that, at the time of his conversion to Buddhism, he was initiated into the Doctrine of *Appamāda*, i.e., manly exertion,³² and it is noteworthy that his own announcement deals with the progress in his attitude towards *Pakama* (*Parākrama*) which is akin to *Appamada* (*Apramāda*).

(c) The *Divyavadāna*³³ says that Aśoka went on a pilgrimage to the Buddhist holy places like the Lumbini Garden, Kapilavastu, Buddha-Gaya, Rishipattana (Sarnāth), etc., and marked each of them with an enduring memorial. The veracity of this tradition is established beyond doubt by his own inscription,³⁴ which actually record his pilgrimage to Sambōdhi,³⁵ Lumbini Garden and the stupa of Konākamana.³⁶ It is recorded that in the last two places he *performed worship*.

Rev. H. Heras and Mr. Dikshitar ignore the testimony of the *Divyavadāna*, and explain away the epigraphical records with a view to nullify their evidential value regarding the Buddhist faith of Aśoka.³⁷ According to them, Aśoka's visits to the Lumbini Garden and the stūpa of Konākamana were merely state visits, and an instance of his general policy stated in his Pillar-Edict VI: "All sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds." Referring to his worship in both places, Mr. Dikshitar says: "To-day Aśoka could not be a follower of the Buddha and to-morrow of his rival. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that both were state visits to the holy places of different cults."

29. Dip. VI, 55; VII, 8-13; Mhv. V, 72 and 193-205.

30. Minor Rock Edict (M. R. E. Brahmagiri version).

31. The original phrase is '*Saṅgha upapita*'; it will be discussed below.

32. Dip. VI, 52-55; Mhv., 67-68.

33. Ed. by Cowell and Neil, pp. 389-397.

34. R. E. VIII, and the Rummindei and the Nigāli Sāgar Pillar inscriptions.

35. For 'Bodha-Gaya'. See D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, XLII, pp. 159-160.

36. Name of one of the twenty-four Buddhas and the third to precede Gautama Buddha. Aśoka's pilgrimage to his stupa is not noticed in the *Divyavadāna*.

37. See Rev. H. Heras: *op. cit.*, pp. 275-6; V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar: *op. cit.*, pp. 283-5.

But these arguments fail to carry conviction in the absence of some definite proof to show that Aśoka made similar pilgrimages to any of the Hindu or Jain sacred places or that, *in the days of Aśoka*, the worship of Konākamana was outside the proper limits of Buddhism. There is fundamental difference between making pilgrimages to the sacred places of one's own faith, and honouring various sects with honours of various kinds. As a Buddhist, Aśoka *performed worship* at the Buddhist holy places, and, as a ruler, he conferred honours upon all sects.

(f) The Ceylonese chronicles³⁸ refer to the expulsion of the adherents of false doctrine from the Saṅgha; and Aśokā's Kauśāmbi, Sānchi, and Sārnāth Pillar Edicts bear out this tradition by laying down a general order for the 'unfrocking' of the schismatic monks and nuns.

(g) Both the Ceylonese chronicles and the Aśokan Edicts have more or less preserved³⁹ the memory of the missionary activities of the reign of Aśoka. Although the places and the peoples mentioned in them are not strictly identical, yet the little that is common⁴⁰ to them shows that they are referring to the same fact. Further, according to the Dipavamsa each mission consisted of a leader and four assistants, and those who constituted the mission to the Himalayan region were 'the Thera of the Kassapa-gotta, Majjhima, Durabhisara, Sahadeva and Mulakadeva'. The historicity of the first three is established by the fact that their names have been found inscribed in precisely the same connection on the urns discovered in the Bhilsa Topes.⁴¹

No doubt, the mission of Mihinda⁴² to Ceylon, so picturesquely described in the chronicles,⁴³ does not find a specific mention in the Aśokan inscriptions. Still, the whole story cannot be brushed aside as a mendacious fiction of unscrupulous monks. After all, the Tambapāṇi of the Second and the Thirteenth Rock Edicts might be Ceylon.⁴⁴ A large number of places and monuments in the island and on the mainland as associated with Mahinda's mission; and two bas-reliefs⁴⁵ on the Buddhist stupa at Sānchi represent the carrying of the Bo-tree from Uruvelā to Ceylon.

38. Dip., VII, 53; Mhv. V, 270.

39. Dip. VIII, Mhv. XII; R. E. V. and XIII.

40. Cf. the Yavanas and the Gandhāras.

41. The Stūpas near Sānchi. See A. Cunningham: 'Bhilsa Topes', pp. 119, 287, 316; F. C. Maisey: 'Sānchi and its Remains', pp. 108-15.

42. Mahendra, son of Aśoka according to the Ceylonese chronicles.

43. Dip. XII—XVI; Mhv. XVII—XX.

44. Tambapāṇi = Tāmraparṇi, the ancient name of Ceylon; see H. Ray-Chaudhuri: 'Pol. Hist. of Ancient India' (1932), p. 225.

45. T. W. Rhys Davids: 'Buddhist India', pp. 301 and 303.

Thus it is evident that this extraordinary coincidence between the testimony of the Buddhist chronicles and the evidence of Archæology is not merely accidental, and it is reasonable to assume that both are independently bearing witness to the fact that Aśōka was a convert to Buddhism.

II

The terminology of the Aśōkan Edicts has been the subject of considerable discussion among scholars for several years, and now most of the puzzles may be regarded as solved. Still, it is a matter of regret that perfect unanimity has not been attained regarding the interpretation of certain words and phrases which are crucial to the topic under consideration, e.g., *Upāsaka*, *Saṃgha*, *Upagata* and *Dhamma*.

(a) In the Ceylonese chronicles,⁴⁶ the term *upāsaka* is used to indicate that Aśōka had become a lay disciple of Buddhism. No one can deny that the term *upāsaka* used in the second Bairāt Rock inscription and the Sarnath Pillar inscription also means a Buddhist lay worshipper. Identical expression has been used with reference to Aśōka in his first Minor Rock Edict discovered at Sahasrām, Bairāt, Brahmagiri and Siddapura, and it must be construed to convey the same sense. Moreover, even the words *Sākya* and *Buddha-Sākya*, used in this connection in the Rūpnāth and Maski versions,⁴⁷ find an apt parallel in the Buddhist chronicles wherein Aśōka is said to have declared, "I have avowed myself a lay pupil of the Doctrine of the Sākyaputta."⁴⁸

Yet Rev. H. Heras rejects the authority of the chronicles, and interprets these words in a manner most suited to his theory. He says: "Certainly *upāsaka* means a lay-worshipper, but a lay-worshipper does not mean anything else than one who is not properly acquainted with the deep dogmas of his faith and has not been initiated with its mysteries Naturally he could also call himself *Sākya*, *Buddha-Sākya*, because any conversion is a kind of enlightenment, and he could therefore consider himself the enlightened one. Such is the meaning of the word *upāsaka*, *Sākya* and *Buddha-Sākya*." This interpretation reduces Aśōka to the anomalous position of being 'enlightened' without being properly acquainted with the deep dogmas of his faith. Rev. H. Heras missed the true significance of the relation between Aśōka's 'visit' to

46. Dip. VI, 55; Mhv. XI, 34-36.

47. See Dr. Hultzsch's reading in Corp. Inscn. Ind., Vol. I.

48. Dip., XII, 5; Mhv. XI, 34.

49. Op. cit., p. 273.

the *Samgha* and its effect upon him as an *Upāsaka*. The *Samgha* of the Aśōkan Edicts decidedly stands for the Buddhist monastic order,⁵⁰ and the *upāsakatva* associated with it means that Aśōka was a convert to Buddhism. Mr. Dikshitar offers another ingenious explanation of the word *upāsaka*. Says he :⁵¹ "The *Upāsaka* could not be a *de facto* or *de jure* member of the *Samgha*. All that is meant by the term is that the householder would minister to the needs of the members of the *Samgha*." Inasmuch as Aśōka discharged this function, he was an *Upāsaka*, and was not a convert to Buddhism. But this interpretation displays inadequate appreciation of the position of those householders who professed firm faith in 'the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Samgha*', and had little or no belief in the Brahmanical religion, its gods and rituals. Surely such people could not remain within the fold of Brahmanism. It is to such lay-followers of the Buddha that the term *upāsaka* was applied in the Buddhist literature and the epigraphical records.⁵² This meaning is obvious from the second Bairāt Rock inscription wherein Aśōka exhorted the *Upāsakas* and the *Upāsikas* to follow certain canonical texts of Buddhism 'in order that the good *Dhamma* might long endure.' In the first Minor Rock Edict the term *upāsaka* is used to indicate Aśōka's conversion, and this term, when read in the sense in which it is used in the second Bairāt Rock inscription, the Sārnāth Pillar inscription and the Ceylonese chronicles, positively shows that this conversion was to Buddhism.

(b) In the first Minor Rock Edict,⁵³ the expression *Samghe Upayite*⁵⁴ is used for describing Aśōka's connection with the *Samgha*. The nature and extent of this connection are the most disputed points in the life of Aśōka.⁵⁵ The expression has been interpreted in three different ways : (i) that he entered the *Samgha*, i.e., became a Buddhist monk,⁵⁶ (ii) that he lived in the *Samgha* for some time as *Bhikkhugatika*,⁵⁷ (iii) that he paid a visit to the *Samgha*.⁵⁸

50. P. E. VII, Second Bairāt Rock inscription, etc.

51. *Op. cit.*, p. 281.

52. See Oldenberg : 'Buddhism' (Eng. Trans. by W. Hoey) pp. 161-4 and 382-3.

53. See the Rūpanāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, Brahmagiri versions.

54. The Brahmagiri and Siddāpur versions ; other versions use *upete*, *upayate* or *upagate*.

55. The discussion still continues. See *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 123-4.

56. See Bühler, V. A. Smith and F. W. Thomas, *op. cit.*

57. See D. R. Bhandarkar : Aśōka, pp. 78-81.

58. See Senart in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 233-4 ; E. Hultzsch : *op. cit.*, pp. xlv-xlv.

But the first two interpretations are against the context, and unsupported by tradition. The word *sumi*, 'I am,' in the Rūpnāth and other versions of the Edict shows that Aśōka had not ceased to be an *Upasaka* at the time of its issue. The contrast, intended to be shown in the Edict, is between his two stages of *upāsakatra*: the stage of inaction and that of exertion. The Buddhist chronicles which are ever prone to exaggeration, do not countenance the theory that Aśōka was both monk and monarch at the same time; nor do they attribute to him the characteristics of a *Bhikkhugatika*. They simply refer to his conversion to Buddhism, his visit to the *Saṅgha* and his immense charities to it. The Ceylonese chronicles clearly show that he neither went through the *pabbajja* ordination, nor did he claim a higher status than that of *Sāsanadāyaka*.⁵⁹ The oft-quoted evidence of It-sing and the *Divyāvadāna*⁶⁰ suggesting that he took to monastic life most probably refers to his closing years. The Sānchi sculptures, if their identifications are correct, represent him not in the robes of a monk, but in full royal attire.⁶¹

The third interpretation is more in harmony with the tradition,⁶² and does least violence to the context. Hence it may be accepted as nearer the truth: Aśōka, having paid a visit or visits to the *Saṅgha*, strenuously exerted himself, and thus became an active *Upāsaka*.

(c) *Dhamma*, in its Sanskrit form *Dharma*, is an ancient word with the very wide meaning of justice, morality, righteousness, religion, etc. In the Buddhist literature it is used to indicate the second of the Buddhist Triad—the Law of the Buddha. The same word occurs in the Aśōkan Edicts no less than thirty-seven times. The *Dhamma* of the second Bairāt Rock Edict is accepted by all scholars to mean the Law of the Buddha; but that of the other Edicts is understood differently by different scholars. Dr. Fleet⁶³ interpreted it as the 'ordinary *dharma* of Kings', while Kern⁶⁴ and Rhys Davids⁶⁵ took it to mean simply righteousness. If Dr. R. K. Mookherji⁶⁶ sees in it the *sāra* or essence of all religions', Mr. Dikshitar⁶⁷ finds in it 'the established ethical code of

59. Dip. VII, 8; Mhv. V, 193. Compare this term with the *Dhammasambadho* of R. E. XI.

60. E. Hultzsch; *op. cit.*, p. xliv.

61. J. H. Marshall: 'A guide to Sānchi', pp. 47, 50, 51, 60.

62. For Aśōka's visits to the *Saṅgha*, see Dip. vi, 78; VII, 3; Mhv. V, 76, 185.

63. See J. R. A. S., 1908, p. 491.

64. See Ind. Ant., V, p. 262.

65. Rhys Davids, 'Buddhism', p. 45.

66. *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

67. *Op. cit.*, p. 271.

the orthodox Hinduism. This diversity of interpretation is due to the fact that the word *Dhamma* is used in the Edicts in two senses : firstly, to mean moral duties in general ; and, secondly, to indicate Buddhism. The task of right interpretation is rendered more difficult by the seemingly non-distinctive and non-sectarian character of the virtues and practices⁶⁸ preached by Aśōka. But it should not be overlooked that the ethical codes of all civilized societies are more or less identical. Still their individuality is often marked by their source and the emphasis they lay on one or the other of the essential virtues. We have already seen that Aśōka was a Buddhist lay-worshipper and observed Buddhist practices.⁶⁹ Hence it follows that the *Dhamma* preached by him *derived its inspiration* from the *Dhamma* professed by him, i.e., Buddhism. As pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar,⁷⁰ it consisted of those very duties which were prescribed for the Buddhist laity in the Sigālovāda-Sutta and the Mahāmangala-Sutta. Any tinge of Brahmanical or Jain influence that is discovered in it may be traced to Aśōka's own catholic outlook. He insisted⁷¹ that all sects should listen to one another's *Dhamma*, so that all possessed wide learning (*bahu-śruta*) and good doctrines.

It is true that in the Edicts of Aśōka there is 'nothing concerning the deeper ideas or fundamental tenets of Buddhism ; there is no mention of the Four Grand Truths, the Eight-fold Path, the Chain of Causation, the supernatural quality of the Buddha : the word and the idea of *Nirvāṇa* fail to occur'.⁷² But this cannot be taken as a decisive argument to assail the Buddhist faith of Aśōka unless and until we are sure of the phase of Buddhism prevalent in his days especially among its lay-followers. Probably it was in a transitory state from Hinayanism to Mahāyanism. Aśōka's pilgrimage to the stūpa of Konākamana shows that the cult of the previous Buddhas was already established in his day.

Indeed there is nothing in the Edicts of Aśōka that is exclusively characteristic of Brahmanism or Brahmanical Hinduism as Mr. Dikshi-

68. Good deeds, mercy, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, self-control, etc. See P.E. II, VII ; R.E. VII. These virtues were to be put into practice by being non-violent towards all living creatures ; liberal towards friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas ; obedient towards parents and elders ; courteous towards slaves and servants ; and so forth. See P.E. VII ; R.E. XI, XIII, etc.

69. See *supra*.

70. *Op. cit.*, pp. 116-123.

71. R.E., XII.

72. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 505.

tar prefers to call it.⁷³ On the contrary, they are more or less Buddhist in style, and reveal that he was intimately acquainted with the tenets, legends and literature of Buddhism, and that his ethical code really derived its inspiration from Buddhism rather than from Brahmanism. He too, like the Buddha, ignored the existence of God, insisted upon the necessity of man's own self-exertion⁷⁴ and self-examination,⁷⁵ and thus attempted to create a Kingdom of Righteousness independent of divine or priestly assistance. His total silence about the Vedic gods, the sanctity of the Vēdas and Varnaśrama-dharma, his prohibition of rituals⁷⁶ and animal sacrifices,⁷⁷ his insistence on the principle of non-violence⁷⁸ towards all living beings, his pilgrimages exclusively to the Buddhist sacred places,⁷⁹ his display of heavenly spectacles⁸⁰ similar to the rewards of a virtuous man described in the Buddhist canonical work *Vimānavatthu*, his keen interest in the unity and longevity of the Buddhist church (*Saṅgha*),⁸¹ and his observance of the *Upasatha* Buddhist holidays,⁸²—all these taken together can be reconciled only with Buddhism. His belief⁸³ in the other world and in heaven is not contrary to Buddhist tenets. The Buddha himself said⁸⁴ that a pious house-holder will be born as a god in one of the heavens, and the *Vimānavatthu* contains⁸⁵ a description of the bliss that is reserved for a virtuous man in the other world.

Thus the *Dhamma* of Aśoka, 'despite all straining' on the part of some scholars, cannot be said to differ from what may be termed lay Buddhism.

III

Aśoka's benevolent attitude towards other creeds and sects is also cited⁸⁶ as an argument against his Buddhist faith. His gift of cave

73. *Op. cit.*, p. 288.

74. Minor R.E. I and R. E. VI, X.

75. See P.E. I; explained in P.E. III. Cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, 55.

76. R.E., IX.

77. R.E., I, XI.

78. Minor R.E., II and R.E. II, III, IV, IX, XI. Also R.E. I and P.E. V, VII.

79. R.E. VIII and the Rummindei and the Nigāli Sāgar Pillar inscriptions.

80. R.E. IV.

81. Kausāmbi, Sārnāth and Sānchi P.E.

82. Sārnāth P.E., and P.E. V.

83. R.E. VI, IX-XI and XIII; P.E. I, IV, VII, etc.

84. *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, 289, 388, cf. *Samyutta-Nikāya*, I, 87, 181, 232.

85. D. R. Bhandarkar : *op. cit.*, p. 124-6.

86. Rev. H. Heras : *op. cit.* p. 272; Dikshitar : *op. cit.*, pp. 287, 299.

dwellings to the Ājivikas,⁸⁷ his appointment of the Dharma-mahāmātras to serve the interests of the Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas, Ājivikas, Nirgranthas and various other sects,⁸⁸ his advice to his people to listen to one another's *Dhamma*,⁸⁹ and his bestowal of honours on all sects,⁹⁰ have been considered incompatible with his profession of Buddhism. Rev. Heras says: "His tolerance of all religions or sects is purely Hindu."⁹¹ But Buddhism too nowhere preaches intolerance. It is the narrow-minded followers of the Buddha who sometimes assumed an antagonistic attitude towards the people of other faiths. Moreover, Aśōka was not purely a religious enthusiast. He was also a ruler imbued with the true spirit of Indo-Āryan kingship. He regarded all men as his children,⁹² and showed extreme solicitude for their welfare. Hence, there is no incompatibility between his profession of Buddhism and his regard for all sects. While holding the scales evenly between the competing claims of different sects to royal patronage, he relied upon the 'superior effect of reflection' as the chief agent in the promotion of his *Dhamma*.⁹³ Centuries later, Kanishka, Harsha and Akbar also adopted a somewhat similar liberal policy in dealing with their subjects without prejudice to their own personal faiths. Indeed, Indian history is replete with examples of rulers who did not allow sectarian feelings to dominate their state-policy, and Aśōka was one of them.

CONCLUSION.

Aśōka was a convert to Buddhism, and the *Dhamma* professed and preached by him derived its strength and nourishment from the teachings of the Buddha. From the time of his conversion to the end of his rule, he remained an *Upāsaka*, with progressive zeal in the cause of his new faith.

87. Barābar Hill Cave-inscriptions.

88. P.E. VII.

89. R.E. XII.

90. P.E. VI.

91. *Op. cit.*, p. 272.

92. First separate Rock-Edict: Dhauili; P.E. IV.

93. *Nijhatiya* is the word used for reflection or inner meditation. P.E. VII.

Religious Catholicism in Mediaeval Karnataka

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It has been pointed out by almost all writers on the history of India that, although there were three religions, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, prevalent in this country before the Muhammadan invasions, the relations between the adherents of these religions were very amicable, and that there was no religious persecution; and this happy state of affairs is usually explained by them as being due to the fact that Brahmanism, while maintaining a definite course of conduct, allowed to its adherents the utmost latitude of belief.

Though there is an element of truth in these observations, it must be pointed out that these writers, as also the Greek and Chinese visitors that have left us accounts of their travels in India, have failed to notice that, in the eyes of the great bulk of the people, there existed not three or more different religions, but only one catholic religion. The name given by them to this religion was Dharma; but, as this term is ambiguous, and I know of no other suitable name, I shall hereafter refer to it as Āryanism or Ārya-dharma.

It is unnecessary to point out that Gautama Buddha was an adherent, throughout his life, of Brahmanism; so were his immediate disciples also; and Buddhism became a distinct religion, different from Brahmanism, only after the lapse of a hundred years or so after the death of the Buddha. The evolution of a distinct Buddhistic cosmogony and of a pantheon, comprising Mañjuśrī, Avalōkitēśvara, Ādi-Buddha, Tārā, and other gods and goddesses unknown to Brahmanism, was still later, and took place in perhaps the first centuries of the Christian era.

Similar is the case with Jainism also. The last Tīrthamkara, Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna, and his immediate disciples, were all adherents of Brahmanism; and Jainism became a distinct religion different from Brahmanism, and developed a cosmogony and pantheon containing gods and goddesses unknown to Brahmanism, only some centuries after the death of Mahāvīra.

Viewed from the standpoint of religion,¹ then, the people of India in, say, the 5th century A.D. could be grouped into five classes:

1. Foreign religions like Judaism and Christianity are not included in this purview.

I. Adherents of Brahmanism, comprising (a) the clergy, i.e., a majority, perhaps, of the Brāhmaṇas,² and (b) the laymen devoted to Brahmanism.

II. Adherents of Buddhism comprising (a) the clergy, i.e., bhikṣus (monks), bhikṣunis (nuns) and novices, and (c) laymen devoted to Buddhism.

III. Adherents of Jainism comprising (a) the clergy, i.e., Jaina monks and nuns, and (b) laymen devoted to Jainism.

IV. Adherents of minor religions, some of the names of which even now are unknown, comprising (a) the clergy and (b) laymen devoted to those particular religions.

V. The large bulk of people, inclusive of some Brāhmaṇas, were followers of what I have above called Āryanism. These paid respect equally to the teachings and teachers of all the religions referred to above. Many of them had, naturally, a predilection for one of these religions and for one particular cult, which however did not prevent them from showing honour to other gods and goddesses and to the teachers of other religions. Just as, nowadays, it is not uncommon to come across a family the head of which is a worshipper of Śiva while his wife, brother and son are devotees respectively of Viṣṇu, the Sun, and the goddess Rājārājēśvari, in the same way, at that time, it was not uncommon to come across a family the head of which worshipped Śiva, while his wife, son and daughter were devotees respectively of the Jaina, the Buddha and Viṣṇu. That is to say, while, nowadays, the worshippers of, say, the Jaina, do not show honour to Śiva, Viṣṇu or other gods and goddesses of Brāhmaṇism or Buddhism, do not show respect to the Brāhmaṇas or Buddhist teachers, and do not contract marriage alliances with persons professing Brāhmaṇism or Buddhism, in the fifth century A.D., many persons who worshipped Jaina, worshipped also the gods of Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism, showed respect to the Brāhmaṇas and Buddhist teachers, and contracted marriage alliances with those who were not Jainas by faith. The case was similar with many who were followers of Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism and the other religions referred to above.

The evidence for the existence of the last-named class is somewhat scanty in the literature of the first ten centuries of the Christian era ; nor do we know exactly at what time the catholicity of Āryanism ceased

2. It must be borne in mind that, although, in Brahmanism, all priests are Brāhmaṇas, not all Brāhmaṇas are priests. As at present, so in the past also, there were found at all times some Brāhmaṇas who were not priests, and whose religious life differed in no respect from that of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya householders who were their contemporaries.

to appeal to its followers and they became merged in the first four of the groups mentioned above. In the Kannaḍa country, however, we have abundant evidence testifying to the existence of this catholic religion in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries A.D., and I propose here to reproduce some of this evidence.³

A. (1) One of the chief generals of the Hoysala king Viṣṇu-vardhana was Gaṅgarāja who had the titles *samadhigata-pañca-mahā-sāmantādhipati*, *mahā-pracaṇḍa-danḍanāyaka*, *drōha-gharatta*, and *Hoysala-raja-samuddharaṇa* ('Rescuer of the Hoysala kingdom'). He was according to the statements made in many inscriptions (SB. 73, 117, 125, 127, 240, 251, 397, B1 124; M1 31; etc.) 'the foremost among those following the Jaina faith' (Jaina-dharmāgrāṇi) and 'the moon causing the flow of the ocean of the Jaina faith' (Jaina-matāmbōdhi-pravardhana-sudhākara); and he built, as is recorded in these inscriptions, two *basadis* (Jaina temples) in Sravana-Belgoḷa and the enclosure round the image of Guṃmaṭa that were set up there by Cāmuṇḍarāja, and also gave many lands and whole villages to Jaina teachers and temples. Cn. 260, however, records that this Gaṅgarāja with others made a grant of land to the god Jayamṅgaḍēśvara (i.e., a Śivaliṅga) at Virūpākṣapura, and Cn. 212, 213 records that he made similar gifts to the Nāgēśvara temple (another Śiva temple) at Naule. (2) It is said in Cn. 248, B1. 124 and SB 384, that Boppa-daṇḍanāyaka, son of this Gaṅgarāja, Baganabbe, wife of Gaṅgarāja's elder brother Bammadēva-daṇḍanāyaka, and Eca-daṇḍanāyaka, son of this Bammadēva-daṇḍanāyaka, were all likewise devoted adherents of the Jaina faith; and B1 124 also records that, on the death of Gaṅgarāja, his son Boppa-daṇḍanāyaka built in his memory the temple of Pārśvanātha at Dorasamudra. Cn. 248, referred to above, relates however that this Boppa-daṇḍanāyaka and the above-mentioned Baganabbē and Eca-daṇḍanāyaka made a gift of some land to the temple of Gaṅgēśvara (i.e., a Śiva temple) built by Mahādēvaśakti at Belhali; and B1 137 records that Boppa-daṇḍanāyaka established at Kondali in Asandināḍu an agrahāra called Drōha-gharatta-caturvēdi-maṅgala after himself (i.e., after one of his titles), and settled in it 52 Brāhmaṇas.⁴ Ng. 28 also records that the above-named Eca-daṇḍa-

3. The inscriptions referred to below are, unless otherwise indicated, from the *Epigraphia Carnatica*. The abbreviations used are those explained by Rice at the beginning of his 'Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions'.

The numbering of the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscriptions follows that of the second edition.

Unless the contrary is expressly stated, all the inscriptions referred to here belong to the period 1000-1300 A.D.

4. These Brāhmaṇas are described in B1. 140 as 'always engaged in *aupāsana*,

nāyaka made a gift of some land to the temple of Mallikārjuna (a Śiva temple) at Lalanakēre. (3) SB. 66, 345, 349 and other inscriptions praise Rulla (Hullapa—, Hullamayya—) daṇḍanāyaka who held the office of *mahāpradhāna*, *sarvādhikāri* and *hīriya-bhandāri* (senior treasurer) under the Hoysāḷa king Narasimha I as 'a second Gaṅgarāja' and 'foremost among those devoted to the Jaina faith'; and they record that he built a basadi at Sravana-Belgoḷa, and that he and his brothers Amarēśvara-daṇḍanāyaka and Lakṣmaṇa-daṇḍanāyaka granted, with the permission of the king, the proceeds of some taxes to that temple; while Tk. 19 relates that Lakṣmaṇa and Hulla set up the god Amṛtēśvara at Maleyuru and made endowments to the temple. (4) Ak. 141 mentions Pārśva or Parisanna who held the office of *Mahāpradhāna* and *Paṭṭisa-bhaṇḍāri* under the Hoysāḷa king Narasimha I, his father Cavuṇḍamayya and grand-uncle Pārśva who built a Jina temple at Niṭṭūr, and records that on the death in battle of *Mahāpradhāna paṭṭisa-bhaṇḍāri* Parisanna, his son Santiyanna-daṇḍanāyaka built a basadi in his memory. Ak. 144, however, records that the above-mentioned Cavuṇḍamayya made a gift of land to the Mūlasthānēśvara temple (a Śiva temple) at Kariguṇḍa.

(5) Sh. 49 praises the *nalprabhu* and *vaddavṇabahāri* Hoysala-Goydi ṣeṭṭiya-ṛaya and his sons Boppa-gavuṇḍa and Balla-gavuṇḍa who were worshippers of the feet of Jina, and relates, that, one day, they listened to a Purāṇic account setting forth the great merit resulting from the performance of Śiva-dharma, and, being moved thereby, made a grant of land to the god Siddhēśvara (a Śiva-linga). (6) Sk. 197 records that the Śaiva priest Sūryābharaṇa, head of the Tripurāntaka temple at Belgame, made a grant of land to the Jina temple at (Cikka-) Magadi. (7) Sk. 225 and 235 mention that Malli-ṣeṭṭi or Malli-daṇḍanāyaka of Kamata was the governor of Bandanike Seventy in the reign of Vīra-Ballāḷa II, and that he and his *pradhāna* Sūrya-daṇḍanāyaka were devotees of Viṣṇu (*Nārāyana-pāda-kamala-dvandvabhṛṅga*). No. 225 records that these two daṇḍanāyakas made a gift of some land to the basadi of Śāntinātha at Bandanikē, while No. 235 records that they, through Queen Abhinava-Kētaladēvi, moved King Vīra-Ballāḷa to make a gift of lands to 33 Brāhmāṇas. (8) No. VII of the Ratta inscriptions published by the late Dr. Fleet in JBBRAS Vol. 10 gives a detailed account of how Kēśirāja brought a Śaivalinga from Śrīśaila and set it up at Saundatti, naming it Mallikārjunēśvara after his father, and how donations were made to that god by the heads of the twelve villages in Sugandha-

agnihōtra, and the worship of gods and gurus, with fame as bright as the sun, proficient in the Rīg, Yajus, Sāma, and Atharva Vēdas with their meanings and in all Śāstras.'

varti Twelve and other persons and associations. Among these grantors of gifts we find mentioned the Jaina priests Śubhacandra, Indrakīrti and Śrīdhara-dēva of the Mānikyatīrtha-basadi of Huli.

(9) Tk. 45 relates that the Amara-daṇḍanāyaka and his brothers Maṇḍanayya daṇḍanāyaka devoted to Śiva (Śiva-pāda-śekhara), Kāllāyaya-daṇḍanāyaka and Basavadanḍanāyaka built the Amṛtēśvārā temple at Anantapura; Kd. 36 records that these four brothers built the Ekkoti-jinālaya at Vakkalagere, and says that their guru was the Jaina priest Nayakīrti. (10) B1. 137 states that the Mahāprabhu Ādi-gavuṇḍa, son of Honna-gavuṇḍa built the temple of Ādi-mallikārjunēśvara (a Śiva temple), while B1. 138 records that he built a basadi and made an endowment for it. (11) Sk. 170 records that the daṇḍanāyaka Rūpabhaṭṭayya, general of the W. Caḷukya king Sōmēśvara I, built a vihāra (monastery) for Buddhist monks and made a gift of some land to the temples of Kēśava (i.e. Viṣṇu), Lokeśvara (Śiva?), and Buddha. (12) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Camuṇḍarāya, feudatory of the W. Caḷukya Jayasimha II (or Jagadekamalla I), it is said in Sk. 151, granted a village to the temple of Bherundēśvara in Belgame; in Sk. 120, it is said that he gave some land to a Jaina temple, and also caused to be built, through his subordinate Nāgavarma, temples of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Jina. (13) Dg. 12 describes as 'a devotee of Śiva' (*Īśa-padābja-sambhṛtōnmastaka*). Bammaraśa who was the superintendent of *accupannaya* in Nolambavāḍi 32,000 under the *Mahapradhāna banasa-verggade daṇḍanāyaka* Anantapālayya, and says that he made gifts to temples and basadis.

(14) Tm. 9, describing in detail the excellences of Bāci-dēva, ruler of Murugare-nāḍu in 1151 A.D., says that he restored temples consecrated to Jina, Viṣṇu and Śiva, that he was a *Kāmadhēnu* to the Jaina faith, the kalpa tree to the Śaiva religion, a river of *siddha-rasa* to Buddhists, and a wish-geom to devotees of Viṣṇu. It applies to him the epithet *catus-samaya-dharmōddhāra-dhaurēya*, 'foremost among those that promote the four faiths', and records that he built the Bhīma-jinālaya, and the temples of Gaṅgēśvara, Caluvarivēśvara and Ramēśvara, and established an *agrahara* at Dirbburu. (15) The *Mahāsāmanta* Gōvinda or Govi, who too was a promoter of the four faiths, that is of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Buddhism and Jainism, and was ruling Magare 300 as a feudatory of Vira-Ballāḷa II, is eulogised in Ck. 13, 14 and other epigraphs; and Ck. 21 contains the praises of his elder brother's wife Santaladēvi who too promoted *Śaivāgama*, *Jaina-dharma*, *Vaiṣṇavāgama* and *Buddhāgama*. (16) Another 'promoter of the four faiths' named Puruṣa-mānikya-śeṭṭi is mentioned in Ng. 15, together with his son Hemmeya-nāyaka who was a Jina-samaya-samuddharaṇa and 'worshipper of the feet of Pārśva-dēva', and grandson Durmmeya-nāyaka who was a catus-samayasamudharaṇa and built the Hēmēśvara temple at Jettiga.

B(1) S.B. 327 records the gift of a village named Bammeyanahalli by Acale to the Jaina guru Bālacandra for the maintenance of the Pārśva-nātha-basadi built by her. The inscription applies to her the epithet anavarata-vinamad-amara-mauḷi-milita-caraṇa-naliṇa-yugala-bhagavad arhat-paramēśvara-snāna-gandhōdaka-pavitrikṛtōttamāṅga, and states at the same time that her husband Candramauḷi, who was a minister of Vira-Ballāla II, was a Brāhmaṇa and a devotee of Śiva and that he petitioned the king for, and got from him, the above-mentioned village for being made over to the basadi of Pārśvanātha built by his wife. (2) Dg. 90 makes mention of a Sūrya-daṇḍanāyaka who was a māna-pracaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka in 1128 A.D. under the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla-Pāṇḍya of Nolambavādi 32,000, and of his younger brother Āditya who was an officer of the W. Caḷukya Vikramāditya VI and had the titles samadhigata-paṇca-mahāśabda, mahāśaman-tādhipati, and mahā-pracaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka. They were both, it is said in the inscription, devotees of Śiva, while Kāliyakka, wife of Sūrya, was a devotee of Jina (Jina-pūja-vinōdā, jinēśvara-caraṇa-sarasīruha-madhukarōpamāna-kuṭila-kuntala-kalāpā), and built a basadi at Sembanūru. (3) It is said in Cn. 257 that the pērgaḍe Javanayya who was a subordinate of Surigeya Peramālu-daṇḍanāyaka and his brother Singa-pillō were both officers of Vira-Ballāla II. Javanayya, who was a devotee of Śiva, (Śiva-pāda-śēkhara) set up the god Śingēśvara and built a tank in Hebba-lalu, while his wife Kalliyakka, it is said in the inscription, was devoted to Jina. (4) S.B. 143 records the gift of a village and other lands by Sāntalādēvi, senior queen of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana, for the upkeep of the basadi (Savati-gandhavāraṇa-basadi) built by her in Śrava-na-Belgoḷa. Her maternal grandfather Baladeva-daṇḍanāyaka, it is stated in the inscription, was a devotee of Jina (Jina-samaya-mahā-gagana-śōbhakara-divākara Jina-dharma-nirmala, Jina-dharma-kathā-kathana-pramōda, Jina gandhōdakapavitrikṛtōttamāṅga) ; and so were her maternal uncle Singimayya (Jina pati-bhakta, Jina-dharmāmbara-tigmarōci) and mother Macikabbē (Jina-caraṇabhakta, Jina-pāda-bhakta). Her father Mārasingayya, however, was greatly devoted to Śiva and built the Dhamēśvara temple at Grāma. Santala-dēvi herself is eulogised in this inscription as catus-samaya-samuddharaṇa, and receives in Hn. 116, B1. 16, B1. 58 and many other inscriptions the epithet nāgarāja-nandinipādāra-vinda-vandanābhiruci (fond of worshipping the goddess Pārvatī) and in this inscription the epithets Jina-samaya-samudita-prākāra, Jina-dharma-kathā-kathana-pramōda, Jina-gandhōdaka-pavitrikṛtōtta-māṅga. As recorded in this inscription, she built the Savati-gandhavāraṇa-basadi at Sravana-Belgoḷa, and as recorded in other inscriptions (B1 16 and 58, and the Belūr inscription referred to on p. 43 of the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1911), the Rāmēśvara temple at Īṣapura and the Kappe-Cannigarāya shrine at Belūr. We do not know what she did for the pro-

motion of Buddhism. As regards her husband, King Viṣṇuvardhana, Bl. 58, Bl. 71, Hn. 89 and many other inscriptions apply to him the epithet Mukunda-padāravinda-vandana-vinōda and thus make out that he was a devotee of Viṣṇu. In accordance with this, we find it recorded in inscriptions at Belūr and Talkād that he built two other Viṣṇu temples at Gadag and another place. Cm. 160 applies to him not only the epithets Śrīmad-Acyutapādārādhana-labdha-jiṣṇu-prabhava and Nrsimha-dhyāna-Niṣcalibhūta-nirmalacaritra, but also Viṣṇu-īśvara-Vijaya-narāyaṇādya-asamkhyāta-dēvakula-kulācalakula-Yādavajaladhi-Vasutasamudramudhita-mahilōka-navikarapacāturya-Caturānana, and thus makes out that he was a devotee of Śiva also. Bl 124 relates that, when Boppa-daṇḍanāyaka built the Pārśvanātha-basadi at Dorasamudra in memory of his father and established the Jina image there, he sent to his master Viṣṇuvardhana who was then camping with his army at Bankapura, the tirtha and prasāda from the basadi with some *īndras* (Jaina archakas), and that the king received them in reverence after prostrating himself before the *īndras*. Cn. 260 records that Viṣṇuvardhana too made a grant of land to the god Jayaṅgonḍēśvara at Virūpākṣapura, while Hn. 89 records a similar gift to the Śiva temple built by Śivadharmā-śrī-tīlaka Jakkiyabbē in memory of her daughter Santale (whom after the death of the above-mentioned Santale, Viṣṇuvardhana married) and her child. Further, it is said in Mg. 22 that Viṣṇuvardhana's daughter Hariyavē or Hariabbarasi was a devout Jaina and built a basadi at Hantiyuru. (4) We have already mentioned above the daṇḍanāyakas Hulla, Amarēśvara and Lakṣmaṇa, who were brothers, and who made gifts to a basadi at Śravana-Belgola and a Śiva temple at Haleyūru. It is said in Gb. 12 that they were Brāhmaṇas, and the wording of SB. 349, 345, 66 and other inscriptions which praise Hulla only as a devout Jaina seems to indicate that his brothers Lakṣmaṇa and Amarēśvara were not Jainas but devotees of Śiva. Ng. 30 mentions as the elder brother (i.e., paternal uncle's son) of Hulla the Mahāpradhāna Kāntimayya, and his younger brothers the Mahāpradhāna-daṇḍanāyaka Cokkanna, and the daṇḍanāyaka Hariyanna who are all described as 'devotees of Śiva', and relates that they built a Śiva temple and made gifts of land to the temple of Madhukēśvara in 1165 A.D.

The instances given above of religious catholicism are all concerned with individual men and women. To these should be added the numerous inscriptions that record gifts made to temples by associations of persons known as *nakhara* (nagara), *virabananju*, and *Mummuri-daṇḍa*. Such gifts are recorded, in connection with almost all important temples, whenever dedicated to Śiva or Viṣṇu or to Jina, whose building is recorded in inscriptions; and they show that the merchants or traders who formed these associations were followers of catholic Ārya-dharma. I shall cite here two such inscriptions, both published by Fleet in JBBRAS,

Vol. 10. One of them, No. 5, which is at Kalholi, is dated on 25th December, 1204 A.D., and records that, when the Ratta ruler Kārtavīrya IV made a gift of land to the Śāntinātha basadi at that place, the association of merchants, known as Mummuri-daṇḍa of the Seven-and-half and Eleven-and-half, also made gifts to that basadi. The other is No. 6 which is at Nesarige and is dated on 24th January, 1219 A.D. i.e., fourteen years later than the above inscription; and it records the building of three Śiva temples at Nesarige, and gifts made to them by, among others, the Mummuri-daṇḍa of the Seven-and-half and Twelve-and-half,⁵ and by the association of merchants known as ubhaya-nānādēśi of the Kundi Three Thousand.

Āsvāsa V of Nayasēna's *Dharmāmṛta* (written in 1112 A.D.; see page 49 of the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. 8), relates in detail the story of how a Jaina Śrāvaka assumed through supernatural power on four successive days the forms of Brahmā, Viṣṇu Śiva and Vardhamāna-Jina respectively, and appeared in pomp and splendour before the people of Madura in the north, and how all the people of the city with the exception of the queen (and following her example, the king) flocked to the place and offered worship on all the four days. The relation of this story by Nayasēna shows that in his days the great majority of people used to offer worship to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Jina impartially, or, in other words, that they were not narrow-minded Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas and Jainas, but followers of the catholic Ārya-dharma

The examples given above make it quite plain that in A.D. 1000-1300 the great majority of the people living in the Kannaḍa country, though having individual predilections for Śiva, Viṣṇu, Jina or Buddha, offered worship to all these deities; that it was very common for persons belonging to the same family to worship different deities; and that some persons had no partiality for any one of the four deities named above but worshipped them all with equal devotion and built temples to them. As we have also seen, there were Jaina priests who made gifts to temples of Śiva, and Śaiva priests who made gifts to Jaina basadis; and Buddhism was still flourishing in the country, though not in the same degree as Brāhmanism and Jainism.

Since the Kannaḍa country is not an isolated one, it is legitimate to conclude from the above examples that the case was similar with the rest of India; and, in fact, as observed above, we have at hand some evidence that points to this.

The inscriptions of Emperor Aśōka reveal that he honoured all religions equally, and that he made grants to teachers and institutions, not

5. Perhaps 'twelve' is a mistake for 'eleven'; in any case it includes the 'eleven' mentioned in the Kalholi inscription.

only of Buddhism, but of other religions also. Similarly, we learn from the travels of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang that Emperor Harṣavardhana of Kanauj worshipped not only Śiva, but also the Buddha and the Sun. It is of interest to note that, among his predecessors, Mahārāja Śrī Rājyavardhana, his son Mahārājā Ādiyavardhana, and his son Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhaṭṭāraka Prabhākara-var dhana were devotees of the Sun (paramādityabhaktā), while Harṣa describes himself as a devotee of Śiva (parama-Māhēśvara) in his Banskhere inscription, and his elder brother Rājyavardhana as a devotee of Buddha (parama-Saṅgata). His court-poet Bāṇa too, who had a predilection for the worship of Śiva, describes sympathetically in his Harṣa-carita not only the Śaiva teacher Bhairavācārya (*Ucchvāsa* II), but the Buddhist teacher Divakaramitra also (*Ucchvāsa* VIII).

In the Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1919, the late Mr H. Krishna Sastri has pointed out (p. 94) that an inscription at Dādapuram records that the Cōla princess Kundavvai, elder sister of Rājārāja I, built three temples at that place, one to Śiva, known as Ravikula-māṇikka-Īśvara, one to Viṣṇu, called Kundavai-viṇṇagar-ālvār, and a third to Jina, called Kundavai-Jinālaya, and made costly gifts to them. The same officer's Report for 1917 points out (p. 111) that a pillar inscription at Amara-puram (No. 40 of 1917), dated in 1277 A.D., records a grant to a Jaina temple in the hands of two priests, one of whom, named Calla-pille was a Jina-Brāhmana of Yajurvēda, Aitareya-śākhā (So!) and Vasiṣṭha-gōtra with pravara Kaundinya-Maitrā-varuṇa-Vasiṣṭha. As is well-known, there are no castes in Jainism, and the above-named Jina-Brāhmana was therefore evidently one who, remaining a Brāhmana, had an attraction for, and undertaken, the worship of Jina."

Similarly, the Brāhmanas referred to by the Chinese traveller Fa-hsien (*Travels of Fa-hsien*, Second translation of H.A. Giles, Cambridge, 1923; p. 47) as coming 'to invite the Buddhas' (i.e., the rathas or cars containing images of the Buddha, Bōdhisatva, and other dēvas), were evidently followers of Ārya-dharma; and so likewise are the Brāhmanas Raivata and Mañjuśrī mentioned by him in the following passages (pp. 45-46):

6. Such Jaina-Brāhmanas are not unknown to Kannaḍa literature. The poet Pampa, author of the *Ādipurāṇa* and *Vikramārjunaviṣaya* (A.D. 942), describes himself as a Jaina-Brāhmana. His father Abhirāma-dēvarāya of the Vatsa-gōtra, being attracted by Jaina-dharma, became a follower of it, and Pampa too practised it. Nāgavarma, author of the *Chandōmbudhi* and other works, was another such Brāhmana. In the above-named work, he describes himself as the son of Vennamayya, a Brāhmana of the Kaundinya-gōtra, while it becomes evident from his *Kāvya-valōkana* and other works that he was a worshipper of the Jina.

"There was living inside this city and belonging to the Greater Vehicle, a Brahman whose name was Raivata";

"There is resident in the former a Brahman teacher who is named Mañjuśrī, and who is very much looked up to by the leading Shamans and religious mendicants under the Greater Vehicle throughout the kingdom".

It follows then from what has been said above that one should be very circumspect when dealing with the writings of professed Buddhists, Jains, Vaiṣṇavites or Śaivites, and not place implicit faith in what such writers say about the religious persuasion of the people mentioned by them. For instance, it has been said by Buddhist writers that the emperor Aśōka was a Buddhist. Since Aśōka has himself said in his inscriptions that he honoured all religions equally, it is evident that the above statement is erroneous, and that Aśōka was not a Buddhist, but a follower of the catholic Ārya-dharma. Similarly, though the Chinese writer Hiuen Tsang claims that Emperor Harṣavardhana of Kanauj was a Buddhist, it is evident from his own *Travels*, that Harṣa worshipped Śiva and Sūrya also, and showed honour to the Brāhmaṇas; he was thus not a Buddhist, but a follower of the Ārya-dharma. Similarly, it has been said of the Hoysaḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana by Vaiṣṇavite writers that he was originally a Jaina but was converted into a Vaiṣṇava by Śrī-Rāmānujācārya, while it has been said of the same king by Jaina writers that he was, later, converted again into a Jaina. Both beliefs are erroneous; for, as we have seen above, Viṣṇuvardhana offered worship to Viṣṇu, Jina and Śiva, and was thus evidently a follower of the Ārya-dharma.

Again, when Fa-hsien writes (p. 20): "The Faith is here becoming very popular; and all the kings of the countries in Northern India to the west of the desert are firm believers", it is almost certain that the kings referred to were not, as Fa-hsien believed, Buddhists but followers of the Ārya-dharma; and similarly, there can be no doubt that many of the 'believers' mentioned by Hiuen Tsang in his *Travels* were likewise followers of the Ārya-dharma.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the religion which the Indian emigrants took with them to Java and Further India,⁷ was not Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism or Buddhism, but Āryanism. As in India, so in the kingdom of Java, Kambūja, and Campa, too, we find in the same dynasty kings who were devotees of Śiva, Viṣṇu and the Buddha, and ministers and other high officers who built temples to Śiva and also to the Buddha, and who showed honour to Buddhist priests as also to the Brāhmaṇas.

7. See in this connection p. 589 in the (Hindi) article on 'The Pillar Inscription of Sdok Kak Thom' published in the Hindi Journal *Kalyāṇa* for September 1933.

Society and Religion in the Age of the Tolkappiyam

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THE *Tolkappiyam* is divided into three books or chapters, i.e., *Eluttu*, *Śol* and *Poru*. Each is sub-divided into nine sub-chapters. Now, in the *Eluttu-adikāram* or the chapter on letters, we find no invocation to any god, as we do in later books. The book starts with a short preface by a colleague of the author, and there are no traces in the whole chapter to indicate what the author's beliefs in matters of religion were. But the preface of *Panampāraṇār* tells us clearly that there were Brāhmaṇs in the age. They were learned in the four Vēdas, as there is mention of an *Ātaṅkottāṇ* who was well-versed in them. There was sufficient knowledge in the land of *Aram* or righteousness. The Brāhmaṇ was honoured by the king, and he often presided when literary questions were discussed. A word towards the end of the Preface has given much room for speculation. It is the expression 'Paḍimayōṇ'. *Nachchiṇārkiṇiyar*, the last among the great annotators of the work, gives the meaning as 'Tavavēdam' (guise of penance). Some critics believe that the word was borrowed from Jainism, and that therefore Tolkāppīya's religion was Jainism. Again, the *Virasōliyam* a Buddhistic work of the 12th century A.D., states that Agastya learnt his grammar from Avalōkita, and wrote his famous treatise. It is argued from this that Tolkāppīya, being a disciple of Agastya, according to tradition, must have been a follower of Buddhism as his master was. It is not our purpose now to examine these two claims; but from such references in the books as

- (1) கள்ளையர் (தந்திரம்... அஃதன் (தெய்வ. தருமமுமாயிரம்);
- (2) மாரிற் தெய்வம் அஃதனார் மறைத்த தெய்வம் (தந்திரம். 20)
- (3) ஸயி மார்த்தனார் காமமென்ப தந்திர. 4)
- (4) தவ்வெ..... அஃதனர்க்குநீய் மய்ய. 70)
- (5) மய்யென்..... (அதர். 8)

we can clearly come to the conclusion that the prevailing faith during Tolkāppīya's age in the Tamil land was Brāhmaṇism. At any rate, though we are not quite sure about the author's own faith, there are more references to Brāhmaṇical religion and gods in his book, and few or no references to either Buddhism or Jainism.

The other sub-chapters are dry of religious ideas. The sub-chapter on the origin of letters closely follows the Āryan works on the subject; and Sūtra 102 states,

‘அகரம் உருவாகிய பரிசுபகரம், அகரம் உருவாகிய பரிசுபகரம், அகரம் உருவாகிய பரிசுபகரம்’,

(The art of sound-production due to the action of air passing through certain organs of the body is described in the Vēdas of the Brāhmins); and it clearly proves the author's indebtedness to the Āryan Vēdas and other works for his knowledge of this part of the subject. The aphorism beginning ‘அகரம் உருவாகிய பரிசுபகரம்’ (undi-mudalā-mundu-vali) helps us to infer that the early Tamils along with the Āryans held that all human utterances had their origin at *undi*—the basis of the mythological belief that Brahma the Creator, was born of the navel of Viṣṇu.

3. SOLLADIKĀRAM.

The second chapter, *Solladikāram*, on Words, has the following Sūtra :—

‘அகரம் உருவாகிய பரிசுபகரம், அகரம் உருவாகிய பரிசுபகரம், அகரம் உருவாகிய பரிசுபகரம்’

(Nomenclature denoting divine beings, etc.) This is in reference to the classification of words into higher and lower classes (அகரம் உருவாகிய பரிசுபகரம் and அகரம் உருவாகிய பரிசுபகரம்).—a peculiar division which is found only in the Tamil language. Later grammarians like Pavaṇandi, under the influence of foreign religious ideas like those of Jainism, include Naragar or infernal beings in the category of the higher classes. This is a sure indication that, at the time of the *Tolkāppiya*, the prevailing religion was only Vēdic. Again, the division of Makkaḷ and Mākkaḷ in Poruḷadikāram is very interesting. The Mākkaḷ are the human beings whose commonsense is not developed, and they along with the animals, are to be classed under five-sensed beings, while the word *Makkaḷ* denotes human beings who have their commonsense well-developed.

That there existed some works on philosophy and religion even before the time of our author is borne out by the fact that a phrase *Meyyari-panuval* (which suggests a deep interpretation,) is used at a place where a very ordinary form of expression to denote the meaning of the Sūtram could easily have been found.

These are perhaps the only evidences in the first two chapters of the earliest grammatical work in Tamil, from which we may form an idea of the religious conditions of the time. They show that the Āryan religion had penetrated into our land even in those early times, but then it only affected the higher classes and literary works. Sūtram 395 stipulates that Sanskrit words, when they are used in Tamil, should be clothed in pure Tamil letters. This clearly shows the tendency of the early Tamils

to borrow Northern words and ideas, but to dress and change them to suit their genius of language and temperament. This is the key to the problem of the peculiar development of Tamil culture and thought, and this is the reason why Tamil alone exists in its pristine beauty in spite of the onslaught of the Āryan language and culture, while its sister languages like Telugu, Kanarese and Malayāḷam have lost their originality and have become Āryanised.

4. PORUĻADIKĀRAM.

For a fuller conception of the religious thoughts of those days we have to look into the third chapter of the Tolkāppiyam, Poruḷadikāram, which, as a part of the grammar of a language, is found only in Tamil.

The whole literature of the early centuries of the Christian era took this chapter as its authority. This is not the place for giving even a short analysis of the chapter. It is sufficient to state that three out of the nine chapters deal with the course of love permitted in the early days between man and woman, two speak of the art of the warfare and other material aspects of the world, and one chapter is devoted each for *meippāḍu*, *ouvamam*, *śeyyūḷ* and *marapu*. The land was divided into four natural divisions. They were *kuṟuñji*, (the hilly region); *mullai*, the forest land; *neydal* or the littoral region; and *marudam* or the plough-land to which was later on added *pālai*, the sandy desert. Each of these is treated under three heads, i.e., *mudal*, *karu*, and *uri*. *Mudal* tells us of the land and time peculiar to the particular region. *Karup-poruḷ* details the gods, man, trees, beasts and other things that are found in the lands, as also the occupations, tools of man, etc.; and the last divisions (*uri*) deals with the particular phases of a married or pre-marital life.

In explaining what 'land' really means, Iḷampūraṇar opines that it includes the other elements like the sky, water, fire and air. Again in the phrase *kadurai-ulagam*, *ulagam* implies the five elements that comprise it as a later Sūtra definitely stipulates.¹

Thus, the early Tamils had a clear conception of the five natural elements, and of the fact that they in conjunction form what is called the Universe. This idea of the conception of the Universe is even pre-Tolkāppiyam, as a stanza in *Puranānūru*. (49th. 5.) by Muriñciyūr Muḍināgarāyar, traditionally believed to have been a member of the first Śaṅgam, mentions these five elements in a slightly different order. The

1. நிலந்தி ஔர்வளி விசும்போ டைந்தும்
கலந்த மயக்க முலக மாதலின்

stanza under reference also tells us how these elements are interdependent, and how one is formed out of the other.

5. GODS.

There is ample evidence in the Tolkāppiyam to prove that our forefathers had a conception of a Supreme God. Their trinity did not coincide with that of the Āryans. They had the mysterious terms *Koṭinilai* (கோட்டிலை), *Kandali* (கந்தலி) and *Vallī* (வல்லி). The exact meaning of these three terms is not known. These terms are qualified by clauses '*Vadumāppa-saṁpura*' (வடமாப்புசாம்புரம்) and '*Mudalaṇa-mūrum*' (முடலாணமுரம்) i.e. the above mentioned three were of an excellence without any blemish, and they formed the foremost. *Ilampūraṇar*, the earliest of the annotators now known to us, does not help us to form a correct impression of what these three terms actually meant. He included *Koṭinilai*, *Kandali*, and *Vallī* among the various forms of praise to the divine beings. But the examples he has given lead us to believe that the first meant a flag-stand, the second a mighty and brilliant being, and the third a *Veruāṭṭu* or a kind of dance to please the gods. But Naccinārkiṇiyar gives a different explanation. *Koṭinilai* he believes to be the *Sūryamaṇḍalam*; *Kandali*, One Being which stands without any support, which has no shape or form, and which is beyond all philosophical pursuits; and *Vallī* to be the *Chandramaṇḍalam*. (We may here refer to the belief that Śiva's two eyes were the Sun and the Moon). We do not know what the authorities of the annotator are for giving these definitions—particularly for the second. He says that *Kandali* stands in the middle, because the other two are implied in it. Again, he suggests the idea that the sun represents the male; that the female is implied in the sex-less being *Kandali*; and that the moon represents the female energy. His example for his Supreme *Kandali* is,

‘மீட்டிலை நெடுநிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை
மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை
மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை
மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை’

(T.P. 36. 38. 39.)

(We find in the Tolkāppiyam itself a more direct definition of a Supreme Being in another place. In defining what a *Mudanūl* is, the author says:

மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை
மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை மீட்டிலை

Munaivan means the earliest or the foremost, and it means none other than the Supreme Being. He is deprived of the *Iruvinai* (results of bad and good actions), and He is a possessor of an all-shining knowledge.

Again, the expressions (செய்த விலவென்ப) and 'முதல்வன் கண்ணே,' emphasise the fact that He has no blemish and that He is the Supreme. Thus, Kandalī, which literally means the 'breaker of all shackles', expresses the conception of the Foremost, All-powerful Supreme Being.

That the early Tamils also believed in minor divinities is evident from references to Daivam, Kaḍavuḷ, Imayōr, Dēvar, etc. They were either provincial gods or celestial beings, who are very powerful, and therefore must be propitiated and worshipped. They are, however, represented as weak and susceptible to love and anger like ordinary mortals. They had abodes of their own. Even in the 'Imayōr-tēttu' or the land of the divinities, there were the experiences and enjoyments of Dharma, Love and Happiness. (Such was the place which the Tamilians gave to the theme of love.) We do not meet in this period with such later deities as Vināyaka, Paramēśvara, Brahmā, Rāma, Kāla, Sūrya, Chandra, and others, who figure in abundance in later Śaṅgam works. But the five natural divisions of the land had five territorial deities. They were:—

மேயன் மேய காதிறை யுலகமுந்
 மீயன் மேய காவரை யுலகமுந்
 வேயன் மேய திங்குண லுலகமுந்
 வையன் மேய வெகுணை லுலகமுந்
 முயல் நயந்தி மறுந் தெய்தலெனத்
 செயல்வ முறைபுந் செயல்வழி மறுவம். (அகநா. 5)

Here, 'mēya', if extended, would mean 'led by his own inclination to settle in'. Therefore, Māyōṇ and others were not gods that pertained only to the lands mentioned, but they were divine beings who liked to dwell in these regions. Māyōṇ means a black person; Śēyōṇ, a red person; and Vēndu suggests overlordship. These three terms agree with the peculiar conditions of the lands over which they ruled, and vaguely suggest that even in pre-Āryan days the Tamils worshipped Nature-gods. Further, Varuṇa is a purely Āryan word, and we are not in a position to know by what name the sea-god was known to the early Tamils (in the pre-Tolkāppiyam days), though some think that Varuṇa was only a later form of Vanna. Tolkāppiyam does not include Pālai or the barren desert among the natural divisions of the land; but later works have included it also, and fixed the Sun, Fire, and the Goddess Korravai as its deities. Korravai is, from the word Korram, success in war; the Goddess was worshipped by warriors while entering on war, i.e., while taking the first step in war, namely, Nirai-kōḍal or cattle-lifting.

All the above-mentioned were only minor gods in the beginning. They were included among the various features characteristic of the land

(*Karupporul*). They had images to which worship was made. 'Separation from one's wife was permitted (to a hero) only for the following reasons:—(1) for the sake of getting idols for their glorious deities; (2) for rescuing Dharma from evil-doers; and (3) for earning money. This is the interpretation put on the following Sūtra

புராணம் தருகின்ற விஷயம் ஒருவரின்
 புகழைப் புகழ்வதற்கு உதவியாகியுள்ளதாம்
 இவையெல்லாம் இவையெல்லாம் தருகின்ற
 இவையெல்லாம் இவையெல்லாம் தருகின்ற

6. HERO-WORSHIP.

The early Tamils were a martial people. A good deal of their literature speaks of their heroic deeds in battles waged for the cause of righteousness or for satiating their greed for land, which was considered a virtue. Their love of fame was truly great, and there are various references to their valorous deeds in later works. One chapter in *Poruḷadikāram*, i.e., *Purattinai-iyal*, is mainly devoted to this subject. In elaborating his subject, *Tolkāppiya* describes how heroes were worshipped in those days. When a man was killed in battle—cut by a sword—a certain dance called *Pillayāttu* was enacted, wherein many drums were beaten, and the dead hero was raised to the heavens. Then a search was made to find a suitable stone to immortalise him. This went by the name of *kātshi*. The next was *kālkōl* (கால்கல்) which means taking possession of such stone. Then it was washed in scented holy water—*Nirpaḍai* (நிர்ப்படை). The fixture of the stone or *Naḍukal* (நாடகல்) was the next stage. The valiant deeds of the dead person were then written on the stone and he was made a god. Worship was offered to him. Praises (புகழ்ச்சி) were composed and sung. Thus, a hero was made a divine being by these processes. Here we find the real beginnings of the South Indian temple and temple-worship.

7. TEMPLES AND TEMPLE-WORSHIP

There is no direct mention of temples in the *Tolkāppiyam*, but one could be sure of their existence from the accounts above given. Worship was considered part of the duties of married life. *Daiyam aṇjal* (தேயம் அஞல்) or fearing god was a characteristic duty of a married woman. *Deivam-vālttu* (தேயம் வாழ்த்து) or prayer to god was surely a method of worship. *Deivakkaḍam* (தேயக்காடம்) or vows to god, through which one's prayers were obtained, was a regular feature. Each family or group of persons had their own *Valipadu-deivam* (வலிபடு தேயம்) or god that must be worshipped, and separate gods were worshipped for separate objects, and were called *Valipaḍudeivam* for the time being. Gods could be addressed directly in the 2nd person.

The poems thus addressing a god were called *Dēvapāṇi* (தேவபாணி). *Puraṇilai Vālttu* (புறநிலை வாழ்த்து) was only a poem which addressed the prayer to the deity in the third person.

Veriyāḍal was a particular kind of worship which was then in vogue. *Vēlan*, or the priest with the *Vēl* in his hand, took the chief role in the action. Sheep were sacrificed then. A beautiful description of this dance-worship is found in the *Tirumurugārṟuppadai*. *Kuravai* was a kind of dance which was originally one of merriment on account of victory, but which in later times became a divine dance to please gods. In the days of the *Tolkāppiyam*, *Kuravai* was danced in front and in the rear of the victor's car in a battle. *Vaḷli* was another such. A line² in *Sūtram* 76 of the *Poruḷadikāram* is annotated to mean that there were bloody sacrifices made to please the Fire-god. This suggests that Fire was also, though sparingly, worshipped in those days, and sacrifices were made to it. This has no reference to the Āryan fire-worship or the *Yajñas*, but was purely *Tamilian*, as the custom is mentioned among various other *Tamil* ways of expressing victory.

Mantras had a special significance in the early days. 'நிறைமொழி மொத்தர் ஆணையிற் கிளந்த, மறைமொழிதானே மந்திரமென்ப' that is, these were unintelligible expressions of saintly people, and they were considered to have real effects on the persons or things pronounced. *Mantras* were used as charms either for destruction or welfare, but not used in matters of worship. These *Mantras* were termed *Aṅgadach-cheyyul* (அங்கதச் செய்யுள்), when they took the form of poetry.

8. IDEAS OF HEAVEN AND RENUNCIATION

That the early *Tamils* had a clear idea of 'Tuṛakkam' (துறக்கம்) or Heaven, is inferred from the commentary of *Iḷampūraṇar* on the expression 'Pillayāṭṭu' in *Śeyyuliyal*. *Sūtram* 129. Though there is no direct mention of Heaven in any of the very early works of the *Tamils*, we can safely conclude from their practices in life, as explained in the various sub-chapters of *Poruḷadikāram*, that they had a clear idea of a *Mōksha* as the culmination of this worldly life.

9. SUPERSTITIONS

Many of the present-day superstitions are mentioned in the *Tolkāppiyam*. We read, for example, that a mother who was in a fit of great disappointment when she heard of the elopement of her girl, read about her future from a lizard's cries. She also heard at random what

others were speaking at that time, and read in their words good and evil omens. Sometimes men became possessed by gods, and their words were eagerly sought by others who wanted to peep into their future. When a nurse suspected her ward of secretly loving a man and saw that she was failing in her health under pressure of anxiety, she tested her by proposing *Kattu* (கட்டு), *Kalaṅgu* (கலங்கு) and *Veri* (வெரி). The (கட்டுப்பாடு) *Kattuvī* hehi was a soothsayer who could read the fortunes of others by a peculiar examination of paddy thrown over a winnow. The *Velan* or the temple priest also told fortunes by means of *Kalaṅgu* and by consultations to the god, as a result of which he became possessed by the deity. Among the duties of Brāhmans was one : *Āvōdu-paṭṭa-nimittam-luralum* (ஆவோடுபட்டாநிமித்தம் லுரலும்). They claimed to determine the auspicious or inauspicious nature of a particular time by observing the milk of a cow. They had also to tell '*Chelavuru-kīlariyum* and '*Chelavalaigu-kīlariyum*', i.e., whether the time was propitious for a journey or not. Astrology was cultivated as an art, and the hour and the day, '*Oraṇum nāḷum*', were carefully noted for various purposes. Even while proceeding for war, omens were invariably observed. '*Pākkarru-vīrichchi*' was systematically observed before sending the army, and auspicious days were chosen for sending the royal umbrella and sword for war. There is also occasional mention of the sacredness of rivers and groves, to which pilgrimages were made.

10. CASTES

There were very few castes among the early Tamils as we understand them now ; but they had professional guilds. Their learned sages were *Sāmrōr* or *Arivār* ; their kings were *Kōmān*, *Mannaṇ* or *Vēndan* ; their tillers were *Veḷānmāndar* who were sub-divided into *Uḷu-duṇbār* and *ulurittuṇbār*, the actual tillers and the owners of land. There were several hill-tribes. These were the *Kāṇavar*, *Vēṭṭuvar*, *Iruḷar*, *Kuṇruvar*. The *Kōvalar*, *Iḍayar*, *Āyar*, and *Poḍuviyar* were those who lived in forest lands. The *Kāḷamar*, *Uḷavar*, and *Kaḍayar* belonged to the *Marudam* or the cultivated tracts. The *Neydal* inhabitants were *Nūlāyar*, *Timilar*, *Bharatavar*, etc. In the desert lived *Eiṇār* and *Maṇavar*. The noblemen of each tract of land were given separate names. They should be addressed as *Vērpān*, *Poruppān*, *Aṇṇal*, *Tōṇral*, *Koṇṅaṇ*, *Turaiyaṇ*, *Śirpan* and *Ūraṇ*. Ladies also had honorific titles.

Thus, the social divisions were based on occupations and territorial divisions. There were also the beginnings of a higher and lower strata

3. Reading omens in the random words of a way-farer while standing in the dark at an open space (at the outskirts of the military camp). This was observed before cattle-lifting.

of society, and separate namings for such divisions. At the time of the Tōlkāppiya, and even long before him, the Āryan influence was felt in the land, and so we find the mention of the Āryan castes and divisions in the land. Slowly the Tamil Arivan (அரிவான்) became merged with the Brāhman, the Kōn became the king, and the Uḷavars and others became other castes. We also find the *Vaiśya* in this period.

This in brief was the condition of the religious and social conditions of the Tamils as can be gathered by a study of the monumental work of the great Tamil sage and grammarian who lived, according to traditions, long before the third Śaṅgam period. We find therein an influx of Āryan thoughts and ideals. It was the age when the ancient native culture lived quite independently of the foreign culture, but allowing it also, in a friendly manner, to have its growth in the land and slowly incorporating into it its attractive essentials. The result was, the next age saw a beautiful mixture of two civilisations which gave birth to a new life wherein the noble ideas contained in the Tamilian and the Āryan cultures blended into a fine compound which is still the pride and boast of the Tamil land.

Some rare works on 'Vaidyaka'

By

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THE *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa*-(*Brahmā-khāṇḍa*, adhyāya 16) actually supplies us with the titles of five works on Medical Science.

1. चिकित्सातन्त्र by Dhanvantari.
2. चिकित्सादर्पण by Divodāsa.
3. चिकित्साकौमुदी by Kāśirāja.
4. चिकित्सासारतन्त्र by Aśvinikumāra.
5. तन्त्रघ्नयकसर्गस्य by Nakula.

All these five are persons whose very names are declared to be destructive of diseases :—

धन्वन्निर्दिवादासः काशिराजस्तथाऽश्विनौ ।
नकुलः सहदेवश्च पडते व्याधिघातकाः ॥

So says an ancient text.

This lends additional importance to their works.

The *Brahmavaivarta*—luckily or unluckily—is among those *Purāṇas* which have been supposed by persons learned in those matters to be comparatively recent. If so, it should be later than the times of Kālidāsa, and (hence) of Bhāsa. Is it too much to hope, then, that the libraries that have supplied us with manuscripts of Bhāsa's works, will also supply us with manuscripts of the above-mentioned works on medicine ?

The works were evidently well-known to the writer of the *Brahmavaivarta*.

Will the Manuscript-hunters kindly make a note of the names, and trace them in the old libraries, public and private, of the country ?

I-tsing and Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya

By

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I

I-TSING the Chinese traveller who visited India in the seventh century A.D. says that the Grammarian Bhartṛhari wrote three works on Grammar, namely the commentary on the Mahābhāṣya, the Vākyapadīya, and the Prakīrṇa. Vardhamāna, the author of the *Gaṇaratnamahōdadhi*,¹ says that the commentary on the Mahābhāṣya was only for the first three Pādas of the Mahābhāṣya. A fragment of the work is in Berlin ; ² photographs and transcripts are available in India.³ It covers only a part of the first Pāda.⁴ I need not go into details regarding the term Mahābhāṣyatripādyāḥ vyākhyātā found in the *Gaṇaratnamahōdadhi* of Vardhamāna,⁵ and discuss the question of the extent of Bhartṛhari's commentary on the Mahābhāṣya. It will have to be done in a separate paper.

About Vākyapadīya I-tsing says that its extent was seven-hundred ślokas, and that it had a commentary extending to seven-thousand ślokas. The printed book of the Vākyapadīya in two Kāṇḍas⁶ contains a little below seven-hundred stanzas. Thus I-tsing's report is quite correct. We must also keep in mind that his report regarding the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, the Mahābhāṣya and the Kāśikāvṛtti is also quite correct. When we consider the report of I-tsing regarding the Vākyapadīya there are three points on which difficulty arises. One is the extent of the commentary on the Vākyapadīya ; the second is the extent of the Prakīrṇa ; and the third is the date of Bhartṛhari. We will take up each of them in order.

1. Edited by Eggeling.

2. Weber's catalogue ; No. 720.

3. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras ; R. 798, R. 1326. Adyar library, 38, I, 3.

4. First two leaves missing ; up to I, 1, 55.

5. Vṛtti by the author on the second Kārikā from the beginning.

6. Benares Sanskrit series edited by Ganganatha Sastri in 1887.

II

THE EXTENT OF THE COMMENTARY ON THE
VĀKYAPADIYA

The extent of the commentary on the Vākyapadiya as reported by I-tsing is seven-thousand ślokas. The Benares Edition of the Vākyapadiya contains the commentary attributed to Puṇyārāja for the first two Kāṇḍas, and the commentary of Helārāja for the third Kāṇḍa. The commentary attributed to Puṇyārāja comes to a little over five-thousand Granthas⁷. I calculated it myself. Regarding this commentary of Puṇyārāja, there is one great difficulty; there is not a single manuscript available. From the Preface to the Benares edition by Gangānātha Sastri we find that he has used a manuscript belonging to Bala Sastrin, the teacher of the editor, and another belonging to Dundhirājāchārya. These two manuscripts contained only the first two Kāṇḍas, and the edition of Gangānātha Sastri stops with the second Kāṇḍa.

Where did the editor get the name of Puṇyārāja? At the end of the commentary on the second Kāṇḍa, there are sixty Kārikas. In Kārikas 58 and 59 we have the passages :

. viracitā
rājanakaśūravarmānāmā vai
śaśāṅkaśiṣyae chrutvaitad
vākyakāṇḍam samāsataḥ
puṇyārājena tasyoktyā
sangatiḥ kārikāśritā.

Here the name Puṇyārāja occurs as the author of the Kārikas, in which is given a summary of the Vākyakāṇḍa. From this it may also be concluded that the commentary preceding these Kārikas also belongs to Puṇyārāja, provided there is no evidence to the contrary. So far as the second Kāṇḍa is concerned, there is nothing to stand in the way of assigning the commentary to Puṇyārāja. But the case is different with regard to the first Kāṇḍa. In the first Kāṇḍa, at the end of the commentary we have the colophon in the printed edition which reads :

iti śrīmahāvaiyākaraṇa-harivṛṣabhaviracita-vākyapadīyaprakāśe
āgama-samuccayo nāma brahmakāṇḍam prathamam samāptam.

Here the commentary is definitely assigned to Harivṛṣabha. In spite of this, the editor has given the title page in the following way for the whole book :

7. Kṣīratarāṅgiṇī ed. by Prof. Bruno Liebhich; Breslau, 1930 in the Indische Forschung, p. 267.

Vākyapadiyam sāṅgavaiyākaraṇasiddhāntanirūpaṇam
śrī bhartṛhari-mahāvaiyākaraṇa-viracitam śrī puṇyarājakṛta-
prakāśākhyā-ṭikāyutam.

The heading for the first Kāṇḍa reads :

Vākyapadiyam puṇyarājakṛta-prakāśākhyā-ṭikāyutam
prārabhyate.

The oversight is not confined to the editor Ganganatha Sastri ; the editors of the series, Griffith and Thibaut, have also overlooked the point. In all the catalogues, where Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadiya is noticed, there is the mention of its three Kāṇḍas with the commentary of Puṇyarāja for the first two Kāṇḍas, and of Helārāja for the last. It is the late Hara Prasad Sastri who, in his catalogue of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,⁸ for the first time raised a doubt on the point. After describing the manuscript of the commentary⁹ he says :—

Puṇyarāja's name appears in the commentary of the second Kāṇḍa, but not in the first. In the printed text the editor attributes the commentary to Puṇyarāja, but on what authority he does not say. Neither in the body of the commentary nor in the colophon of the first Kāṇḍa is Puṇyarāja's name mentioned.

Even such a critical student of the Grammatical literature in Sanskrit like Prof. Liebich of Breslau University did not notice this point, and in the edition of *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī*¹⁰ in 1930 he says :

Wir kennen nur einen Kommentar zu den beiden ersten
Büchern, den des Puṇyarāja, der sich selbst als un-
mittelbaren Schüler des Bhartṛhari bezeichnet . . .¹¹

Besides the copy of the commentary on the first Kāṇḍa in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,¹² there is another copy in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.¹³ The original from which this transcript was prepared belonged to Bhavadasan Namboodirippad of Mundanat Mana, Ottapalam, S. Malabar. The original, which is a palm-leaf manuscript, has been returned to the owner after

8. Descriptive Catalogues, Volume dealing with Vyākaraṇa.

9. No. 4318 in the Descriptive catalogue.

10. Anhang III.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

12. No. 4318 in the descriptive catalogue.

13. No. T. 5. 226. This work is not yet described in the catalogue. The number given is the shelf No.

the transcript was prepared. The reading in this manuscript is substantially the same as in the printed book, with this difference that in this manuscript there are many passages which are not found in the printed book. The colophon found in this manuscript is as follows :

iti harivṛṣabha-mahāvaiyākaraṇa-viracite vākyapadiye
āgamasamuccayo nāma prathamam kāṇḍam.

There is some difference between this colophon and the colophon found in the printed book, which is identical with the colophon found in the manuscript of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Here the work is called the Vākyapadiya instead of its being a commentary on the Vākyapadiya and the name Prakāśa does not appear here. But the name Harivṛṣabha is common. Harivṛṣabha cannot be any other person than Bhartṛhari. I have been able to find only one manuscript of the Vākyapadiyakārikās where the work is assigned to Harivṛṣabha, and that is the manuscript in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.¹⁴ There the colophon reads :

iti śrī bhagavadbhartṛharivṛṣabhamahāvaiyākaraṇa-
pāḍaviracite vākyapadaviye (diye) prakīrṇaka-nāmani
padakāṇḍe samuddeśaś caturdaśaḥ.

Apart from this, there are other evidences to show that the commentary was written by Bhartṛhari himself. On this commentary to the Kārikas there is another commentary by Vṛṣabhadeva. There are only two manuscripts known to me. One is the transcript belonging to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras¹⁵, and the original which is a palm-leaf manuscript belongs to Koodalur Mana, S. Malabar. This manuscript extends only to about half of the first Kāṇḍa. The other is a palm leaf manuscript belonging to the Adyar Library.¹⁶ It is complete for the first Kāṇḍa. It is in a fairly good condition, but very old. There is a carefully prepared copy of this in the same Library. After a prayer in the first stanza, Vṛṣabhadeva says :

vimalacaritasya rājño
viduṣaḥ śrī viṣṇuguptadevasya
bhṛtyena tadanubhāvāt
śrīdevayaśās-tanūjena ||
bandhena (?) vinodārtham

14. D.C.S., No. 1483.

15. R. 2789.

16. 41 B. 2.

śrī vṛṣabhena sphuṭākṣaram nāma |
 kriyate paddhatir eṣā
 vākyapadīyodadheḥ sugamā ||
 yady api ṭikā bahvyaḥ
 pūrvācāryaiḥ sunirmalā racitāḥ |
 santaḥ pariśramajñās
 tathāpi cainam grahīsyanti

The author of this commentary is Vṛṣabhadēva, whose father is Devayaśas. We know practically nothing about this Devayaśas. He was further a servant of King Viṣṇu Gupta. There is a King Viṣṇu Gupta about the year 700 A.D. who is one of the later Gupta Emperors.¹⁷

This is not a commentary on the Kārikās, but commentary on the commentary on the Kārikas by Hariṣṛabha. Vṛṣabhadeva calls that commentary, which is the subject of his commentary, by the name of Vākyapadīya. In the manuscript of this commentary on the Kārikas by Hariṣṛabha in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, there is a great break in the middle. The commentary on stanza 48¹⁸ is complete and the first word in the text of the Kārikā 49, namely, pratibimba is also seen. The next portion in the manuscript is the commentary on Kārikā 129. Only two words in the beginning of the commentary on stanza 129 are wanting.¹⁹ Then the manuscript goes on to the end of the first Kāṇḍa and there is the colophon. Again there is a break. For the second Kāṇḍa the manuscript begins with Kārika 13. The Kārikā itself is written and the commentary begins. In the second Kāṇḍa there are many breaks. A few of them are noted in the manuscript by the statement : *atra granthapāṭaḥ*. But there are many places where there is a break, but where we get no such direction. In the second Kāṇḍa I find that there is a break extending to about seventy-five stanzas commencing from about stanza 80. But there is no mention of it in the manuscript itself. I have noted other

17. Compare C. V. Vaidya's History of Medieval India, Vol. I, pp. 328, 329. For Viṣṇu Gupta, List of North Indian Inscriptions ed. by Kielhorn, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V may be consulted. I am indebted to Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri of the Madras University for helping me to locate this king.

18. The stanzas are as they are numbered in the Benares edition of Gangānātha Sastri. There is a recent edition by Mr. Charu Dev Sastri, Lahore. There is an Introduction in Sanskrit which may be consulted on many of the points raised in this Paper. This edition contains only the first Kāṇḍa with the author's Vṛtti and extracts from Vṛṣabhadeva's commentary on it.

19. The words are : pravibhaktasādhyasādhanaṛūpo hi. Then the manuscript begins the next words śabdabrāhmaṇo vivartaḥ.

places also. With such occasional breaks, some noticed in the manuscript and some not so noticed, the commentary on the second Kāṇḍa proceeds to stanza 483. Then the stanzas 484 to 490 are given without any comment and the manuscript stops there. There is no colophon. Except the fact that this commentary on the second Kāṇḍa is found in the same manuscript as the commentary of Hariṇṛṣabha on the first Kāṇḍa, there is nothing definite to show that the commentary on the second Kāṇḍa is by Hariṇṛṣabha. We must not miss the fact that in the manuscripts which served as the basis for the Benares edition of the first two Kāṇḍas, the commentary on the first Kāṇḍa by Hariṇṛṣabha is followed by the commentary on the second Kāṇḍa by Puṇyārāja. But after examining the commentary on the second Kāṇḍa found in this manuscript along with the commentary on the first Kāṇḍa, I am inclined to believe that the commentaries on the two Kāṇḍas found in the Madras Manuscript is by the same author. The style and the method of commentary are the same. We do not find the difference which is quite noticeable in the printed book between the commentaries on the two Kāṇḍas.

The extent of the Madras Manuscript, as it exists now, is only a little over three thousand granthas. It is only about half the portion of the commentary for the first Kāṇḍa that is available and that comes to about 750 granthas. Therefore the extent of the entire first Kāṇḍa must be about 1,500 granthas. The second Kāṇḍa is about three times as big as the first Kāṇḍa and so the commentary on that Kāṇḍa may proportionately be taken to be about 4,500 granthas. Thus we get the total of about 6,000 granthas. This shows that I-tsing's report about the commentary too must be substantially accurate, allowing due margin for possible errors in such a rough calculation.

III

EXTENT OF THE PRAKĪRṆĀ

I-tsing reports that the Vākyapadīya is different from the Prakīrṇa, which is now regarded as the third Kāṇḍa of Vākyapadīya in fourteen samuddeśas. The colophons of the three Kāṇḍas give the names of the three Kāṇḍas as the Brahma Kāṇḍa, the Vākyā Kāṇḍa and the Pada Kāṇḍa. The Government Oriental Manuscripts Library manuscript has the colophons :

iti brahma kāṇḍam samāptam

and

iti vākya kāṇḍam samāptam

on folio 5(a) and 18(b) respectively in the manuscript of the Kārikas mentioned above; the colophon for the third Kāṇḍa is given in the Descriptive Catalogue of the Library and also above.

The colophons in the Manuscript belonging to the India Office Library²⁰ read as follows :

1. iti śrī bhartṛharikṛte vākyapadīye āgamasamuccayaḥ
prathamah kāṇḍaḥ. (It is called Vākyapradīpa there).
2. iti vākyapadīye dvitīyaṁ kāṇḍam. Samāptā ceyam vākya-
pradīpikā.
3. iti śrī bhartṛharikṛte vākyapradīpe tṛtīyaḥ kāṇḍaḥ.²¹

The Editor in the Benares Series, Ganganatha Sastri also says that in the manuscripts he has used there is the mention that the work ends at the close of the second Kāṇḍa. That a particular work of Bhartṛhari ended with the second Kāṇḍa as we have it now is quite evident. Otherwise the stanzas beginning with :

prāyeṇa saṅkṣeparuṣeṁ
alpavidyāparigrahān.²²

have no propriety at the end of the second Kāṇḍa. If Bhartṛhari wrote the third Kāṇḍa as a continuation of the same work, these stanzas ought to have found a place there. Further, it is not merely I-tsing who speaks of the Vākyapadīya as different from Prakīrṇa. Vardhamāna in his Gaṇaratnamahodadhi says the same. The only thing that stands in the way of accepting the Vākyapadīya as ending with the second Kāṇḍa is the difficulty of reconciling the title with the work. The name of the book is Vākyapadīya, and the second Kāṇḍa is now known as the Vākya Kāṇḍa. Then where is the propriety of the term *Pada* in the title of the work if the third or Pada Kāṇḍa is not a part of the work? Further, there is mention in many places of the three Kāṇḍas of the Vākya-padīya. In the title Vākyapadīya, the element *vākyapada* is taken as a dvandva compound. It must be observed here that such a dvandva compound is not quite in accordance with the rules of compounding

20. No. 706 in Eggeling's catalogue, Vol. I, p. 186.

21. There is a note in the following words: "According to a note by Colebrooke in the fly-leaf this (3rd Kāṇḍa) is different from Harikārikā and is not Bhartṛhari's work, but compiled from it. The Vākyapadīya is now being published, all the three Kāṇḍas with Harivṛṣabha's, Puṇyarāja's and Helarāja's commentaries respectively by Pandit Ramakrishna Sastri Patwardhan in the Benares Sanskrit Series." This shows that the attribution of the commentary on the first Kāṇḍa to Puṇyarāja was a later invention when the work was undertaken by Ganganatha Sastri.

22. Stanza 484 in the second Kāṇḍa.

words in a dvandva.²³ And the usual combination we have in usage is *padavākya* in expressions like *padavākya-pramāṇatattvajñāḥ*. Further if the title of the work is based on the subject matter of two of the three Kāṇḍas, why is the subject matter of the first Kāṇḍa, which is not inferior in value, ignored in framing the title of the work? The name ought to have been *Brahmavākya-pāḍīya*, a work dealing with (Śabda) Brahman, Vākya and Pāda. Even accepting the terms as containing Dvandva, I am not bold enough at this stage to venture with another interpretation of the title *Vākya-pāḍīya*. But there is much to be said against accepting *Vākya-pāda* as having the meaning assigned to it.²⁴ The name *padakāṇḍa* assigned to the *Prakīrṇa* portion is not known to I-tsing. The three Kāṇḍas being parts of a single work is also against the testimony of I-tsing. It is true that the work is being known at some stage as being made up of three Kāṇḍas. In Kārikā 56 at the end of the commentary on Kāṇḍa II, Puṇyārāja speaks of

kāṇḍatrayakramenāyam
nibandhaḥ parikīrtitaḥ.²⁵

It is also certain that Puṇyārāja has written a commentary on the first Kāṇḍa as well, as is evident from the way in which he begins the commentary on the second Kāṇḍa. The first sentence is :

evam śabdasya prayojanasahitam svarūpādikam leśato
nirṇītam.

This is not the beginning of a work, but a continuation of what was left off in a previous section. Perhaps he has written a commentary on the *Prakīrṇa* portion also.

I-tsing says that the *Prakīrṇa* contained 3,000 ślokaś. The work as it is now available is only half or a little less than that in extent. In commenting on the Kārikās of the *Vākya-pāḍīya* (the first two Kāṇḍas) Bhartṛhari often speaks of what he would say in the portions which ought to find a place in the *Prakīrṇa*. But in the work as it is available now, there is no such portion. From this and from the mention of various other portions, which it is not possible to trace to the

23 See *laghvaṣṣaram pūrvam, vārtika 5* under *sūtra II, 2, 34*, in Kielhorn's edition of *Mahabhāṣya*. According to this the order ought to be *padavākya*. True in the *vārtikas* other sequences are also allowed on other grounds. In *Kāśikāvṛtti* on IV, 3, 88 *Vākya-pāḍīya* is given as an example of a formation from a dvandva compound under the *sūtra* *śiśukrandayamasabhadvandvendrajananādibhyaḥcaḥ*. So even at the time of Kāśikā, the word was accepted as dvandva.

24. What Śālikanātha says about the term *Vākya-pāḍīya* is interesting in this context. cf. *Bṛhatī* with *Rjuvimalā* ed. by Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri in the *Madras University Sanskrit Series*, No. 3, pt. 1, p. 389-90.

25. Mention of three Kāṇḍas at the end of the 2nd Kāṇḍa is slightly puzzling.

Prakīrṇa now available, it is safe to assume that the work in its original form as known to I-tsing was much bigger than what is left to us. I see no reason to accept Prof. Liebich's alternative suggestion that sein Umfang ist von diesem ungenau angegeben.²⁶

For the Prakīrṇa there is only one commentary now available, and that is by Helārāja. The commentary as printed from Benares is full of breaks. No complete manuscript has come to light. There is one palm leaf manuscript in the Adyar Library,²⁷ which is in a very injured condition, in which the commentary is available in a complete form. A careful copy of it is being prepared slowly. But having regard to the condition of the manuscript and the size of the work, it will take some time before a transcript is ready. It is also certain that Helārāja has written a commentary on the other two Kāṇḍas as well. Now it is very easy to understand how the whole work came to be regarded as a single work ; all the three sections deal with grammar. The work is by the same author, namely, Bhartṛhari ; there is also a commentary for the Kārikās of the three sections by the author himself. Later commentators too have commented on all the three sections. When once the three sections are made into a single work, it is easy to see how an interpretation of the title Vākyapadiya was forced in to fit in with the third Kāṇḍa also as a part of the Vākyapadiya.²⁸ Such an interpretation according to which the second Kāṇḍa was called the Vākya Kāṇḍa and the third Pada Kāṇḍa necessitated the first Kāṇḍa being regarded as an annex to the second Kāṇḍa. But from the report of I-tsing, from the accuracy with which he reports on other well-known works like Aṣṭādhyāyī and Kāśikā and from the way in which Bhartṛhari ends the second Kāṇḍa, there is only one conclusion possible and that is that the Vākyapadiya is the title given originally to the first two Kāṇḍas, and third Kāṇḍa was, till a later date, regarded as a separate work.

IV

DATE OF BHARTRHARI

From the mention of Vasurāta as the teacher of Bhartṛhari found in the commentary of Puṇyarāja to stanzas 486 and 489²⁹ in Kāṇḍa II,

26. L.C.

27. Not yet catalogued and numbered.

28. Although Kāśikā takes vākyapada as a dvandva compound from which Vākyapadiya is derived, it does not take vākya and pada as terms applicable to definite parts of the works. The words in the Kāśikā are : śabdārthasambandhiyam prakaraṇam. vākyapadiyam.

29. The words of Puṇyarāja are : na tena asmadguroḥ tatrābhavato vasurātād

the date of Bhartṛhari has to be fixed in the fifth century. It is true that Bhartṛhari himself does not say that Vasurāta was his teacher. He mentions only Candra by name. He says :

candracāryādibhiḥ punaḥ.³⁰

Paramārtha speaks of a Vasurāta in the time of Bālāditya in the biography of Subandhu. The date of Bhartṛhari, if he is the disciple of Vasurāta, must be in the fifth century.³¹ But I-tsing says that Bhartṛhari died in the middle of the seventh century. Considering the accuracy with which I-tsing reports on various matters, we have to hesitate before we say that he must be wrong. Prof. Liebich says : Wir haben also zwischen zwei Möglichkeiten zu wählen : entweder wir müssen doch zwei verschiedene Vasurāta's annehmen, die noch dazu beide Grammatiker sein müssen, oder, I-tsing hat sich in diesem geirrt, d.h. verhort oder verschrieben. Ich glaube dass zweite annahme die grossere wahrscheinlichkeit besitzt.³² There are many other possibilities. It may be that Puṇyarāja's statement that Bhartṛhari meant his teacher Vasurāta in the stanzas of the second Kāṇḍa of Vākyapadiya, namely, stanzas 486 and 489 are wrong. We could as well accept two Vasuratas and place Bhartṛhari in the seventh century. But in assigning such a late date for Bhartṛhari, there are other difficulties. There is the difficulty mentioned by Prof. Liebich, namely, that the fame of Bhartṛhari could not have spread far in India by the time I-tsing came to India in 671. Says Prof. Liebich : Ist eine so allgemeine verbreitung seines Ruhmes in so kurzer Zeit für die damaligen Verhältnisse sehr wahrscheinlich ?³³ Again Kāśikā was written before 670 A.D. and in IV.3.88 Kāśikā mentions the name of Vākyapadiya.³⁴ So Prof. Liebich adds : Auch das lässt, da Bhartṛhari in Ujjayini Jayāditya in Benares schrieb, auf einem grösserem zeitlichen Zwischenraum zwischen beiden schliessen.³⁵ But this is not a serious difficulty to get over. It must be understood that in ancient India there was frequent communication

anyaḥ kaścid imam bhāṣyarnavam avagāhitum alam ity uktam bhavati. and : candracārya-vasurataguru-prabhṛtinām. The name occurs also in stanza 54 at the end of the commentary on the second Kāṇḍa : ācāryavasurātena nyāyā-margān vicintya saḥ.

30. Stanza 498 in the second Kāṇḍa.

31. See Kṣīratarāṅgiṇī ed. by Prof. Liebich, Breslau, 1930, p. 268.

32. Kṣīratarāṅgiṇī ed. by Prof. Liebich, Breslau, 1930, p. 269, 270.

33. Ibid., p. 270.

34. Explanation of the sūtra śiṣukrandayamasabhadvandvendrajananādibhyaḥ-chaḥ (IV, 3, 88); Vākyapadiya is given as example for formation from Dvandva compound.

35. Kṣīratarāṅgiṇī ed. by Prof. Liebich, Breslau, 1930, p. 270.

between the different parts. Scholars and students went from one centre of learning to another and people undertook pilgrimages to holy places. The time for a pilgrim to travel from the south to Benares and to return home, according to old calculation when people had to perform the whole journey on foot, was only six months. These scholars moving about from place to place served as a regular postal service; and if in any centre of learning there is a great scholar or philosopher or poet, his fame spread throughout India in a very short time, and in all the centres of learning the works of that great person were eagerly awaited. Thus there is no difficulty in assuming that even in the life-time of Bhartṛhari he was a very famous person throughout India. The real difficulty in assigning Bhartṛhari to the seventh century lies elsewhere. Vṛṣabhadeva, the commentator of Bhartṛhari, says that Viṣṇu Gupta was his patron. If this Viṣṇu Gupta is to be identified with the Gupta Emperor of that name, then the date of Vṛṣabhadeva as stated above, is about 700 A.D. He says that many Ācāryas have already written commentaries on the Vākya-pāḍīya.³⁶ The word he uses is *pūrvācāryaiḥ*. If many *pūrvācāryas* had written commentaries on the Vākya-pāḍīya before Vṛṣabhadeva, then the date of the author of the Vākya-pāḍīya cannot be only fifty years before Vṛṣabhadeva. It must be a few centuries before. This supports the possibility of assigning Bhartṛhari to the fifth century rather than to the seventh century. There are other points also to be considered.

There are at least two quotations from the Vākya-pāḍīya in works which must be earlier than Kāśikā. There is a commentary on the Nirukta of Yāska by Maheśvara.³⁷ This is a direct commentary on the work of Yāska as is evident from a passage in the beginning of the commentary. This passage reads as follows :

tasya niruktasya pañcādhyāyā gaur gmā ityādayo nighaṇṭavaḥ.
teṣāṃ vyākhyānārtham ṣaṣṭhaprabhṛti samāmnāyaḥ samāmnātaḥ iti
bhagavato yāskasya bhāṣyam. tasya alpaganthā vrttiḥ
kriyate.³⁸

36. Compare line yady api ṭikā bahvyaḥ pūrvācāryaiḥ sunirmalā racitāḥ given above.

37. Ed. by Dr. Laksman Sarup, Lahore, under the title of Fragments of the Commentaries of Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara on the Nirukta, for Part I (Ch. I) and Commentary of Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara on the Nirukta for Parts II and III (Ch. II—XII).

38. Ed. by Dr. L. Sarup, Part I, p. 4.

In this work, the following stanza³⁹ from the Vākyapadiya is quoted :
 āha ca—

Pūrvām avasthām ajahat
 saṁspṛṣan dharmam uttamam
 Saṁmūrchita ivārthātmā
 jñāmano 'bhidhiyate.⁴⁰

The manuscripts bring in the name of Skandasvāmin also into the authorship of this work,⁴¹ as the name of Skandasvāmin is found in the colophon for some sections. Interpreting the name niruktabhāṣyaṭikā given to this work as a ṭikā on a bhāṣya on the Nirukta, Dr. L. Sarup in his edition of the work assigns the Nirukta to Yāska, a Bhāṣya thereon to Skandasvāmin, and the ṭikā on that Bhāṣya to Maheśvara.⁴² But from the passage already quoted from the beginning of the work, it is certain that the work is by Maheśvara and it is a direct commentary on Yāska, who in innumerable places in Vedic exegesis is styled Bhāṣyakāra.⁴³

Maheśvara mentions his Upādhyāya in three places⁴⁴ in his work, and in one place the reference can be traced to the commentary on the Ṛgveda by Skandasvāmin.⁴⁵ Thus Maheśvara is a disciple of Skandasvāmin, and he quotes from Vākyapadiya.

Harisvāmin has written a Bhāṣya on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁴⁶ and he quotes the following Kārika⁴⁷ from the Vākyapadiya in the course of the Bhāṣya :

anye tu śabdabrahmaivedam vivartate
 'rthabhāvena prakriyā ity ata ahuḥ.⁴⁸

39. Ed. by Dr. L. Sarup, Part I, p. 28.

40. Vākyapadiya, III, 116.

41. Ed. by Dr. L. Sarup, Part I, Introduction, p. 11.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

43. By Durga, Sāyana and Devarāja.

44. Vide proceedings of the fifth Indian Oriental Conference, Lahore. Vol. I, my paper on Commentaries on Rigveda and Nirukta, p. 253. The pages in the edition of Maheśvara by Dr. L. Sarup are Vol. III, p. 20 for the 1st quotation, and Vol. II, p. 157 for the 2nd and 3rd quotations.

45. Rigvedabhāṣya of Skandasvāmin, ed. by me in the Madras University Sanskrit Series as No. 8, p. 299.

46. Fragments printed in the editions.

47. See proceedings and transactions of the sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna. Paper by Dr. Mangal Dev Sastri on Harisvāmin, p. 602.

48. This is a reference to the first stanza in Vākyapadiya.

Harisvāmin is another disciple of Skandasvāmin. I need not quote all the passages here to show this fact, which by this time ought to be well-known.⁴⁹ Harisvāmin gives his date as 638 A.D. The passage where he gives his date reads as follows :

yadābdānān kaler jagmulḥ
saptatrimśacchatāni vai
catvārimśat samāś cānyās
tadā bhāṣyam idam kṛtam.⁵⁰

The first line in the manuscript is yadadinam, which is evidently a mistake for yadābdānām. This is Kali 3,740, which is 638 A.D. The only difficulty in accepting this date of Harisvāmin is that Harisvāmin speaks of his patron, the king of Avantī as a Vikramāditya. And there is no King of Mālva at this time who is known to History as a Vikramāditya. It is not too much to assume that a dependent of even an insignificant king spoke of his patron as a Vikramāditya, especially when there were Vikramādityas who adorned the throne of Avantī in former days. We must not tamper with well-established facts in chronology by saying that the Kali Era began in 3201 B.C. instead of 3101 B.C.,⁵¹ or by altering readings in the manuscript⁵² to convert the date into 538 A.D. when there was a Vikramāditya in Avantī or Malva. If we accept the date of Harisvāmin as the beginning of the seventh century, then the date of Mahēśvara too is the same, both being disciples of Skandasvāmin. Both of them quote from the Vākyapadiya. Thus the evidence of these commentators of Vedic literature, along with the evidence of Vṛṣabhadeva, shows that the author of Vākyapadiya must be anterior to the seventh century. This coupled with the name of Vasurāta associated with Bhartṛhari as the teacher of Bhartṛhari, makes it necessary to put Bhartṛhari in the fifth century.

Did I-tsing go wrong on this point and, if so, to what extent ? According to I-tsing's report Bhartṛhari died about 645 A.D. I venture to suggest that it is Harisvāmin who may have died in 645 A.D. and that I-tsing may have confused this Hari with the other Hari, the author of Vākyapadiya. About Vākyapadiya itself, there can be no doubt that

49. See Mangal Dev Sastri's Paper noted above and Dr. Sarup's Indices and Appendices to Nirukta. Introduction, p. 29.

50. Ibid.

51. Indices and Appendices to Nirukta, by Dr. L. Sarup. Introduction, p. 29.

52. Commentary of Skandasvāmin and Mahēśvara ed. by Dr. L. Sarup, Vol. III. Introduction, p. 57.

at first it must have been the name only for the first two Kāṇḍas, that apart from the Kārikās Bhartṛhari has written a Vṛtti too which extends to about 7,000 ślokaś, and the Prakīrṇa was an independent work. Of this latter we have only less than half of the original preserved to us. For this also, apart from the Kārikās, there must have been a commentary by Bhartṛhari extending to about 17,000 granthas

Grammatical Literature in Kannada as compared with that in the Sister Languages of Southern India

By

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GRAMMAR forms the basis of scholarship in any language. The study of grammar has always formed a very important branch of the ancient curriculum in India.

The grammatical treatises on the Kannaḍa language were constructed on the Sanskrit plan. The ancient Kannaḍa grammarians held the study of grammar in high esteem. The tenth *sūtra* of the Kannaḍa grammar *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* runs thus :—

vyākaraṇadinde padam ā | vyākaraṇada padadin artham
arthade tattvā |
lōkam tattvālōkadin | ākāṅkshipa muktiyakkum ade
budharge phalam ||

“Through grammar (correct) words originate, through the words of that grammar meaning (originates), through meaning the beholding of truth, through the beholding of truth the desired final beatitude ; this (final beatitude) is the fruit for the learned.”

This *sūtra* is a paraphrase of the following verse of Prabhāchandra in his *Amōgha-vṛitti-nyāsa* :—

Vyākaraṇāt pada-siddhiḥ | pada-siddhēr artha-nirṇayō-bhavati |
arthē tattva-jñānaṃ | tattva-jñānāt param śrēyaḥ ||

We may also compare the following verse in Yakshavarma's *Chintāmaṇi*, a commentary on Śākaṭyāna's *Śabdānuśāsana* :—

dharmārtha-kāma-mōkshēshu tattvārthāgatir yataḥ |
śabdārtha-jñāna-pūrvēti vēdyam vyākaraṇam budhaiḥ ||

“Since the comprehension of truth with regard to virtue, wealth, desire and final beatitude is based on a knowledge of the meaning of words, the wise ought to study grammar.”

There is further this verse quoted by Bhaṭṭākaṇka in his *Śabdānuśāsana*, namely,

dharmārtha-kāma-mōkshārtha-vidyāś-śabda-nibandhanāḥ |

which means "Knowledge relating to virtue, wealth, desire and final beatitude is dependent on a knowledge of words."

The earliest work in Kannaḍa that treats of the grammar of the language, though incidentally to a limited extent, is the *Kavirājamārga*, written or caused to be written by Nṛipatunga or Amōghavarsha, a Rāshtrakūṭa king who ruled from 815 to 877 A.C. He speaks of the violation of *yati* or caesura as having received the approval of ancient poets (I, 74), of *Kāraka* or relation of a noun to the verb in a sentence, *vacana* or number, *sanuchchaya* or conjunction of words, *avadhāraṇa* or emphasis, *vikalpa* or option and *viśanke* or doubt (I, 113-141), of long and short vowels in the accusative and genitive cases (II, 14), of the lengthening of vowel in the vocative case (II, 21-22), of tautology (II, 23-24) and of the avoidance of the use of several epithets (II, 25-27).

Nāgavarma II in *sūtra* 73 of his *Karṇāṭaka-Bhāṣhābhūṣhaṇa*, namely, *Dīrghōkṭar Nayasēnasya*, mentions *Nayasēna* by name and says that according to that authority the final vowels of nouns in the vocative case are to be lengthened, from which we may conclude that *Nayasēna* was a writer on Kannaḍa grammar who came after Nṛipatunga and preceded Nagavarma II, though his work has not come down to us.

Nāgavarma II, who flourished in the middle of the 12th century, has written two works bearing on grammar, the *Kāvyaṅvalōkana*, a standard Kannaḍa work mostly treating of poetics, and the *Bhāṣhābhūṣhaṇa*, a Sanskrit work on Kannaḍa grammar. The first chapter of the *Kāvyaṅvalōkana*, styled *Śabdasmṛiti*, is devoted to a brief exposition of the grammar of the Kannaḍa language. It may be looked upon as the earliest systematic Kannaḍa work extant on the grammar of the language. Its introductory portion deals with grammatical terminology, the subjects treated of in the following five sections being respectively euphonic combination, nouns, compounds, derivatives and verbs. The *Bhāṣhābhūṣhaṇa* which, as stated before, is in Sanskrit, treats more exhaustively of the subject of Kannaḍa grammar than the *Śabdasmṛiti*, and is the earliest extant Sanskrit work on the grammar of the Kannaḍa language. It is in *sūtras*, each *sūtra* being accompanied by an explanatory gloss and by illustrative examples. The number of *sūtras* is 269, arranged in ten chapters, the subjects treated of in them being respectively terminology, euphonic combination, declension, uses of the cases, forms of pronouns and other words, compounds, derivatives, verbs, indeclinables and particles. It will be seen that the order of the subjects dealt with is the same as that in the *Śabdasmṛiti*, though the present work contains more detailed information about nouns and verbs and additional chapters on indeclinables and particles. The *Kāvyaṅvalōkana* seems to have been written first, as it is quoted in this work.

About a century after Nāgavarma II, came Kēśirāja, the author of the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, the principal standard grammar of the Kannaḍa language, written, like the *Śabdasamṛiti*, in Kannaḍa verses which are styled *sūtras*. Each *sūtra* is accompanied by a gloss, also by the author, and illustrated by examples. The total number of *sūtras* is 320, arranged in eight chapters, the subjects dealt with in them being respectively euphonic combination, nouns, compounds, derivations, verbs, verbal roots, words corrupted from the Sanskrit and indeclinables. Kēśirāja has closely followed Nāgavarma in the treatment of the subject, though in certain points he has gone beyond him. He has also largely availed himself of the quotations occurring in the *Kāvyaavalōkana* for illustrating his rules. The *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* may in fact be considered as an expansion of Nāgavarma II's grammatical works.

About three and a half centuries after Kēśirāja, in 1604 A.C., appeared the *Karṇāṭaka-Śabdānuśāsana* of Bhaṭṭākalanka, whose ambition it was to produce an original independent treatise which should be a final standard authority. He does not slavishly follow his predecessors but holds independent views on several important points. His work is not only more elaborate and exhaustive than the previous ones but also more methodical in the treatment of the subject. It contains 592 *sūtras* which are arranged in four *pādas* or fourth parts. The subjects dealt with in them are : 1. the alphabet, definition of technical terms, indeclinables, euphonic combination, particles ; 2. gender, words corrupted from the Sanskrit, case affixes ; 3. compounds, uses of personal pronouns and of the singular and plural numbers and numerals, derivatives ; 4. verbs and verbal affixes. The general arrangement resembles the natural system of the older grammars and the Kaumudi simplifications of Pāṇini. The work may in a manner be said to be to Kannaḍa what the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is to Sanskrit, and its learned commentary, the *Mañjarī-makaranda*, in which all the objections of critics are anticipated and answered, may perhaps be compared to the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. Considered as a whole, the work is one of the greatest interest and importance for the study of the Kannaḍa language and an enduring monument to the erudition of the author. It has, however, to be stated that nothing of the comparative method is to be found in the work.

It is worthy of note that every one of the above-mentioned authors was a Jaina.

TAMIL

We may now proceed to examine briefly the treatises on grammar in the sister languages of Southern India. The oldest grammar extant in the Tamil language is the *Tolkāppiyam* by Tṛṇadhūmaṅni who is

generally known as Tolkāppiyar after the name of his work. The author is generally supposed to be a Brahman, though some scholars are of opinion that he was a Jaina. His period is said to be the early centuries of the Christian era, though some would place him before Patañjali, the author of the *Mahabhāṣya*. The work contains 1,612 *sūtras*, arranged in three parts, namely, letters, words and matter (*poruḷ*), the last including under it also prosody and rhetoric.

The next Tamil grammar in point of time is the *Virāṣōḷiyam* written by the Buddhist author Buddhāmtra during the reign of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra I who ruled from 1064 to 1070 A.C. It is stated in this work that the sage Agastya learnt Tamil under the Bōdhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The work consists of 181 verses arranged in five chapters which treat of letters, words, matter (*poruḷ*), prosody and rhetoric, the five-fold division of grammar according to the Tamils. The author differs in some points from his predecessors.

Two more Tamil grammars, namely, the *Nēminātham* and the *Nannul*, are by Jaina authors. The former, composed by Guṇavira-paṇḍita, consists of 96 verses. It treats of letters and words, the etymology portion having nine sub-sections. The work is also known as *Sinnul*. The *Nannul* was written by Pavaṇandi (Bhavanandi) at the instance of Śīyagangan Amarābharaṇan, a Pallava feudatory of the Chola king Kulōttunga III, who ruled from 1178 to 1217 A.C. The work treats of letters and words. Though ostensibly based on the Tolkāppiyam, it closely follows the arrangement of Pāṇini. Though perhaps the latest chronologically, the *Nannul* has well-nigh superseded all the previous treatises and is now looked upon as *the* Tamil grammar. Mayilainādar, the first commentator on the *Nannul*, was likewise a Jaina.

TELUGU

The oldest extant work on Telugu grammar is the *Āndhraśabda-chintāmaṇi*, written by Nannayya-bhaṭṭa, a Brahman author who flourished during the reign of the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja who ruled from 1023 to 1063 A.C. This work, also known as *Prakriyā-kaumudī*, consists of 82 Sanskrit verses in the *āryā* metre and has been commented upon both in Sanskrit and Telugu by several authors. Elakūchi Bālasarasvati wrote a Telugu commentary on it for the first time; then Vāsudēva wrote a gloss known as *Vāsudēvavṛitti*; then Kāku Sūryappa translated the chapters on terminology and euphonic combination into five chapters of Telugu poetry; and then Ahōbala-paṇḍita wrote a Sanskrit commentary on it known as *Kaviśirōbhūṣaṇa*. Nṛsiṃha-paṇḍita and Appakavi have also written commentaries. Nannayya-bhaṭṭa is known as Prathamāchārya, as being the first grammarian of the Telugu language.

The next writer on Telugu grammar was Kētana, who flourished at about the middle of the 13th century. His work on grammar is called *Āndhra-Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa*. Atharvaṇāchārya, who comes next, appears to have been a Jaina. He has written two works, namely, *Vikṛitvivēka* and *Triliṅga-Śabdānuśāsana*. The former, also known as *Vyākaraṇa-kārikāvaḷi*, consists of 300 Sanskrit verses arranged in five chapters which treat of terminology, euphonic combination, words ending in vowels, words ending in consonants, and verbs. The latter is an independent work on Telugu grammar written with the object of showing the antiquity of Telugu. The author says that he wrote this work after mastering the grammars of Brihaspati and Kaṇva. He names in his works the Jaina authors Pūjyapāda, Akalanka and Hēmachandra and probably belongs to the close of the 13th century. He is styled *Dvitiyāchārya* or the second *Āchārya* to distinguish him from Nannayya-bhaṭṭa who was known as *Prathamāchārya* or the first *Āchārya*, as stated above.

The next work of importance on Telugu grammar is the *Kāvyaḷaṇ-kāra-chūḍāmaṇi* of Vinnakōṭa Peddanna who flourished in the first half of the 14th century. The work is dedicated to Viśvēśvara-mahārāja of Rajahmundry.

MALAYĀLAM

The earliest work on Malayālam grammar is the *Līlātilakam*, in Sanskrit, which may be assigned to the 14th century. It is an interesting work as it contains besides grammar discussions on the linguistic features of the Malayālam language. The first *śilpa* or chapter explains the individuality of the Malayālam language as distinguished from Tamil; the second treats of the phonetics of unique Dravidian sounds and the morphology of Malayālam inflections; while the third is exclusively devoted to the examination of the rules of vocative and consonantal *sandhi* or euphonic combination.

Other works on grammar are all modern, belonging to the 19th century.

I may, in conclusion, mention here the encomium by Dr. Burnell on the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, the only Kannaḍa grammar that had been made public at the time that he wrote :—

The great and real merit of the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* is that it bases the rules on independent research and the usage of writers of repute; in this way it is far ahead of the *Tamil and Telugu treatises, which are much occupied with vain scholastic disputations*.¹

And this is what Dr. Kielhorn wrote with regard to the *Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana* :—The author was evidently a profound grammarian.

A Hindu University at Kanci

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INDIA has been reputed for her learning and philosophy from very early times. But what confronts an antiquarian at the outset is whether there were schools and colleges, like those we have to-day, and whether these educational institutions were affiliated to a University as we understand to-day. The impression created on the average reader of Indian literature is that, when a boy attained sufficient age to begin his educational career, he was often sent to a village schoolmaster who was a paṇḍita and, until the course was complete, he was to live under the control and guidance of the teacher. In some cases there was a Pāṭaśāla or school, one in the midst of ten or twelve neighbouring villages with free boarding and lodging, something like the Rāja's College of Sanskrit and Tamil Studies in Tiruvāḍi, Tanjore district to-day. Besides the *pīal* school of the village and Pāṭaśāla of a group of villages, there were also colleges which went by the name of Vidyāsthāna. We have the unimpeachable testimony of epigraphy to corroborate this statement. Professor Hultzsch gives an extract of a set of five copper-plates of Vijaya Nṛpatuṅga varman which were discovered at Bāhūr near Pondicherry by M. J. de la Fon (See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., pp. 180-181). The purpose of the charter was the gift of three villages, Cheṭṭupākkam, Viḷāṅgāṭṭankaḍuvaṇūr, and Iṛaiṇṇaiccēri, to the Vidyāsthāna at Bāhugrāma (Bāhur). The donation was made at the request of the ministers of Tuṅgavarman, or more precisely, Nṛpatuṅgavarman. There are some interesting details given about this institution. It was the organization of the learned men of the locality who were also responsible for its maintenance and control. It also received encouragement from the State. The grant is expressly said to have been made for the advancement of learning, and was consequently exempted, on the authority of a written document, from all taxes due to these villages. Another interesting detail that is furnished in this inscription is that the college at Bāhur consisted of fourteen gaṇas, identified with fourteen divisions of literature—four Vedas, six Aṅgas, Mīmāṃsa, Nyāya, Purāṇa and Dharmaśāstra, and fourteen divisions of Musical Science. It would thus appear that the fine arts were not neglected. The verse in question runs as follows :¹

1. (See for the full text of the Grant S. I. I., ii., pp. 514 ff, and for a translation

विद्यानदी तथागाथा चतुर्दशगणाकुला ।

बाहुग्रामजुषां स्थानं व्याप्य यस्मात् व्यवस्थिता ॥ २५ ॥

Epigraphy again throws welcome light on the existence of a Hindu University at Kāñci, the capital of the Pallavas from A.D. 200 to 900. We are familiar with the great University of Nalanda, its curriculum of studies, and the life led by the University students.² It is refreshing to know of the contribution made by South India to create a University atmosphere and to enrich the University life in general. The ancient city of Kāñci figures prominently in legend and history. We have elaborate description of the foundation, by celestials, of the Kāmākṣī shrine in that city in the *Lalitōpākhyāna* portion of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. In Tamil literature of the Śaṅgam period and especially in the *Maṇimēkalai*, a classic which belonged to the second half of the second century A.D., Kāñci figures as a centre of great learning and as a great school of Buddhist philosophy. Side by side there flourished also other schools of thought and religion.³

Next we have the Pallava charters which show that Kāñci continued to be a University centre under the liberal and progressive administration of the Pallavas. The Velūrpālaiyam plates of Vijaya Nandivarman III are interesting in this connection. The verses (7 and 8) run thus :

स्कन्दशिष्यस्ततोभवत्विजानां घटिकां राक्षस्तन्यसेनाजहार यः ।

गृहीतकाञ्चीनगरः ततोभूत्कुमारविष्णुस्समरेषु जिष्णुः ॥

S. I. I., II, pp. 501-13.

This means that Skandaśiṣya became the controlling authority of the Ghaṭika of the twice-born, which was so long under the control of King Satyasēna. The late Mr. V. Venkayya identified this Skandaśiṣya with Skandavarman in his article on Tirukkalukkuṇṇam inscriptions; and if this identification is correct, he must be Skandavarman II. The next verse of the inscription shows that Kumāraviṣṇu was the son of Skandaśiṣya and a conqueror of Kāñci. This bears testimony to the fact that, while Skandaśiṣya succeeded in getting at the management of the University at Kāñci, it was given to his son to take over the administration of the city. Or if we read the half line गृहीतकाञ्चीनगरः with the stanza preceding it, it would appear that Skandaśiṣya conquered Kāñci and

of the Sanskrit portion in Prof. J. Dubreuil's *Pallavas*: pp. 48-51): See also Prof. V. Rangacharya's *Ins. of Madras Presidency*, Vol. III, p. 1694.

2. See in this connection Sankalia's *The University of Nalanda*, published by B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, 1934.

3. See S. K. Aiyangar: *Intro.* to his book '*Manimekalai in its Historical Setting*', 1928.

*Mr. Kavi points out that the half verse ends with ततोऽभवत्, and the next half begins with विजाः. After यः a new verse in a different metre begins.

became the patron of the University as well. One thing is clear, and that is that when the Pallavas assumed sovereignty in Kāñci, it was already a flourishing University centre.

This is not all. The same Velūrpālaiyam plates furnish more information on this subject. In verse 13, it is said

तत्पुत्रसुनुर्धर्मिहवर्मा पुनर्यथा द्योघटिकां द्विजानां । शिलामयं वेदम
शशांकमालैः कलासकल्पञ्च महेंद्रकल्पः ।

With regard to 'पुनर्यथाद्यो' it is strange that the Editor of the inscription has adopted a wrong reading while the correct one was available to him. The correct reading which gives the correct sense is पुनर्यथाद्यत्. Again in the second line *katpa* in both places is *kalpa* meaning equal. Narasimhavarman II, son of Paramēśvara I's son, who was equal to Indra, reorganised the Ghaṭika and erected a stone-house for Śiva, like the very Kailasa. The latter shows that it was Narasimhavarman who built the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeevaram. But what we are more concerned with here is that the Pallava king reorganised the Ghaṭika (पुनर्यथाद्यत्). It is unfortunate that we have no materials to show in what direction this reorganisation was effected. But it would not be wrong if we infer that a patron of art and letters like Narasimhavarman II should have improved the University both on its academic and financial side.

Passing on, we find the Ghaṭika mentioned in the Tālagunda inscription of Kākusthavarman (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff). Professor Kielhorn ascribes this epigraph to the first half of the sixth century A.D. It may be observed that Kākusthavarman belonged to the Kadamba family who were Brahmans and devoted to the study of the Vēdas and performance of yajñas or Vēdic sacrifices. It is said that a member of this family, Mayūraśarman by name, went to the Pallava capital Kāñci, accompanied by his guru, to complete the full course of his studies. The story goes that their stay at Kāñci led to misunderstanding with the reigning king, which ultimately led to war and Mayūraśarman's success. Confining ourselves to verse 10 of the inscription which runs as follows :

यः प्रयाय पल्लवेन्द्रपुरीं गुरुणासमं वीरशर्मणा अधिजिघांसुः प्रवचनम्
निखिलं घटिकां विवेशाऽशु तर्कुः ॥

We have to note that this is very important from more than one point of view. First, it shows the universal recognition of the University learning at Kāñci. If this were not so, a prince of the neighbouring kingdom would deem it derogatory to enter an alien's territory with a view to further investigation of his studies. Though he belonged to an entirely different kingdom, and though he held the status of sovereignty not

inferior to the Pallava, yet the Brahman prince Mayūraśarma who had heard so much of Kāñci as a centre of learning made an humble petition to the University with a view to get the full benefit of the exposition of fundamental doctrines. In this connection the term *Tarkuka* is taken to mean a suppliant, and does not at all mean mendicant. It is said that the prince came along with his guru Virāśarma. It is difficult to explain why the guru came to Kāñci. Two explanations are possible. One is that Virāśarma had not seen the institution and longed to visit it. Or the term *tarkuka* is a misreading for *Tarkika* meaning logician and philosopher. Both pupil and master came to Kāñci to hold contest with University authorities on all chief doctrines worth investigating. If neighbouring princes and kings resorted to the citadel of learning, need it be told that Kāñci occupied a unique position as a University centre ?

Next we have evidence to show that the University of Kāñci continued to the beginning of the eighth century A.D. This is furnished by the Kāñci Inscriptions of Vikramāditya edited by Dr. Hultzsch (*Ep. Ind.* III. pp. 359-60). This Vikramāditya was Vikramāditya II, who, according to the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi, conquered Kāñci and returned the riches of the Rājasimheśvara temple. But what is interesting to us is the text of the inscription covered by the lines 6-8. The inscription is in Kanarese, and refers to the *Ghaṭikeya Mahājana*. It is said that those who destroyed this charitable grant would go to hell as those who commit the sin of killing the members of the Ghaṭika. Hultzsch's rendering "men of the assembly" is not happy. The Ghaṭika under reference is not assembly, but the University itself. Perhaps Hultzsch was led to this interpretation by the term *Mahājana* occurring with *Ghāṭika*. The honourable members of any big public institution in ancient India went by the name of *Mahājana*. The term must not be taken in its restricted sense. Viewed in this light it shows the sense of high appreciation and sincere feeling on the part of king Vikramāditya towards the University and its shining lights. To the king, the University authorities were sacred and inviolable, and it was a heinous crime to do injury to them.

Thus we see that, for at least a thousand years, from the early centuries before the Christian era down to 800 A.D., Kāñci flourished as a great University centre. The antiquity of the Kāmākṣī cult, the evidence of Tamil literature, and lastly the evidence of inscriptions, show unmistakable traces of different institutions specialising in Vaidic, heretical and other systems of philosophy which existed side by side, and all of them collectively made up the great Ghaṭika of the history of which South India may feel proud.

Notices of some of the Vidyas mentioned in the Puranas

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ANCIENT writers have defined the term 'Vidyā' differently. Thus Kautilya thought that the characteristic feature of the four-fold Vidyā is that it helps men to know their duty as well as their objective (Artha Śāstra, II, 1)¹. His disciple Kāmandaka represented it as a means of knowing the caturvarga thoroughly (Nīti Śāstra, II, 3, 17)². The Viṣṇu Purāṇa identified all Vidyās, other than the Parā one, with Śilpaṁ (I, 19, 41)³. Śukrācārya opined that works which could be accomplished by means of speech, are called Vidyās (Nīti Sāra, IV, 3, 25)⁴. Finally Jayanta Bhaṭṭa in his Nyāya Mañjarī represented Vidyā as a means of knowing how to attain the object of human striving (p. 3)⁵.

It appears, however, that none of the definitions quoted above are satisfactory as they mostly represent the particular view-points of different writers, who flourished between the fourth century B.C. and the ninth century A.D. In this circumstance some such definition may be suggested.

VIDYĀ,—PARĀ AND APARĀ

The term 'Vidyā' is derived from the root 'Vid'-to know. Hence the derivative sense of the word is 'knowledge'. But in our country true knowledge or Vidyā proper has always been identified with Brahma Vidyā or Mokṣa Vidyā, technically called Parā Vidyā or Pure Know-

1. चतस्र एव विद्या इति कौटिल्यः ।
ताभिर्धर्मार्था यद्विद्यात्तद्विद्यानाम् विद्यात्वम् ।
2. विद्याभिराभिर्निपुणं चतुर्वर्गमुदारधीः ।
विद्यात्तदासां विद्यात्वं " विद्ज्ञाने " निगद्यते ॥
3. तत्कर्म यन्न बन्धाय सा विद्या या विमुक्तये ।
आयासायापरं कर्म विद्यान्याशिन्पनैपुणम् ॥
4. यद् यद् स्यात् वाचिकं सम्यक् कर्म विद्याभिसंज्ञकम् ।
5. वेदनं विद्या तच्च न घटादिवेदनमपितु पुरुषार्थसाधनवेदनं विद्यायाः-
स्थानमाश्रय उपाय इत्यर्थः ।

ledge. Now, knowledge helps us to discover the truth by removing the veil of darkness or ignorance, called A-Vidyā, which by blinding our eyes, renders us incapable of having a direct vision of the true character of things. Hence Brahma Vidyā has been called **सिद्ध-विषयक** for it helps us to realise the Supreme Truth which is eternally self-existent. In other words, it unfolds the vision of truth.

Sharply distinguished from the Parā or Pure Vidyā stands the Aparā or impure Vidyā which has been called **साध्य-विषयक** for with its aid one can call into being the non-existent, or more properly, bring into manifestation the unmanifest, just as a sculptor with the help of his chisel may wrest a beautiful image of Sarasvati imbedded in a block of marble.

In other words, Parā Vidyā is directly connected with jñānam or knowledge in its highest form, while Aparā Vidyā though partaking of the nature of Vidyā in a certain sense, is the fountain-head of action or kriyā. But Vidyā in his highest sense is Brahma Vidyā, and as such it is **ज्ञानात्मिका**, and hence beyond the range of description or communication. Aparā Vidyā, however, bridges the gulf that separates jñānam from kriyā.

Then Aparā Vidyā helps us to discover the secret of, and thereby gain control over, certain phases of the cosmic processes and functions, in a way unknown to the laymen not initiated into its mysteries.

DISTINGUISHED FROM KALĀ.

On the other hand Vātsyāyana has described Kalā as 'what can be put into practice by repetition' (**अभ्यासप्रयोज्या**; I, 3, 14), while Sūkra defined the term as 'what could be practised even by a dumb person' (IV. 3, 25).⁶

Then Kalā is the art or device by the employment of which the knowledge of the manifestations referred to above may be utilised, consciously or unconsciously, for practical demonstration.

Thus Aparā Vidyā and Kalā agree in that both are **साध्य-विषयक**, i.e., the scope is more or less limited by pragmatic efficiency; and they disagree in the fact that while Vidyās deal generally with the theoretical side, Kalās lay more stress on the practical aspect.

But it appears ancient writers have at times used the terms rather loosely, for instance Vātsyāyana has identified Kalā with Vidyā; the

6. शक्तो मूकोऽपि यत् कर्त्तुं कलासंश्रन्तु तत् स्मृतम् ।

Amara Kośa with Śilpaṁ, while Hemachandra with Śilpaṁ and Vijñānam (cf. The Kalās, JRAS. 1914). As a matter of fact it is not always possible to make a fine distinction between Vidyā and Kalā, for the two are often found to cover much the same ground in connotation.

ANTIQUITY OF THE VIDYĀ

The antiquity of the Vidyās can be traced as far back as the Ṛgveda which makes mention of the Madhu Vidyā (I. 116, 12 ; 191, 10), and the Pravargya Vidyā (I. 116, 12 with Sāyana). The former Vidyā represented the occult science whereby poison could be converted into nectar, while Sāyana explains the latter one as the knowledge of the three Vedas and the corresponding Brāhmaṇas. The Pravargya Vidyā, as explained by Sāyana, appears to be identical with the Trayī Vidyā, which is described by the Chāndogya Up. to have originated when Prajāpati brooded upon the creation (II. 23, 2). The term Vidyā when used by itself and without any qualifying prefix, has probably been used in the Vāj. Sam. (XI, 12), Tait. Sam. (II 1, 2, 8 ; V. 1, 7, 2), Atharva Veda (VI. 116, 1 ; XI. 7, 10) and the Ait. Br. (VIII. 23, 8 ff) in the sense of Trayī.⁷ Various branches of learning prevalent in our country before 600 B.C. are enumerated in different works, viz. the Śatap. Br. (XI. 5, 6, 8) with the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. (II. 4, 10 ; IV. 5, 11), the Jaim. Up. Br. (I. 53, 9), the Chānd. Up. (VII. 1, 2), the Maṇḍūkya Up. (I. 1, 4f) etc. Names of the special Vidyās current at that time lie scattered in these texts, of which mention may be made at this place of the Sarpa Vidyā (Śatap. Br. XI. 5, 6, 9), the Deva Yajana Vidyā (Ibid 10), the Asura Vidyā (Ibid, XIII. 4, 3, 11), the Agni Vidyā (Katha Up. I. 13ff), the Pañcāgni Vidyā (Chānd. V. 3 ff), the Śāṇḍilya Vidyā (Ibid, III, 14, 1ff), the Paryāṅka Vidyā (Kauś. Up. I, 3), and of the Saṁvarga Vidyā (Ibid, IV. 3, 1 ff). It appears, however, that most of the Vidyās mentioned last are esoteric ones.

It is worth noting here that attempts were made as early as the age of the later Samhitās to classify the Vidyās on some well-recognised principles, e.g. Vidyā and A-Vidyā (Vāj. Sam. XL, 12 ff), Parā and Aparā (Maṇḍrika Up. I, 1, 4ff), as also Ātma Vidyā and Mantra Vidyā (chānd. VIII. 1, 3).

The number of the branches of learning as well as that of the special Vidyās naturally increased as time wore on, and the Purāṇas, com-

7. The names of the four Vedas, however, are mentioned as early as the Śatap. Br. (XI. 5. 6. 4 ff) and the Gopatha Br. (I. 2. 16); besides this the latter work gives the names of the five minor Vedas (I. 1. 10. 21).

piled as they mostly were at a later date, give us the largest number of these, some of which we shall deal with in the present paper.

It may be mentioned here, in passing, that various synonyms have so far been suggested for the term Vidyā, viz., Mantra, Śāstra, Vijñāna, Manta, Vijjā (in Pāli) etc.

With these few words by way of introduction, we directly proceed to enumerate the Vidyās mentioned in the Purāṇas.

VIDYĀS MENTIONED IN THE PURĀNAS

(i) *Assuming various forms at will* इच्छारूपधारिणी Taken recourse to by Madanikā, the daughter of Mēnakā (Mārkaṇḍ. II, 30); by Mahiṣa, the Asura while fighting with the Dēvi (Ibid, LXXXIII, 20-41; Skanda, Setu Māhātmayaṁ, VII, 20-25) (also cf. Padma, Sṛṣṭi, 21,3; Rmn. VI. 37, 7-8; Mbh. III. 96, 7-8).

(ii) *Travelling a thousand yōjanas in half a day—* with the help of an ointment rubbed on the sole of the feet पादलेपम् and certain prescribed formulae (Mārka. LXZ, 8ff.).

(iii) *Astragrāma-hṛdaya Vidyā*—Efficacious in killing all enemies. A list of possessors beginning from Śiva given (Mārka. LXIII, 23-27).

(iv) *Sarva-bhūta-ruta Vidyā*—To understand the speech of all living beings (Mārka. LXIV, 3; Padma, Sṛṣṭi, 10., 85; Matsya, XX, 25), (cf. Rmn. II. 35, 19; Mbh. I. 70, 45; XII. 116, 15; XIII. 117, 8; Jātaka, I, 211; II, 388, etc.)

(v) *Padminī Vidyā*—The possessor became the lord of the Nidhis, who supplied him with unheard of wealth (Mārka. LXIV, 14-15).

(vi) *Rakṣoghna Mantra*—To ward off the intruding Rākṣasas from a sacrifice (Mārka. LXX, 21-22).

(vii) *Jālandharī Vidyā*—Communicated to Lava and Kuśa by Vālmiki along with other arts and sciences. (Padma, Pātāla, XXXVII, 13).

(viii) *Vidyā-gopāla Mantra*—For acquiring supernatural powers in speech (वाक् सिद्धि) (Ibid. XLI, 132).

(ix) *Parā Vālā Vidyā*—For attaining super-human powers instantaneously. First communicated to Arjuna by Tripurā Devī (Ibid, XLIII, 40).

(x) *Śakuna Vidyā*—Science of omens. Specimens given (Ibid, LXIII, 49ff.). (cf. Mbh. III. 65, 24).

(xi) *Puruṣa-pramohini Vidyā*—To win over a man (Padma, Bhūmī, XXXIV, 38).

(xii) *Indrajāla Vidyā*—with the help of which Sulocanā changed herself into a man (Padma, Kriyā, Yoga-sāra, V. 214). Cf. Kādambari, p. 75).

(xiii) *Yajña Vidyā, Veda Vidyā*—(Padma, Śṛṅgi, XVIII, 47). (cf. Mbh. I. 70, 38).

(xiv) *Ullāṣana vidhāna Vidyā*—Kṛṣṇa cured the hunch-back of Mathurā with the help of this Vidyā (Viṣṇu, V, 20, 9-10).

(xv) *Āsuraśa Mantra*—for counteracting the effects of ordeals (Skanda, Kumārikā, XLIV, 21).

(xvi) *Sārāsvata Mantra*—for attaining mastery over all arts and sciences (Ibid, XLVI, 132-33).

(xvii) *Dākinī Mantra*—First communicated to Pārvati by Śiva ; being infatuated she began to drink the blood and eat the flesh of her lord (Ibid, XLVII, 61-64).

(xviii) *Eight Siddhis* or super-human powers attained by a Yogin enumerated (Ibid, LV, 92ff.).

(xix) *Mahā-Garuda-Mantra*—to neutralise the effect of snake bites (Skanda, Veṅkaṭācala Māhātmyam, XI, 28).

(xx) *Vaśīkaraṇa Mantra*—(Skanda, Vaiśākha Māsa, XXIV, 33).

(xxi) *Māraṇa, Mohana, Vaśya, Ākarṣaṇa and Kṣobhaṇa*—(Skanda Dharmāraṇya, XX, 27).

(xxii) *Śāvarī Mantra Vidyā*—Efficacious in bringing into control others by producing infatuation (Ibid. XXXVI, 41).

(xxiii) *Agni Stambhana ; Jala Stambhana, Vāk Stambhana, Khecarītram, Adṛśyatram* (Skanda, Kāśī, XLV, 15). (cf. Mbh. III. 122, 14 ; 124, 17 ; IX. 29, 52, etc.).

(xxiv) *Viśa Vidyā* (Ibid, XLVI, 17) (cf. Mbh. I. 20, 16ff ; Jātaka, VI, 181).

(xxv) *Viśoṣiṇī Vidyā*—cultivated by Agastya before drinking off the contents of the ocean (Skanda, Nāgara, XXXV, 33). (cf. Mbh. III, 105, 3ff.).

(xxvi) *Puṇḍrīga Mantra = Garbhopaṇiṣad*—Efficacious in producing a son (Ibid, XXXVI, 6-7).

(xxvii) *Vāmadevya Mantra*—for protection against evil spirits (Ibid, 9).

(xxviii) *Śrī Sūkta Mantra*—for obtaining wealth (Ibid. 14).

(xxix) *Sārpa Sūkta*—for keeping away snakes (Ibid, 23).

(xxx) *Vyāghra Sāma Mantra*—for keeping away tigers (Ibid, 26).

(xxxi) *Devavrata Mantra*—for temporising freaks of nature (Ibid, 28).

(xxxii) *Pañcendra Mantra*—for overcoming droughts (Ibid, 29).

(xxxiii) *Prājāpatya* and *Vāruṇa Mantra*—for stunning enemies (Ibid, 35).

(xxxiv) '*Kālī Karālī*' *Mantra*—for sucking anything dry (Ibid, 36).

(xxxv) *Nagara Mantra*—to neutralise the effect of poison and indigestion (Ibid, CXIV, 79-83).

(xxxvi) *Vajrā Vidyā*—to foil snake bites (Ibid, CXVII, 25-26).

(xxxvii) *Laghimā Vidyā*—for levitation of the body (Ibid, CXXIX, 66).

(xxxviii) *Vāruṇa Mantra*—for drawing water from the earth (Ibid, CLXXIII, 11).

(xxxix) *Khecari Vidyā*; *Bhūta Tantra*; *Vyantari Vidyā* and *Gāndharva Vidyā*—(Skanda, Prabhāsa-Kṣetra, VIII, 6-9).

(xl) *Vaiṣṇava* and *Māheśvara* *Jevers*—created by Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively for overwhelming the armies of each other (Skanda, Avantikṣetra, IL, 32ff.; Bhāgavata, X, 63, 24; Brahmaparivarta, IV, 120, 50-52).

(xli) *Śabda Vidyā*—described as extensive (Skanda, Prabhāsa, CCIV, 14) (cf. Hiuen Tsang, I, p. 78).

(xlii) *Sañjīvanī Vidyā*—for bringing back to life the dead people. Applied by Śukrācārya to restore to life Andhaka's fallen heroes, while the latter was fighting with Śiva (Vāmana, LXIX, 7-8; Śiva,⁸ Dharma, IV, 187) (cf. Mbh. I. 76, 7-8).

(xliii) *Mṛtyuñjaya Vidyā*—Śukrācārya did not lose his life even when devoured by Śiva, because just then he was repeating the *Mantra* (Śiva, Dharma, V, 8-10; Skanda, Kāśī, XVI, 1ff.; Padma, Uttara, IV, 35).

8. The Śiva Purāṇa is not included in the traditional list of the Mahāpurāṇas, but see Farquhar's Outline of the Religious Literature, p. 139.

(xliv) *Vaiṣṇava Yoga*—To outwit Śiva, Urvaśī assumed the form of Pārvatī with the help of the Yoga. Her companions too assumed the forms of other companions of Pārvatī (Śiva, Dharma, VII, 28-32). Veda-nidhi's eldest son vanished with the aid of this Yoga from the presence of the Gandharva maidens (Padma, Svarga, X, 45). Similarly did the Ṛsi lad Agnipa (Padma, Uttara, CXXVIII, 54).

(xlv) *Infusing life into a wooden figure*—through yogic powers (Śiva, Dharma, XIII, 17ff) (cf. the rite of Prāṇa-Pratiṣṭhā in connection with image worship).

(xlvī) *Māheśvarī Mahāvidyā ; Dhanur Vidyā ; Śastra Vidyā ; Astra Vidyā ; Laukiki Vidyā ; Ratha Vidyā ; Gaja Vidyā ; Aśva Vidyā ; Gadā Vidyā ; Mantrāhrvāna Vidyā and Mantra Visarjana Vidyā*—transmitted to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa by Viśvāmitra (Brahma, CXXIII, 97-98).

(xlvīi) *Vajra-vāhanika Vidyā*—for vanquishing the enemy in the field of battle (Liṅga, II, 51).

(xlvīiī) *Sīṅha Vidyā*—could give the desired colour to the stones wherewith to make images (Agni, XLIII, 13).

(xlix) *Garga Vidyā*—The science of constructing residential houses (Agni, LXV, 7) (cf. Vāstu Vidyā, Mbh. I. 51, 15 ; Jātaka II, 297, etc.).

(l) *Narasīṅha Vidyā*—Helps one to attain the object of one's striving (Agni, LXIII, 3).

(li) *Bhelakhī Vidyā*—Proof against death and enemies in the battle field (Agni, CXXXIII, 40).

(lii) *Mahāmārī Vidyā*—for crushing the enemy (Agni, CXXXVII, 1ff.).

(liiī) *Antardhāna Vidyā*—communicated to Pṛthu by the winged beings (Bhāgavata, IV, 15, 19). (cf. Mbh. III. 244, 22).

(liv) *Vaiṣṇavī Vidyā*—with the help of which Indra vanquished the Asuras (Ibid, VI. 7, 39-40). Summed up in the Nārāyaṇa Kavaca (VI, 8).

(lv) *Aśvaśirā Vidyā*—for attaining emancipation in the course of this life (Ibid, VI, 9, 52).

(lvi) *Deva-hūti Vidyā*—Employed for calling upon the gods. Communicated to Pṛthā by Durvāsas (Ibid, IX. 24, 32).

(lvīi) *Mahāmāyā Vidyā*—Destroyed all magical charms (Ibid, X. 55, 16).

(lviii) *Sarva-kāma-prada Vidyā*—for fulfilling all desires to be repeated for seven nights together (Garuḍa, I, 201).

(lix) *Viṣṇu-dharmākhyā Vidyā*—To attain the status of Indra by defeating all enemies (Ibid, I, 202).

(lx) *Citra Śāstra*—The science (?) of Painting (Bhaviṣya, I, 162, 53).

(lxi) *Dyūta Vidyā*—The science (?) of gambling (Ibid, III (b), 13, 3). (cf. Jātaka, VI, 281).

(lxii) *Gupta Vidyā*—for spiriting away persons (Ibid, III (c), 30, 42-43).

(lxiii) *Yakṣamaṇī Vidyā*—Yielded five pieces of gold whenever repeated (Ibid, III (d), 7, 13).

(lxiv) *Suśīlā Mahāvidyā*—Sharpened the intellect and helped to acquire learning (Brahmavaivarta, III, 17, 14).

It will be evident from the list of the Vidyās compiled that it was possible to acquire one in different ways; e.g. :

(a) through control of the mind or the vital force (yogic),

(b) through psychic force represented by a dynamic sound (Māntrik).

(c) through potencies and properties inherent in natural objects or objects artificially manufactured for specific purposes, and

(d) through other sources.

AGE OF THE PURĀNAS

After giving a tolerably complete list of the Vidyās mentioned in the Purāṇas it may not be considered irrelevant if we do now proceed to fix the approximate age of the texts in which most of them find a literary recognition for the first time. Fortunately for us, the previous researches of such noted scholars as Wilson, Fleet, Smith, Pargiter, Keith and others in this field have made our task easy to a certain extent so far as the fixing of the lower limit is concerned.

Though the Purāṇas in some form or other existed as early as the days of the later Saṁhitas (Vide Ātharva Veda, XI, 7, 24), modern authorities, however, are not prepared to assign such an early date to the existing texts. As is well-known, most of the scholars led by Pargiter are inclined to assign the third century A.D. to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, though the Devī Māhātmya section was not added to it till

the Sixth Century A.D. (Farquhar, p. 150). Next in order come in the Padma, the Bhaviṣya and the Brahma, verses from which have been freely quoted in the land grants of the fifth century A.D. (J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 248ff.). With reference to the first-named Purāṇa, which is encyclopaedic in character, though the facts that Kālidāsa, who is said to have flourished in the fifth century A.D., made use of it, and that the frequent mention of the term 'Dināra', make it probable that a part of the text was known as early as the fourth century A.D. in the Marāṭhā country, it will be more reasonable if we can see our way to assign a period beginning from the fourth century A.D., rather than a particular date for the compilation of the work. In regard to the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa though it is certain that the Āpastambīya Dh. Sūtra—a production of the fifth century B.C.—quotes from a Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa (II. 24, 6), the Bombay edition of the text appears to have been substantially recast at the Court of Jayachandra of Kanauj in the twelfth century A.D.

Then come in the Vāyu, the Matsya, the Viṣṇu and the Brahmanāṇḍa which, on grounds of the historical data furnished by those texts, have been assigned to the fifth century A.D. by Smith and Pargiter. So that we shall not be far wrong if we fix the period from the third to fifth century A.D. as the lower limit of the age of some of the Purāṇas, as we mostly find them to-day.

Of the other Purāṇas, the Skanda has been assigned to the middle of the seventh century A.D. by the late Mm. Pt. Hara Prasad Śāstri (JASB. 1893, pp. 250ff.), while Mr. Vaidya and others are in favour of assigning 900 A.D. to the compilation of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (JBRAS, 1925, I, p. 144ff. etc.). The Agni, the Garuḍa and the Nārada group, saturated as each is with Tāntric doctrines, and influenced as it is by the tenets of the Bhakti cult, cannot be placed earlier. No definite dates have so far been suggested for the compilation of the Vāmana, the Kūrma, the Varāha and the Liṅga, but these must have come into being by 1000 A.D. as the existence of all the eighteen Purāṇas has been testified to by Al Beruni. The Brahma-Vaivarta, as it is published to-day, seems to have been thoroughly recast after the Chaitanya movement in Bengal. So that it can be safely placed in the fifteenth century A.D., though the *kernel* might have been ready as early as the tenth century A.D. In these circumstances we are inclined to propose the period ranging from the twelfth to the fifteenth century A.D. as the upper limit of the date of the compilation of the Purāṇas.

So, it will not be unreasonable on our part to conclude that the Vidyās enumerated above were cultivated in our country roughly during the first twelve centuries of the christian era and even earlier, and that most of them were gradually forgotten for want of culture brought on by political causes.

Some features of the Primitive Dravidian Tongue

By

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Just like the Primitive Indo-European mother-tongue, which the Philologists have constructed as the result of an inter-comparison of the facts of the various groups of languages belonging to the Indo-European family, the primitive mother-tongue of the Dravidian group of languages may also be traced by an inter-comparison of the grammatical facts of the languages spoken in Southern India. To talk of a primitive Dravidian language may be exasperating to some of those who, while denying an independent existence to the languages of South India, are inclined to maintain that the languages spoken throughout India or even perhaps the whole world, are either allied to the Indo-European or derived from Sanskrit or Prākṛit. But a family relationship between Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayālam, Tulu and some other languages of the hill tribes spoken in southern and central India cannot be doubted by anybody, and until the grammatical facts and the word material of all these languages are satisfactorily traced to the Āryan sources, their cognate relationship with the Āryan or Indo-European cannot be an accomplished fact. Some Dravidian scholars like Dr. Caldwell, while connecting these languages with the so-called Scythian group, considered that there might be a remote possibility of contact between the Āryan and the Dravidian groups of languages at their original sources in pre-historic times, while others thought that the Dravidian was a direct off-shoot of the Āryan. But there are a few other scholars who consider the Dravidian to be neither Āryan nor Scythian, but an independent group by itself.

Leaving aside the question of ultimate relationship of these languages for the present, and depending upon the family-relationship that these languages of South India bear to one another, one can try the possibility of tracing the earlier form of language of which these must have been the later developments, since they bear a family-relationship with common linguistic characteristics of their own. If we bring together all the distinguishing features found common to these languages and try to trace them to their original sources, we may get an idea of the general features of their common mother tongue. Of course, much has yet to be done even by way of comparison and construction in connection with these languages, unlike Indo-European. Yet the general agglutinative nature which these languages have yet preserved to a great extent, may help to make our task easier. By a comparison of their grammatical facts and word-

material one can have a distant vision of the primitive mother tongue, which the following characteristics seem to indicate.

The language of the primitive Dravidian seems to be mainly a language of roots. These were not merely the results of grammatical analysis, but forms of regular usage in the language. They were placed one after another in a sentence, the relation between them being indicated by their position in it, the former generally standing in an attributive relation to the latter. There was nothing like what we now call inflexion either verbal or nominal. The root itself did the function of a verb as well as of a noun,—first without any change, but later on with a little change in the ending. What we now call the grammatical forms and inflexion gradually developed in the language in the following manner. The root words which were appended to other roots in order to convey different significations in meaning, lost their original shape and meaning owing to the rapidity in pronunciation and other causes, and began to be used as unmeaning suffixes, and made to perform certain grammatical functions in the sentence. This stage must have developed rapidly after it came into contact with the highly inflexional Āryan language, Sanskrit, and after the languages came to be analysed after the manner of Sanskrit grammatical methods. The root itself was used as a verb in the primitive language, just as we now use it in the imperative second person singular. The ideas of mood, tense, gender, etc., must have been indicated either by means of gestures made along with the utterance of the roots or by suffixing other independent roots to them in order to draw the distinction in meaning. Thus the principle of root-agglutination was brought into operation with the growth of the ideas regarding time, gender, number, etc. The agglutinative nature of these languages is still preserved in such a way that even at this distance of time it is quite possible to separate from the roots the various parts denoting gender, number, etc. In the early stage of the development of that language the forms of *agu*, *isu*, *utu*, developed from the simple primitive roots *ā*, *i*, *ū*, seem to have been very much in use as auxiliary roots emphasising the verbal function of the roots to which they were appended. Forms in 'Ku', and 'Kum' which appear in the major languages of this group, namely, Tamil *Ṣeygum*, Kanarese *Geygum*, Telugu *Cheyu(m)n*, Velgu(m)n, etc., which are used in them even to this day without distinction of time, mood, number, or gender, and on that account termed as Taddharmardhaka forms by the Telugu grammarians, indicate the early condition of the common mother tongue when such distinctions in the verbal forms have not yet developed. Later on, this 'Ku' or 'Kum' appearing at the end of a good number of roots was considered as a formative suffix by the Tamil grammarians, while still later Telugu grammarians consider-

ing this *Ku* or 'gu' as a part of the original root called the gu-ending form 'velugu' the root.

Thus, most of the so-called 'gu'-ending roots found in Telugu have to be considered as secondary roots, and not as primary ones. Later on, distinction in time was drawn by the help of other roots. The word 'itu' appended to other roots indicated past action (c.f. Tamil *Sey (i)dēn*, etc. Kanarese *Māḍidēnu*, Telugu *Chêsitini*), while 'iru', 'unḍu' and 'avu' denoted present tense in Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese, *Seyg(u)irēn*, *Cheyyuchunnānu*, *geyd-apem*, respectively. The very fact that these languages used different roots to express the idea of the *Present* goes to show that the Present forms in these languages were formed after they got separated and settled as independent languages. The idea of causation seems to have been first indicated by the doubling of the final consonants of the roots as now found in Tamil, but later on the help of the root 'isu' was sought to express this idea, as is found in Kanarese and Telugu. Similarly, various other roots or words were pressed into service by different languages at different times to express various ideas. Different roots brought together to express particular shades of meaning got fused after a time into one, and came to be considered as new roots having particular meanings of their own. Thus new roots developed in the Languages, and it is sometimes very difficult to split up these compound roots and trace their original forms. One language considers the compound root itself as the simple one, while the original component parts are preserved in other languages. We have thus to compare the roots in different languages and carefully note the changes in meaning they have acquired during this process of composition before we can get at the original forms of roots, which seem to be generally monosyllabic. It can be thus clearly shown that this process of root-agglutination has been going on since the time of the primitive Dravidian to this very day in the development of these languages.

The same method can be applied in the case of Nominal Inflexion. The root originally functioned as a verb as well as a noun. As has already been said, the position of the roots in a sentence indicated their relation to one another, the former standing in the relation of an attribute to the latter. This was the condition of the primitive language. When it was felt that the idea of their relationship should be made clearer or more expressive, various words like 'atu', 'in', etc., came to be introduced between them. These lost their independent existence in course of time, and began to be considered as mere connecting links or sariyai, inflexional increments, or aupavibhaktika-pratyayas. A comparative study of the methods of nominal inflexion in these languages clearly shows that the whole of this so-called inflexion merely depended origin-

ally on mere attributive relationship. It is because the grammarians who first analysed these languages and wrote their grammars, merely followed the methods of analysis adopted by Sanskrit grammarians in their analysis of that highly inflexional tongue that these languages also came to possess a nominal inflexion with eight cases, and a verbal inflexion with many moods, voices, etc.

Since the principle of root-agglutination has been at work throughout all these ages in these languages, we can, by just forgetting for a time the analogy of the highly inflexional Sanskrit, and by tracing the various forms of inflexion to their original sources in independent words or roots, reach the common primitive Dravidian form, which was made up of mere roots, without any special unmeaning marks of tense, gender, number, case, etc. It may be argued that the various languages of the Indo-European group or of any other group, for the matter of that, must have developed their inflexion on similar lines, but it cannot be denied that they do not give us sufficient clues for tracing their history back to their original root stage, while it can be said that the Dravidian Languages still possess clues which lead us gradually back towards their common origin, namely the parent Dravidian tongue.

The Ramayana

By

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INDOLOGISTS, particularly those trained in the scientific and critical methods so characteristic of the West, have always maintained that the more ancient and extensive masterpieces, representatives of the early Vedic and Classical Sanskrit literature, have come down to us from antiquity, not in the form in which they were originally composed, but generally with great and considerable additions and omissions due to the interfering hands of the several redactors through whom such works have passed. This orthodox view of the Western Pandits has never found favour with the traditional view of the Hindu savants, who always maintain that the ancient seers and others who wrote such monumental works took special care to guard their works from such interpolations and omissions by enumerating in the introductory portions of their work, the scope, contents and sometimes the number of chapters and stanzas also, which their works contained.

When we examine the earliest literary work of the Āryans, to wit, the Ṛg-vēda, it is remarkable how the Text has come down to us with wonderful accuracy. The various expedients devised by the ancient seers for the correct oral transmission of the Ṛg-vēda from father to son or teacher to pupil, have co-operated together in preserving for us a Text which is substantially the same from the time it was known to the world. Still, Western Indologists like Macdonell and those of his way of thinking detect various stages in the development of the Ṛg-vēda Samhitā, doubt the simultaneous origin of all the ten maṇḍalas of the Ṛg-vēda, and are inclined to relegate the first and the tenth and last maṇḍala to a period subsequent to the creation of the intervening maṇḍalas. To support such a contention, several arguments based on the unity of subject matter, differences in style, etc. are advanced. It is enough for our present purpose to emphasise this,—that, at no time in the recorded development of Sanskrit literature, has the Ṛg-vēda Samhitā ever been known to any author who flourished in India or abroad at any time before the discovery of Sanskrit in Europe to have existed without the first or the tenth maṇḍala forming an integral part of the whole work. It has come to be a fashion with some Indologists, at any rate, to point that the beginning and the end should necessarily be later

additions as compared to the middle, which must have been the real nucleus of all great and extensive works.

These Indologists, therefore, view the Mahābhārata also, the longest literary work so far available, in the same way. They hold that the Ādi-parvan does contain very many additions of a later date, and that the original Mahābhārata could not have had these additions. Higher criticism of the Mahābhārata has gone so far as to suggest three distinct stages in the development of the Mahābhārata as we have it now. In our introduction to the Southern Recension of the Mahābhārata,¹ we have shown that the Mahābhārata Text Tradition has come down to us from the time of Vyāsa in an unbroken chain, that the Mahābhārata was written by Vyāsa in one lakh of stanzas; and that it is possible to reconstruct the Text into its original extent by a proper sifting and collection of the manuscript material happily still available with us.

Besides the Vēdas and the Mahābhārata, the next great national work of the Hindus is the Rāmāyaṇa composed by Vālmiki. The Rāmāyaṇa too has suffered in the same way at the hands of Western critics. Modern scholarship is inclined to the view that the first and the last Kāṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Bāla and the Uttara Kāṇḍas, are later interpolations, and that Vālmiki's original must have probably begun with the Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa. Even as Vyāsa sought to preserve the text of the Mahābhārata by stating in the introductory chapters that he has composed his *magnum opus* in one-hundred thousand stanzas of two thousand chapters, divided into eighteen major books, Vālmiki has also categorically stated that he originally composed the Rāmāyaṇa within definite limits. In I. IV. 2 we are told that the poet composed his work in 24,000 stanzas. We are also informed that the work was divided into six books of five hundred chapters, with an additional seventh book as well. Thus Vālmiki's work is composed of seven books comprising 24,000 stanzas. Indeed, we are very fortunate that, even now, manuscripts there are that contain all the 24,000 stanzas, conserving in their colophons the tradition that Kuśa and Lava recited before Śrī Rāmacandra for twenty-five days the Rāmāyaṇa, beginning from the first chapter of the Bāla-Kāṇḍa to the end of the Paṭṭābhiṣēka-sarga of the Yuddha-kāṇḍa at the rate of twenty chapters each day. The Southern Recension of the Rāmāyaṇa, available in cadjan leaves of Grantha characters, contains all the 24,000 stanzas of Vālmiki.

1. Mahabharata (Southern Recension) published by V. Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, Madras.

Indian Indologists have, therefore, a great task to perform. While pressing into service all the canons of scientific and critical scholarship so characteristic of the West, they should not allow themselves to believe that only the truncated portions of all our national works represent the original, those at the beginning and at the end being necessarily later additions or interpolations. Due weight should be given to the internal evidences in the works themselves. And above all, the deciding consideration should be the verdict of Indian tradition itself on the scope and character of the work. Judged thus, we have no doubt that Vālmīki composed his Rāmāyaṇa in seven books of 24,000 stanzas.²

2. For further arguments, see our introduction prefixed to the Yuddha-kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (Southern Recension), published by Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam.

A Note on the name Dvigu

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It is a well known fact that *Dvigu* is the name given to the determinative secondary adjective compounds of the descriptive class, whose first member is a numeral adjective. This very name is arresting. The traditional *vigraharākya* given for it is *dvayōḥ-gavōḥ samāhāraḥ*, an aggregate of two words, that is, a compound made up of two component words (*gau*).

Pāṇini gives the name *Dvigu* only to those compounds which are brought under the rule संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः (II. 1. 52), which is to be read together with the Sūtra तद्वितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च (II. 1. 51). The point to be noted in the word *samāhāra* of this Sūtra is that the meaning of the idea of the collection of the compound lies outside the scope of the meaning of the idea or concept of the component parts of the compound.

Possessive compounds, having a numeral adjective for the prior member are not uncommon in Sanskrit. They, for the most part, follow the same rule of accent (*Pūrvapada¹-prakṛtisvaraḥ*) of the epithetised compounds with adjectives other than the numeral for the prior member.²

These facts are indeed favourable for the standpoint taken by the modern linguists who classify the so-called *Dvigu* compounds under the possessive class. Pāṇini does not seem to have been unmindful of this possibility. On the other hand, he recognised that the *Dvigus* require special treatment. But he brings them under *Tatpuruṣa*, as a special variety of *Karmadhāraya*, probably in view of the fact that the earliest *Dvigus* were determinative³ compounds in origin, which later on were transmuted into the *Bahuvrīhi* class. Vedic examples of the numeral abstracts and collectives are *Dvi-rājé* (Atharva-Vēda, V. 20. 9.); *tri-*

1. Bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam (P. VI. 2. 1).

2. Whitney : Sanskrit Grammar, 4 Edn., Sec. 1300.

3. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, VIII, p. 140. (The Journal is henceforth referred to as JORM).

yugám (R̥g-vēda X 97. 1.) ; *daśāṅgulám* (Yajur-vēda 31.1). All these compounds have a collective sense. In their origin, they might have been descriptive compounds accenting only the prior member. As they were shuffled into a new class of compounds (the possessive), in order to distinguish them from such Karmadhāraya which bore the accent on the first member, the accent, in all probability, was shifted forward to the final member on analogy with the then existing determinative compounds of the descriptive class. This accentual shift is in accordance with the distinction formulated by Schroeder : "When the accentuation of the first member (*immutata*) according to the main rule for all compounds, is not possible, then the accent is not, as in the *mutata*, drawn back as far as possible, but the second member receives the same stress which it possesses as an independent⁴ word. These collective compounds which are nearly allied to Dvandvas accent the last syllable of the final member. Probably, owing to the influence of these collective compounds, the later Dvandva compound like *indrā-pūṣno'h* (Rv. 1, 162, 2) accent the last⁵ syllable of the compound.

The above select examples of Dvigu as well as others given by Whitney and Macdonell are determinative compounds at least in their origin.⁶ I give below, for the sake of clearness, a few numeral collectives which are doubtless determinatives used in the plural and the original gender : *Saptarśāyas* 'the seven seers' ; *saptagr̥dhrās*. (Atharva-Vēda) ; *tri-kadru-ka* (plural), 'three soma vessels', from *kadru'* (feminine).⁷

4. "Wenn die accentuirung des I. gliedes (nach der haufregel für alle composita) nicht möglichst, dann wird der accent nicht wie bei den mutatis, möglich ist weit zurück gezogen, sondern das. 2. gied erhält diejenige betnung, welche es als selbständiges wört besass." Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Band XXIV. Die Accentgesetze der Homerischen Nominal Composita dargestellt und mit denen Veda Vergleichen. p. 110. See also p. 49 of "The Accentuation of Nominal compounds in Lithuanian." Language Dissertations published by the Linguistic Society of America, Number VII (December 1930), Supplement to Language, Journal of the Linguistic Society of America. (I owe to the courtesy of the Librarian, the University Library, Madras, for having kindly borrowed on loan last year the 24th Volume of Kühn's Zeitschrift from the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Recently, this volume as well as the earlier ones of the above periodical were added to the University Library, Madras. Sanskrit Department Section).

5. Vide C. R. Sankaran, "Five stages of pre-Vedic Determinative Compound Accentuation as surmised by their historic survivals of their Representatives in Sanskrit." JORM, IX, p. 124 ; Macdonell's Vedic Grammar, 1910, p. 157 ; footnote 4, section 262. See also Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik 11. i, section 63, p. 153

6. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, 4th edition, section 1312, pp. 512-3. Cf. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, section 290, p. 174.

7. *Ibid.*, f.n. 7.

In all probability, Pāṇini felt it quite convenient to treat the Dvigu as Tatpuruṣa compounds, in respect of dealing with the accent of the Dvigu compounds. For the accent of the substantively used compounds having a numeral as prior member like *dvi* and *tri* along with in part, some of the adjective compounds themselves are more prevalingly on the final syllable than in the adjective compounds in their ordinary use.⁸

The noteworthy exceptions to this rule of accentuation Pāṇini brings under the tell-tale Sūtras from **इगन्तकालकपालभगाल शरावेषु द्विगो** (VI. 2. 29) up to **दिष्टिवितस्योश्च** (VI. 2. 31). Instances are, *pañcaratnāḥ*. This is an example of Taddhitārtha Dvigu (11. 1. 51 and 52) and is equal to *pañcāratnayah pramāṇam asya*. Here the *pramāṇa* denoting suffix **मात्रच्** is always elided in Dvigu⁹; *Pāñcamāsyah*. This is formed by the affix **यम्**.¹⁰ Similarly *dāśamāsyah* (Rv. V. 78, 7; Atharva-Veda. 111. 23, 2). It is an interesting fact that this compound is a double-accented one in *Āpastamba Mantra Pāṭha* II. 11. 15. *dāśa-māsyaya*. But in I, 13, 9 of *Āpastamba Mantra Pāṭha*, the compound accents only the last member¹¹ *dāśamāsyah*, *pañca-kapālāḥ* (Satapatha Brāhmaṇa¹² 2. 2. 3. 14). *Pāncavarṣaḥ*¹³ *Bahu'māsyah*¹⁴ *Pāñcadīṣṭih*.¹⁵ I use the phrase tell-tale (for which I am indebted to Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. Kuppaswami Śāstri), with an intention to show the importance of this Sūtra which comprehends such telling instances of the earliest Dvigu compounds, compelling our attention and giving an insight into the prehistory of the Dvigu compound formation. These Dvigu compounds, originally determinatives, were doubtless earlier in origin.¹⁶

8. Vide JORM, VIII, p. 143; Whitney Sanskrit Grammar, section 1312.

9. Vide the Vārtika under the Sūtra *Yaravakāṣṭkādhyat* (V. 2. 3). See also S. C. Vasu's English translation of Pāṇini Book VI, 1897, p. 1148.

10. **तमधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी । मासाद्वयसि यत्त्वजौ ॥ द्विगोर्यप् ॥** V. 1, 80, 81, 82.

11. Vide JORM, Volume VIII, part II, p. 143. See also C. R. Sankaran, Double-accented Vedic Compounds to be published shortly in the Madras University Journal. Vol. VIII, No. 1, Jan. '36, p. 61.

12. *Pañcakapālāḥ* is formed by the sūtra **संस्कृतं भक्षाः** (IV. 2, 16). The affix **अण्** is elided by the sūtra **द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये** (IV. 1. 88).

13. The affix **ठञ्** is elided by the sūtra **वर्षाल्लुक् च** (V. 1. 88).

14. Vide JORM, Volume VIII, Part IV, p. 341. The word *bahu* has acute on the final, being formed by the affix **कु** (**लङ्विबहोर्नलोपश्च** *uṇādi sūtra*, 1, 29).

15. The affix **मात्रच्** is elided after the **प्रमाण** denoting the word *diṣṭi* (**प्रमाणे द्वयसज्जम्मात्रचः** V. 2, 37.).

16. Vide JORM, Volume VIII, Part II, pp. 142-143.

Now the question is, keeping this in mind, how to give a satisfactory etymology for the name Dvigu. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in his *Prakriyāsarvaśva*¹⁷ answers this question. He says : द्वयोर्गवोर्भवादि हि द्विगुर्यत्रैव स द्विगुः ।

This can be explained as follows. According to Pāṇini's Sūtra *tatrabhavaḥ* (IV. 3. 53), the affix *aṇ* is added to express the idea *dvayōh gavōh bhavaḥ*. Now, by Pāṇini's Sūtras 11. 1. 51. and 11. 1. 52 (quoted above), the compound is to get the name *Dvigu* and the affix *aṇ* is elided by the Sūtra *द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये* (IV. 1. 88), so that the operation of the Sūtra *गोरतद्धित(टच्)लुकि* (V. 4. 92.) is warded off,—therefore the affix *ṭac* (टच्) does not come, and hence the form *dvigu*. The word *Dvigu* can thus be seen to stand on a par with the compound *Pāñcaka-pālaḥ*, a Dvigu compound of doubtless a very early date, whose derivation is explained thus by the Sanskrit grammarians. पञ्चसुकपालेषु (नष्पञ्चः) संस्कृतः पुरोडाशः पञ्चकपालः। संस्कृतं भक्षाः इत्यण्। दिगोर्लुगनपत्ये इति लुक्॥

17. Manuscript in Nagari, No. 15397 in Government Oriental MSS Library, Madras, p. 114 and in Malayalam script in the Adyar Library, at the end of *Samāsaprakaraṇa*. I am indebted to Dr. C. K. Kunhan Raja of Madras University for this reference. I learn that he is shortly editing this work. I further learn from Mr. Sambasiva Sastri, Curator, Oriental MSS Library, Trivandrum, that the *Samāsaprakaraṇa* will appear as the third part in the sequel to part I published already in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

Camoens and his Epic of India

By

PRINCIPAL P. SESHADRI, M.A.

Ajmer.

1

It must always be interesting for an Indian student of literature to come across Western poets dealing with Indian subjects, whether in elaborate poetical works, in smaller pieces, or even in stray lines and references. The German poet and philosopher, Friedrich Ruckert, embodies some of the thoughts of ancient India in the volumes of his *Brahmin's Wisdom*. There is again a cycle of three little poems by Goethe, befriending the cause of the poor Pariah, narrating a legend of God's benigance to the miserable and oppressed. The sweet Irish Lyrist, Thomas Moore, has woven a fascinating romance round the Moghul princess, *Lalla Rookh*. The restless spirit of Shelley's *Alastor* finds peace.

In the vale of Cashmere, far within
Its loneliest dell, where odorous plants entwine
Beneath the hollow rocks a natural bower.

Even the poets of distant America have occasionally sought inspiration in Indian themes. Emerson's *Brahma* has borrowed the message of the immortality of the Soul, from the *Song Celestial*. The episode of Trisāṅku in Hindu mythology has attracted the attention of Longfellow, and Whittier has two such different poems as *Pipes at Lucknow* and a *Hymn of the Brahmo Samaj*. The most noteworthy literary masterpiece of the West, dealing with an Indian subject, is however the *Lusiad* of Camoens, which is also one of the world's greatest books.

Elizabeth Barrett Browning sees in her *Vision of Poets* :

Camoens, with that look he had
Compelling India's genius sad
From the wave through the *Lusiad* ;
The murmurs of the storm-cape ocean
Indraw in vibrative emotion
Along the verse

But the great Portuguese poet who has conferred upon India the high distinction of commemorating her in a magnificent epic has unfortunately not met with sufficient recognition in the East. The *Lusiad* of Camoens takes rank among the finest epics of modern times, and its lite-

rary merit alone is thus enough to claim for it the universal interest of students of literature. Its theme is the 'discovery' of India by Vasco de Gama, the poet being among the first in the West to celebrate, on an adequate scale, the fascination of this land in poetry. The double qualification is probably enough ground for drawing attention to some aspects of this masterpiece and its author, in a volume to be presented to an historian of India.

II

The career of Camoens has not many parallels in the literary history of the world in the romantic nature of its incidents. Soldier, sailor, poet and exile, he met with the strangest vicissitudes in his life. He had on various occasions to feel the displeasure of his sovereign. It was his lot again to drudge in poverty, trying to acquire the bare means of subsistence. Even the humiliation of exile and imprisonment was his, and all his genius was of no avail against the neglect of contemporaries, which was responsible in no small measure for the misery which fell to his share. The poet who was to be hailed by posterity as the 'Apollo Portuguese', spent his days in some of the keenest forms of mental and bodily anguish.

Without entering into the controversies of biographers, we may venture to say that Luis Vaz de Camoens was born at Lisbon in 1524. He came of an old, aristocratic family, and was actually a kinsman of the great Vasco de Gama himself. He could thus take deep personal interest in the exploits of the hero, his family pride added to his sense of patriotism. After a course of early education in the institutions which were then the centres of intellectual culture in Portugal, he found himself in Lisbon as a fine, polished young man, received into the best society, by virtue of his good birth and brilliant accomplishments. Fortune seemed to smile on him, and swimming gaily in the society of the fashionable capital, the future seemed to open to him nothing but a world of mirth and happiness.

Not the least of the romantic features of Camoens' career is the number of episodes of love which centre in his personality. And the earliest and most important of them began at a time when he was hardly out of his teens. On Good Friday in 1544, he saw Catherine de Ataides, the daughter of a high official at court, who had just become lady-in-waiting to the Queen, and this girl of thirteen summers evoked in him a devotion which can be compared in intensity only to the loves of Dante and Petrarch. He poured forth his passionate longing for her in a series of songs and sonnets, and her fascination haunted his imagination long after her death, when he was toiling as an exile in the 'branding summers' of India. If they do not rise to the spotless purity and

Platonic worship of Dante's *Vita Nuova*. they certainly display an equal constancy of aim and sincerity of passion. The imagery is sometimes too frank to meet with the unqualified approval of modern taste, but it is only hypocritical purism that will condemn the general level as vulgar. The same aspect of his genius was to meet with further development in the various stages of his life, every one of which was associated with some amorous episode or other—a Hindu girl being the heroine of one of them.

Camoens was not to bask in sunshine for long. Having been discovered in a stolen interview with Catherine he was banished to the upper Tagus,—such was the power of the noblemen who were her relations. The youth fresh from college had to face the loneliness of banishment from home for some months, but he found himself back in Lisbon in 1546. Prudence and caution have never been associated with the genius of poetry and Camoens repeated his offence, to be exiled as a soldier to Ceita or Ceuta in Africa. The son of Apollo now put on the grim equipment of Mars, took part in several campaigns, and even won the distinction of receiving wounds on the battlefield. Tradition affirms that during this period he lost one of his eyes, and received the appellation of the man with the 'eyeless face'. Service in Africa claimed him for three years and when he came back to Lisbon as a poor poet, he was again to involve himself in trouble. It was on a day when the hilarity of festival was supreme in the streets, that he drew his sword in a brawl, like noble Romeo in defence of his friend. Imprisonment was the consequence. He was relieved from it only when he volunteered himself for service in the East, and that was to open for him a new chapter of thrilling adventures.

On the 24th March, 1553, the poet, now in his thirtieth year set sail for India, in what may be regarded as the third exile of his life. He landed in Goa, the then capital of Portuguese Empire in the East, and found himself in a land remarkable for its natural beauties. Tropical scenery with its wealth of light and colour impressed itself profoundly upon his warm temperament; and the *Lusiad* bears ample evidence of his rapturous appreciation of the land of the pearl and the palm. His enjoyment of the delights of the world was sufficiently keen to infuse happiness into his life, but he was harping continually on the sense of exile pouring forth lament after lament in resonant and feeling verse, for the land of his birth which seemed to vanish from him for ever. The vice and licentiousness of the capital had reached infamous notoriety in his time, and the tainted atmosphere filled him with an intense disgust which expressed itself in the fierce satire *Disparates na India* or the vagaries of India. Goa was 'the mother of villains and the step-mother of honest men'.

It would be futile to attempt the task of tracing his miscellaneous wanderings in the East. From Arabia and the confines of the Persian Gulf, to China in the East and Ceylon in the South, he was tossed about for years on various commercial, diplomatic and martial missions, acquiring all the experience of the world and knowledge of mankind, which was to stand him in such good stead when he came to compose the *magnum opus* of his life. His poetical inspiration was however not barren during this long interval. Students of English poetry will remember, in Wordsworth's well-known sonnet, a reference to Camoens 'soothing an exile's grief' with this instrument. And his sonnets and lyrics come to two volumes in Richard Burton's classical edition of his works. The emotional experience embodied in these passionate outpourings is capable of the finest appeal, and one is disposed to rank the sonnets unhesitatingly with such brilliant productions of the same type in English poetry, as the *Sonnets* of Shakespeare, the *Sonnets from the Portuguese* of Elizabeth Browning, or the *House of Life* of Dante Rossetti.

It was not before undergoing sixteen years of exile that he was able to achieve the cherished desire of getting back to the land of his birth. The treachery of an ignoble friend threw him into prison in Mozambique, and he was relieved by mere accident, a Portuguese ship with some of his friends having chanced to enter the harbour. A shipwreck in which he ran a very close risk of losing his life was another disaster. And it was to a plague-stricken city which insisted on a painfully long period of quarantine that he had come. The political situation was not more favourable to him than it was when he had left. The expected preferment was long in coming, and when it came it was tardy as has been the case with many a son of genius. The publication of the *Lusiad*, the immortal poem which was to make him one of the world's greatest bards, was the only silver lining to this cloud of densest gloom. But it only brought him the paltry reward of an irregularly paid pension corresponding to £3-8-0 a year, and even that he was destined to enjoy only for eight years.

There is nothing more pathetic in the entire range of the world's literary history than the melancholy circumstances that gathered round Camoens in the last years of his life. Aged and reduced to crutches, he had to depend on public charity for his daily bread. There was a faithful Goanese slave who administered some consolation by helping him in the work of begging, and his death caused the poet a pang which he could compare in intensity only to his grief at the death of his beloved Catherine. It was one long tale of misery and wretchedness, a tragedy of suffering equalled only in fiction, or at least found among only a handful of examples recorded in history. He died in a charity hospital in

1579 'without a sheet wherewith to cover himself', and attended by a poor monk who had been attracted to him by his intellectual greatness. Even the winding sheet was the gift of an alms-house. He was buried in the Franciscan Church of St. Anna and the following inscription was placed over his tomb :

Here lies Luis de Camoens.
He excelled all the poets of his time.
He lived poor and miserable and he died so.

MDLXXIX

The country had ignored its greatest poet, 'the poet encyclopaedist,' as a critic has observed, 'who gave birth to a national compendium of *belles-lettres* ranging from epigram to epic'. Those who realise the underlying causes of the nation's ingratitude will not probably find it difficult to understand why the glory and independence of the country perished with its great patriot and master of song. The nation has made some amends for it in recent years, by attempts to perpetuate his memory, but a recollection of the last scenes of his life is enough to brand its conduct with eternal infamy.

Enough has probably been said to show that the career of Camoens is of greater biographical interest than even that of such personages as Byron, Goethe and Rousseau, who have furnished endless material for the biographer. The romance of his life has been described in these words by one of his distinguished biographers referred to already, Richard Burton : "Opening with the fairest and brightest promise, exposed in manhood to the extremes of vicissitude, to intense enjoyment and terrible abysses,' lapsing about middle age into the weariness of baffled hope ; and ending comparatively early, in the deepest glooms of disappointment, distress and destitution, the student, the soldier, the traveller, the patriot, the poet, the mighty man of genius, thus crowded into a single career, the efforts, the purposes, the events of half-a-dozen. Considered in such light the Portuguese may be looked upon as unique : never was such a spirit 'so maltreated by fortune'. But will not his spirit find some consolation in the reverence with which the world of to-day looks to the poetic treasure he has bequeathed to posterity ? "

We can now proceed to the episode of the discovery and conquest of India to hear Camoens sing of :

Arms and Heroes, who from Lisbon's shore,
Through seas where sail was never spread before,
Beyond where Ceylon lifts her spicy breast,

And waves her woods above the watery waste ;
With prowess more than human forced their way
To the fair kingdom of the rising day.*

In the discovery of India by Vasco de Gama, Camoens has a theme worthy of a great epic poem. In addition to its being one of the greatest achievements in the history of the world, it has the advantage of appealing profoundly to the patriotism of his people. Following in the footsteps of Homer and Virgil, he sings the great deeds of his countrymen, and records the glorious story of the founding of a vast Empire in the romantic East. It is nothing short of the realisation of the dreams of all Europe, the conquest of a land which has been its fascination since the earlier times. The Portuguese poet says of the momentous voyage :

The sage Ulysses, nor the Trojan pride,
Such raging gulfs, such whirling storms defied.

It is however proposed to confine our attention here to the Indian interest in the poem. Long before the commencement of the main action, the future conqueror has a vision which inspires him to undertake the remarkable venture. The Indus and the Ganges, rivers famous in Indian mythology, roll down before him from a mountain steep, in two copious, glassy streams. Two hoary fathers arise from them and invite him to their shores, to restore peace and prosperity to a realm which is torn by civil strife. And like ancient Father Tiber, who appeared before the wandering Trojan hero in a vision and promised success to his race, the two brothers draw such a roseate picture of the future achievements of Portugal in the East, that it must have instilled heroism into much weaker hearts. The plan is resolved upon, and after numerous adventures in the course of the voyage towards the East, we find the fleet approaching the shores of India. Great is the excitement when the palmy shore of Malabar breaks upon their view :

Now morn, serene in dappled grey, arose
O'er the fair lawns where murmuring Ganges flows ;
Pale shone the wave beneath the golden beam ;
Blue o'er the silver flood Malabria's mountains gleam ;
The sailors on the Maintop's airy round
Land, land, aloud, with waving hands resound,
Aloud the pilot of the *Melinda* cries,

* All the extracts from the *Lusiad* in this volume are from William Mickle's translation, which is the best if not the most accurate.

Behold, O Chief, the shores of India rise !
 Elate the joyful crew on tip-toe trod,
 And every breast with swelling raptures glow'd ;
 Gama's great soul confest the rushing swell :
 Prone on his manly knees the hero fell,
 Oh bounteous Heaven, he cries and spreads his hands
 To bounteous Heaven, while boundless joy commands
 No farther word to flow. In wonder lost,
 As one in horrid dreams through whirlpools tost,
 Now snatch'd by demons rides the flaming air,
 And howls, and hears the howlings of despair ;
 Awaked, amazed, confused with transport glows,
 And trembling still, with troubled joy o'erflows.
 So, yet affected with the sickly weight,
 Left by the horrors of the dreadful night,
 The hero wakes in raptures to behold
 The Indian shores before his prow unfold .
 Bounding he rises and with eyes on fire
 Surveys the limits of his proud desire.

It may not be worth while entering into an account of all the details connected with the early history of the Portuguese in India, which constitute the foundation of the epic of Camoens. The historical narration is not the essence of the poem. The light which the epic throws on the social and political conditions of India in the sixteenth century is probably of greater interest to the student of to-day, and there is also a special value attaching to the descriptive parts of the poem.

India's 'golden strand' has at last been reached, and Vasco de Gama is to be enlightened on the nature of the new country by an inhabitant who has been attracted to the foreigners by the splendour of their equipage. There is now discourse on the geography of the land, which must have been of particular value in the days of Camoens, by spreading information about a part of the world which was enveloped in mystery. The passage may now be recalled, though on other grounds:

Vast are the shores of India's wealthful soil ;
 Southward sea gir't, she forms a demi-isle ;
 His cavern'd cliffs with dark-brow'd forests crown'd
 Hemodian Taurus frowns her northern bound :
 From Caspia's lake the enormous mountain spreads,
 And leading eastward rears a thousand heads ;
 Far to extremest sea her ridges thrown,
 By various names, through various tribes are known.
 Here down the waste of Taurus' rocky side

Two infant rivers pour the crystal tide,
 Indus the one, and one the Ganges named
 Darkly of old, through distant nations famed :
 One eastward curving holds his crooked way,
 One to the West gives his swol'n tide to stray
 Declining southward many a land they have,
 And widely swelling roll the sea-like wave,
 Till the twin offspring of the mountain fire
 Both in the Indian deep ingulph'd expire.
 Between these streams, fair-smiling to the day,
 And many a league far to the south they bend,
 From the broad region where the rivers and,
 Till where the shores to Ceylon's isle oppose,
 In conic form the India regions close.

* * * *

The attention of the informant is not confined to the physical configuration of the country. There is a poetical dissertation on the laws and the religions of the land ; the kingdoms that spread themselves on its fertile plains and the people who swarm on the banks of its rivers. There are the sons of stern Deccan tilling the soil. Bengal extends its beauteous Eden where hallowed Ganges meets the sea. The kingdom of Vijayanagar, at the zenith of its power is there too, her sons shining in native gold and ruby. There are the Western Ghauts, Nature's rude wall, guarding the fertile lawns of Malabar.

Here, from the mountain to the surgy main,
 Fair as a garden, spreads the smiling plain,
 And lo, the empress of the Indian powers,
 There lofty Calicut resplendent towers ;
 Here's every fragrance of the spicy shore,
 Here's every gem of India's countless store.

It is not possible to claim for Camoens, a foreigner who made a brief sojourn in the country, any success in dealing with the deeper aspects of India. An enthusiastic and almost bigoted Christian himself, he could not enter into the religion and philosophy of the East with any sympathy. Nor were his intellectual tastes congenial to the appreciation of the baffling religious mysteries of the people. The external forms of religious worship, as they obtained among the lower classes, as they might be witnessed in the streets, for instance, attracted the poet's attention, and he sang of them with power, if not with understanding. If his vision in politics was the conquest of the whole of India by his countrymen and the building of an empire destined to outshine the glories of Imperial Rome, the evangelisation of its teeming

millions was his dream in the sphere of religion. He attaches such great importance to the latter, that he reverts to it from time to time, and is disposed to regard it as even a more glorious consummation than the acquisition of all the wealth of the East.

This is hardly the occasion for referring to the variety of episodes woven into the texture of the poem, but there must be room left for one of them, the story of the martyrdom of St. Thomas at Mylapore, at a spot now marked by a raised cross in Luz Church Road. Historical research has disproved traditional accounts of the event, but it hardly affects the value of the artistic treatment of the story of Camoens. The piety of St. Thomas and the reputation for holiness he is acquiring by his miracle excite the envy of the Brahmins who are planning his murder. All their devices having failed, he is killed from behind, when he is at his prayers :

'T was on a day, when melting on his tongue,
Heaven's offer'd mercies glow'd, the impious throng,
Rising in maddening tempest round him shower'd
The splinter'd flint ; in vain the flint was pour'd
But Heaven had now his finish'd labours seal'd ;
His angel guards withdrew the etherial shield ;
A Brahmin's javelin tears his holy breast.

On every page there are accounts of incidents and descriptive passages of a nature calculated to arrest the attention of the Indian reader. Following Virgil's device of representing the important events of Roman History, on the shield made for Aeneas by Vulcan, the poet draws pictures of India's fate on the marble walls of the palace of the Zamorin. From the marshalled legions of Macedon advancing to the shores of Hydaspes under the leadership of a smooth-cheeked and rose-lipped conqueror, to the events of their own day, they behold the whole story on the sculptured walls.

The enthusiasm displayed in delineating the Indian splendours of the age is also striking. One has only to turn to his picture of the Zamorin holding court in his palace, in proof of this statement :

The Tapestry'd walls with gold were pictured o'er,
And flowery velvet spread the marble floor ;
In all the grandeur of the Indian state,
High on a blazing court, the monarch sate,
With starry gems the purple curtains shined,
And ruby flowers and golden foliage twined
Around the silver pillars. High o'er head

The golden canopy its radiance shed ;
 Of cloth of gold the sovereign's mantle shone,
 And his high turban flamed with precious stones.

It is in the midst of such gorgeous surroundings that the poet lays the scene of the heroic deeds of Vasco de Gama and his followers. And it is with great reluctance indeed that he thinks of closing the splendours on his Indian scene. There must have been the elation of a great national triumph when the hardy sons of Portugal bade farewell to India's shores after the work of discovery and conquest was over :

With rustling sound now swell'd the steady sail ;
 The lofty masts reclining to the gale
 On full-spread wings the navy springs away
 And far behind them foams the ocean grey ;
 After the lessening hills of the Ghauts fly
 And mix their dim blue summits with the sky

The land similarly fled from the vision of Camoens himself when after his long tropical exile was over, he returned to his fatherland. But was there the consciousness at that supreme moment, in his mind of a similar triumph, of having feasted his sight on a land of Romance, to sing of it in deathless verse ?

IV

The *Lusiad* of Camoens has a valuable lesson to the literary aspirant in India. There is not a single poem of any magnitude in India, that appeals to a sense of national honour in the sense in which *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* appealed to the Greeks and Romans of ancient Europe. There was a distinct desire on the part of Homer and Virgil to advance the glory of their Fatherlands when the former celebrated the victory of Greek arms in Asia, and the latter the foundation of what was going to develop into one of the world's greatest empire. *The Jerusalemme Liberata* of Tasso partakes of a similar characteristic. But the two great epics of India have been inspired more or less by a religious sense, and cannot very well be looked upon as commemorating national triumphs. *The Mahabharata* records a fierce internecine strife, and has bitter memories as marking the first step in India's downfall. The somewhat legitimate complaint of Dryden against *Paradise Lost*, as having a melancholy end, applies in a greater degree to this epic of the great war. The Gods and demi-gods play such an important part, and the idea of nationality exists to such a little extent in the *Ramayan* that it is difficult to look upon the poem as a celebration of India's conquest of Ceylon.

At least the example of these Western epics must make India turn for poetic inspiration to the great events of the nation's story. Numerous themes of epic grandeur, appealing to the national sentiment await treatment. There are the primitive pioneers of the Vedic period, opening up the land to light and civilisation; the indomitable Porus bravely resisting the Hellenic hosts on the Jhelum; Aśōka wafting the message of Gautama Buddha to the ends of the earth; Samudragupta bringing all India under the sway of his golden umbrella; the valour and heroic sacrifice of Prithvi Rāj striving vainly against the Moslem advance on the country, and Shivaji resuscitating an Empire from the ashes of centuries—there is inspiration enough in subjects like these for the poet of the highest genius.

The Derivation of the word 'Tamil'

A PHILOLOGICAL CAUSERIE.

By

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THE name Tamil, which denotes the most prominent of the Dravidian languages prevalent in South India, has for a long time past been giving rise to numerous attempts at philological unravelling. The result, however, is by no means satisfactory ; nor is it even commensurate with the varied efforts till now put forth. The word still remains a riddle except to those who have allowed the demands of their balanced judgment to be outrun by those of a greater and more insistent order, an intense love of their mother tongue. Scholars of this type seem prepared to stake their whole reputation on the correctness of their various pet derivations, provided these are sufficiently flattering and tend to add to the prestige of their dearly loved language and redound to the high name and fame of the race they belong to. A false sense of patriotism has blinded them to the fact that the very antiquity to which the name 'Tamil' mounts should necessarily preclude from its significance any advanced notions ethical, philosophical, religious etc., which we have later on come to associate with it. They also forget that Philology, unless handled by experts well-versed in the science of languages in general and of the history and development of certain languages in particular, is apt to become a danger and a snare to the general scholar. The very ease with which one could enter this special field and spin out any edifying story to one's liking, should serve as a warning that, after all, the matter is not so simple as it looks. The present paper is mainly intended to drive home this particular truth which many of us here seem sometimes to forget.

2. I shall, for the purpose of clearness and consecutive treatment, distribute and arrange most of the derivations thus far offered under certain broadly-marked groups. They fall under four great classes :—

I. Derivations due to the consideration of the Phonetic decay of the word 'Tamil.'

II. Derivations due to the application of Semantics to the word 'Tamil.'

III. Derivations due to religious motives.

IV. Derivations due to mystical and symbolic motives.

3. It may be noted that while the opinions of the first two classes have at least a trace of reason and scientific procedure about them to recommend them for our serious consideration, those of the last two have clearly no such justification. These, after all, may be myth, poetry, reverie, anything but sober science. Yet I deal with these also here only to give the reader an idea of what a vast deal of ground some Tamil scholars have still to cover before they can be said to touch the fringe of the scientific problem implicated in the derivation of such an ancient word as "Tamil." Their complimentary, if sometimes, queer expositions, if they do not add to the world's scientific store of information, may at least serve to amuse the reader in a region where he has to plunge into and wade through mere dry-as-dust linguistic facts.

4. In the first class I have to give the place of honour to the derivation generally offered by the Sanskritists. Moved by a motive exactly the opposite of the one actuating certain Tamil scholars mentioned above, these would not rest satisfied till almost every language and literature in India was brought in some way or other under the protecting wings of Sanskrit. To single out a prominent figure of this group, I instance Subrahmanya Dikshitar, the author of the *Prayōgarivēkam*, who holds that 'Tamil' is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word "Dravida." What "Dravida" means in Sanskrit is nowhere stated, and we are as much in the dark as ever. According to this view, "Dravida" became later on 'Dramila', and that again eventually gave us the form "Tamil." Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his *Beginnings of South Indian History*, writes in the same vein, and supports this all too well-known view. Why the word 'Tamil' itself could not have given birth to 'Dramila', and that again to 'Dravida', and the order of this historical succession be completely reversed, none of these has seriously considered. They may argue that, then, they could not explain the later interpolation of the 'r' sound in the word 'Tamil.' If so, following the same line of reasoning, they have to assert that the name 'Turk' is not the original but a descendant of the form 'Turuṣka', because it too stands without that peculiar sound ṢK. If, however, the fact is remembered that most of the languages including Sanskrit, in borrowing foreign words, play ducks and drakes with their phonetics according to their individual peculiarities and genius, I am sure that their philologizing would seem to require revision. Another important consideration which has escaped their notice is that the group of languages known as the Dravidian existed without a name till its speakers came into contact with the later Āryan invaders or colonists, and it was only after long ages had elapsed since its birth that it was christened for the first time by the Āryan incomers. The very fact that the term "Dravida" in Sanskrit does not carry an intelligible sense, is a conclusive evidence that it is a loan word from a foreign tongue.

5. A second derivation in this class is that proposed by Dr. Pope that 'Tamil' is a corrupt form of the significant phrase 'ten-moḷi' (தென்மொழி), the southern language, as distinguished from Sanskrit or 'vaḍa-moḷi' the northern tongue. Considered as a mere accident in the field of Tamil Phonology, where even fantastic contractions of words in course of time have developed and still develop, one cannot urge that 'Ten-moḷi' is incapable of giving us 'Tamil' as one of its vagaries. The difficulty of accepting this derivation, however, lies elsewhere. Dr. Pope proceeds on the impossible assumption that the Tamil language had no name of its own till it encountered the northern tongue. It seems to me that Dr. Pope succumbed to the easy temptation of holding that the relative terms Vaḍa-moḷi and Ten-moḷi are coeval in their origin and are of equal historical age. As a matter of high probability Vaḍa-moḷi is the first name that should have come into use in the language, and Ten-moḷi should have been coined much later merely as its antithetic companion. We have a right to inquire what should have been the name of this southern language before the coinage of this later name. Further, Tenmoḷi, being a pure Tamil name, it is but reasonable to suppose that it should have been coined by the Tamil people themselves. But is it at all likely that the Tamils would have waited long without a name for their language, and that, when it came to naming, they would have pitched upon a name with a direction-signifying epithet as *Ten-moḷi* simply out of the sheer necessity of distinguishing it from another direction-signifying name *Vaḍa-moḷi*? If, on the other hand, we suppose that Tenmoḷi came into currency long before and without any reference to Vaḍa-moḷi, perforce we have then to father its origin on the northern race, the Āryas. But the Tamil character of the name "Ten-moḷi" stands opposed to such a view. In this connection, I may refer to the parallel instance of 'Vaḍapulam' (northern country) appearing in the Śaṅgam poems, as the name of the border countries just to the north of Tamiḷagam. This certainly did not give rise to the name Tēnpulam for the Tamiḷ country. When the three Tamil kingships developed in course of time into full-fledged monarchies, the Pāṇḍya ruler who bore sway in the south was called *Tēnṇavan* (the southern ruler), but his country was never called Tēnpulam, which, when coined, was applied to the land of Yama, the dread Lord of the dead in the southern region.

6. Coming to the second class of derivations arising from the Semantic explanation of the term, I may instance four of them here. The first and the most popular is the one given by Sabhāpati Nāvalar in his work "*Drāviḍaprakāśika*" that Tamil means Sweetness (இனிமை) i.e., that this particular language is an incomparably sweet mellifluous tongue. Verses like

“தமிழ் தழீஇய சாயலவர்”

“தமிழ்ப்பாட்டிசைக்குந் தாமரைமே”

from the writings of later poets are quoted *ad nauseam* to support this philology. Apart from the flattering nature of this derivation, there is nothing else to recommend it. A poet has ample ground to belaud the chief instrument of his art, language, as a veritable fountain of nectar ; but sober linguists should pass it by as a mere instance of poetic license and fancy. The scholars who harp on the sweetness of Tamil seem to forget one plain fact, that to every man or woman, his or her language sounds as the sweetest tongue imaginable, and that all other languages are insipid. It is only those who have studied languages in a scientific way that are not victims to this natural bias. Moreover, 'Tamil' as meaning 'Sweet' by a figure of speech, labours under the disadvantage of having been twisted out of its natural meaning by the *literati*, and not by the common people ; nor even among the *literati* do we find any one of the earlier group, the Śaṅgam poets for instance, extending the meaning of 'Tamil' to embrace 'Sweetness.' If the name 'Tamil' was coined and in circulation to denote a language at a period of time long anterior to the evolution of any literature in it, as every well-informed fair-minded scholar should hold, it would be simply absurd to assert that the first christeners had anything like the later idea of sweetness in their minds while they thought of naming their language. So far from that being the case, the name itself, one should assume, must have been the result of accidental historical associations now beyond our reach, and can hardly be ascribed to any conscious effort at naming. This much is sufficient to dispose of the sweetness-theory about the origin of Tamil.

7. The other three theories coming under the Semantic class are all more or less allied to the one noted above. Pūpāla Pillai, the author of *Tamiḻ-varālāru* (தமிழ் வரலாறு) takes Tamil to mean beauty (அழகு) i.e., a language which has all the elements of natural beauty in it, whatever that may mean. The commentator of *Vīrasōliyam* (வீர சோழியம்) and the late Dāmōdaram Pillai interpreted Tamil as derived from the root தமி meaning the incomparable, the unique, and carrying with it the meaningless suffix ட as in such words as இடமிட, உமிட, குமிட etc. A slightly varied version of this is that of a modern school which interprets தமி the root of தமிழ் as 'solitary' (தனிமை) i.e., unconnected with any other family of languages in the world. All these derivations are surely highly flattering ; but one and all of them suffer from the defect which characterises the sweetness theory, and are, on that account, absolutely valueless from the standpoint of sober philology.

8. Turning from these hypotheses, which at least seem worthy of some critical examination, I have to take the reader through the vagaries of certain other scholars who prostitute philology for their own ends. In this third group come the religious savants, who convert everything round them to take on a religious colour or be inspired by a religious

motive. These scholars forget that religion, in the sense in which they take the word, is a system of beliefs and practices of immensely tardy growth, and that at the opening stages it was wholly innocent of all those fine-spun moral and metaphysical doctrines which later on came to gather round it. Some of these opine that த being a divine letter, it begins the name Tamil (தமிழ்), and thus plainly denotes the divine origin of that language. Another school, not oblivious to human interests, declares that த and ம, the two vital sounds in the name, signify both the perfection of divinity and the imperfection of humanity, த being divine and ம human in their phonetic properties. A third school goes still further, and wields the analytic weapon with a vengeance. It says that the word 'Tamil' (தமிழ்) is made up of five elementary sounds த + அ + ம + இ + டு which do duty for the five letters of the mystic *Pāñcāksharam* of the Śaivite religion. What should the Vaishnavites and other religionists do while thus being deprived of any claim to their mother-tongue seems to have in no way troubled these. It is unnecessary, I think, to offer any serious criticism of these strange, not to say, startling derivations.

9. Next in the fourth class come an interesting series of philological attempts¹ due to mystical or symbolic motives. By a perusal of these the reader can at once gauge to what a sorry pass Philology has come in the hands of this mystic coterie. I shall simply enumerate them in an order without stopping to discuss in detail their relative merits which after all amount to nothing. (i) த in தமிழ் denotes தாய் வித்தை, a mystic mantra, the significance of which is beyond the capacity of ordinary mortals to comprehend or even conceive. (ii) த is an ambrosial letter (அமுத வெழுத்து) and thus begins the name of a language sweet in every fibre of its make-up. (iii) The word தமிழ் begins with the first vowel, அ, the easiest sound to pronounce by the mere opening of one's mouth and blowing the breath through it. Thus the utter simplicity of the Tamil phonetics is justified by its very name. (iv) As human society is made up of the two sexes, male and female, the word தமிழ் is formed of both male and female letters. (v) The name தமிழ் is made up of two parts, the first part being composed wholly of natural letters இயற்கை எழுத்து and the last டு standing for a peculiar, artificial and highly intricate sound (செயற்கை எழுத்து). The rationale of the classification of letters into the natural (இயற்கை) and the artificial (செயற்கை) need not detain us just now. (vi) Instead of looking at the name from the point of view of letters, another group goes in for a syllabic presentation. It asserts with all solemnity that தமிழ் is a mono-

1. I am indebted to Mr. Pūpāla Pillai's *Tamil-varalāru* for this group of derivations.

syllable, and refers to a language wherein monosyllabic words predominate. The first framers of the name, one has to suppose, sat in solemn conclave to take a census of the words appearing in the language for a comparison of their syllabic character, before they began seriously to give a name to their language. What a grand conclave it should have been to shame the speakers of other languages in not having hit upon such a strikingly original method of naming! (vii) Not satisfied with the tinkering on the surfaces as exhibited by the two previous schools in confining their attention to letters and syllables, another school gets deeper into phonology and says that the word தமிழ் is made up of three sounds ட, ல், ி, and hence represents in order the three types of sounds, hard, soft, and intermediate (டன் லொன்று, லொன்றின் லொன்று, இடப்பட்டதென்று) I concede some ingenuity to these philologists who press into service the three-fold classification of the consonantal sounds by the Tamil grammarians, டன் லொன்று, லொன்றின் லொன்று, and டு லொன்று for success in their philological venture. (viii) Not content with any of these derivations, another class, mystically inclined, takes தமிழ் as a mere symbol wherein the mystic number 'three' functions to their great satisfaction. If that singularly fertile number 'three' can appear in connection with முன் லொன்று, முன்பொன்று, முன்பொன்று, முன்பொன்று, முன்பொன்று, etc. why can it not function, ask they, in the name of the Language. Hence, தமிழ், in the view of these theorists, should be taken as a symbolic representation of the mystic number 'three'. (ix) The next and last class, not being satisfied with any of the mundane derivations, aspires to draw philological inspiration from the heavenly spheres. Kārtikēya Mudaliyar, the protagonist of his school, holds that 'Tamil' is a corruption of the word தாமஸ் light, the name of Sūrya, the Sun-God! After the Ptolemaic system of astronomy was overthrown by the helio-centric theory of Copernicus, who is there to doubt the solar origin of the name Tamil? It would be interesting also to note in this connection the very gigantic effort of this last-named philologist to derive every word in the Tamil language from that solitary root or primitive word சூல் (Śul), the Sun. If each and every word in the Tamil Language can thus boast of a solar ancestry, it would be preposterous on our part to refuse a like descent to the name of the language itself.

10. I do not think that this bunch of interesting, if somewhat quaint, derivations exhausts the list. There may still be more of a like brand. But most of them, as the reader may have already noticed, are beneath serious examination. To others objections have been urged which, in my view, are really serious. Still the most fatal objection of them all I have not adverted to till now, and shall now state in detail and wind up this article.

11. Each one of the numerous philologists mentioned above has gone on the assumption that Tamil is primarily the name of a language,

and has tried to shape his derivation to suit the requirements of a language. On the other hand, the facts disclosed by general history all the world over and by Early Tamil Literature in particular establish beyond the shadow of a doubt that such an assumption is purely gratuitous, nay even fundamentally erroneous. That the name 'Tamil' denoted primarily a *people* or race, and only secondarily and derivatively the *country* inhabited by such people and the language spoken by them, can easily be established by an appeal to the history of other peoples and to the ancient history of the Tamils themselves. A glance at the names of peoples outside India and in India is enough to convince the reader that the names of languages and of countries are mostly derived from the names of peoples or races speaking such languages and inhabiting such countries. For instance, the names of the languages and countries of such peoples as the Danes, the Swiss, the Irish, the Poles, the Finns, the Angles, the Franks, etc., are all derivatives from race-names. When at a later period territorial political divisions came to be established we find people called after the names of their countries, as for instance, the Australians, the Canadians, the Newzealanders, etc. In India, the names *Rājaputs* and *Rājaputāna*, *Āndhra* and *Āndhra-dēśa* illustrate the first principle, and the name *Mahārāṣṭra* and *Mahrātta*, *Kannāḍa* and the *Kanarese people* show the second and later principle of nomenclature. Both these principles of nomenclature preclude, however, the possibility of a language-name taking precedence of a race-name or a country-name in point of antiquity. The reason for this is not far to seek. In national life, languages gain in importance and significance only after the birth of writing and development of literatures in them. Even the idea of speaking of languages in their pre-script pre-literary stage as separate entities would not have shot through the brains of their speakers. As in all languages writing and literatures develop comparatively at a much later period, it would not be reasonable to hold that the races had to wait the naming of the languages before they thought of naming themselves. On the other hand, one would be amply justified on grounds of general history that the languages derive their names from the races they belong to.

12. Turning to the name of Tamil Language, which has given room to so much fruitless philological speculation, we find that, in the usage of the early Śaṅgam poets, the name occurs as denoting the people in the first place, and also the country occupied by them. Nowhere do we come across a single instance of an early poet using it as a language-name. I don't argue from this that the language had no name then as distinguished from the names of other languages prevalent in adjacent countries. But evidently at the spoken stage it did not acquire so much importance as it did when fairly arrived at the stage of writing. The word 'Tamil' in the following verses of the early Śaṅgam poets.

- [illegible]

refers to the Tamil army or the soldiers belonging to the Tamil race. And in the following the same word denotes the country inhabited by the Tamils.

- [illegible]

Even on the assumption that the language too of the Tamil people must have had a name at that time, it is only reasonable to suppose that the language must have received its name from the people speaking it, and not the people from the language. Thus from the usage of the early Saṅgam poets we have a right to conclude that 'Tamil' as a race-name is more ancient than Tamil as a language-name.² We find also that this conclusion is in consonance with the facts disclosed by the general history of peoples in the other parts of the world. If so, all the linguistic derivations that have been hazarded till now about the origin and significance of the word 'Tamil' should necessarily fall to the ground. All of them take for granted, as a matter of course, that the name Tamil denoted primarily a language and not a race, which is just the reverse of truth. If at all a correct derivation of their name, it should be ethnic and not linguistic.

13. Now we have to turn to the explication of this race-name 'Tamil.' Like the names of many other races in the world this name too should stand unexplained for the present. The time of its origin natur-

2. The authority of the *Tolkāppiyam*, a comparatively late work for the period we speak of, cannot help us in the settlement of this question of ancient history.

ally transcends all historical periods, and takes us to an antique world which saw the birth and expansion of the various races and peoples now inhabiting the earth. Leaving all history behind, it points to a pre-historic time far back into the depth of human antiquity, a time about which Ethnology merely dreams and has not yet come to a definite conclusion. And it is into the secrets of such a word as this—one of the oldest in the whole range of the language—that these philologists attempt to pierce with the vain hope of wresting its meaning. A perusal of this article may have prepared the reader to judge as to which of the two classes mentioned above, the question of deriving the term 'Tamil' belongs. That word, taking its very early origin into consideration, should for the present stand inexplicable, and it would be only the part of wisdom in this connection to abide by the warning conveyed by the following line of Einstein written when confronted with a like insoluble problem in the field of Physics. "It seems to me much better" wrote the great scientist "to give in to our present inability rather than be satisfied by a solution that is only apparent."

Some Land-marks in Tamil Linguistic History

By

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It is a well-known fact that every spoken language undergoes modification every day, even though it comes under the recognition of people in general only in the course of centuries. Tamil is not free from it. It is possible now from the literature available to us at the present day to fix at least five stages of growth in her :—

1. The period of the *Tolkāppiyam*.
2. The period of *Eṭṭu-t-tokai* and *Pattupāṭṭu*.
3. The period of the *Ṣilappatikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*.
4. The period from the time of the *Tēvāram* and the *Nālāyirappirabandam* to that of the *Vīraśōḷiyam*.
5. The period from the time of the *Naṇṇūl* to the present day.

The keys which unlock the above statements are :—

1. The use of the verb in the optative mood (*viyaṅkōḷ-viṇai*).
2. The use of the plural suffix ' *kaḷ* '.
3. The use of the pronouns of the first person.
4. The form of the present tense of verbs.
5. The oblique forms of *ellīrum* and *ellārum*.

The author of the *Tolkāppiyam* says that verbs in the optative mood are not used in the first and second persons :—

அவற்றுள்

முன்னிலை தன்மை யாயிரிடத்தொடு

மன்னு தாகும் விபங்குதாட் கிளவி

(தொல். சொல். வினை. உத.)

Avaṛṛuḷ

Muṇṇilai taṇmai y-āyī r-iḍattoḍu

Maṇṇā t-āhum viyaṅkōḷ kiḷavi.

Murañciyūr Muḍinākarāyar, the author of the second stanza in *Purañānūru* uses a verb in the optative mood in the second person.¹ cf :—

வான வரம்பனை நீயோ பெரும
நடுக்கின்றி தீலியகீர¹

Similar use of verbs in the optative mood in the second person is found in many places of the second period. This clearly shows that verbs in the optative mood were used only in the third person at the first period, and later on, it was extended to the second person. The author of the *Nannūl* says that they can be used in all the three persons. Cf :—

கயவொந் தவ்வொந் நீற்ற னியங்கொன்
இயலு மிடம்பு லெங்கு மென்ப (கண். 338)

Hence it is clear that they began to be used in the first person also before him.

Secondly, the author of the *Tolkāppiyam* states that the pluralising particle 'kaḷ' may be optionally used only with "a.riṇai nouns". Cf :

கன்னொந் திவனனு மவ்ளியற் பெயர்
கொள்வழி யுடைய பலவழி சொற்கை (நொல். சொல். பெய. 15)

Kalḷoḍu Śivaṇu m-a-v-v-iyar peyar-ē
Koḷ-vaḷi y-uḍaiya pala-v-aṛi śorkē.

As far as I am aware, the same particle 'kāl' is not found with *uyartiṇai* nouns (high caste nouns) in 'Eṭṭuttokai' or 'Pattuppāṭṭu'. But it finds a place with them for the first time in the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*.

யாங்களு² நீனெறிப் படர்கூதும் (சிலப். 298, 161)
கவுந்தி யடி களுந் (சிலப். 298, 166)
பத்தினிப் பெண்டி ர்காள் (.. 469, 4)
நோன்கிகள் விழுமங் கொள் ளவும் (மணி. 33, 75)

In the *Tēvāram* and the *Nālāyirappirabandam* the particle is also found with *participial nouns* like *Śolluvārkaḷ*. Cf :—

சொன்னீர சொல்மாலை சொல்லுவார்கள் சூழ்விசும்பில்
நன்னீர்மை யால்மகிழ்ந்து நெடுங்காலம் வாழ்வாரே

1. This use of the verb in the optative mood in the second person makes us infer that its author is later than that of the *Tolkāppiyam*. If so, the statement of *Nakkīrar* that the former belongs to the first Śāṅgam period and the latter to the second Śāṅgam period is open to question.

2. It must be borne in mind that, according to *Tolkāppiyāṇār*, pronouns of the first person are *uyartiṇai* and not *viravuttiṇai*. Cf.—(Tol. Col. Peyar. 8).

Then it was extended to the finite verbs of *uyartṇai* and *a.riṇai*, since the participial nouns in ancient Tamil had mostly the same form as finite verbs :— Cf.

திருவெழுந்தருளியுள்ளார் செரிந்கனே (பெரிய திருமொழி 6,6)
 கருங்குவார்கனே (அப்பர் தேவாரம்,
 திருப்புகழ், 2)
 வணங்குவார்கனே (க. ... 7)

Hence at the later period we see that the particle 'kaḷ' is used not only with *uyartṇai* and *a.riṇai* nouns, but also with verbs of both *ṭṇais*.

Pronouns of the first person which were considered by the author of the *Tolkāppiyam* as *uyartṇai* and which were used as such in the works of the Śaṅgam period, began to be considered as *viravuttṇai* (both *uyartṇai* and *a.riṇai*) from the time of the *Nannūḷ*. Cf :—

நன்னா கான் து முன் னிலை நான், நான்
 பொழுப்பொய். (நன். 282)

The finite verb of the form 'Śeyyūm' is considered by *Tolkāppiyāṇār* to belong to the present tense alone. Cf :—

என்னை மன்கை என்னிலை நன்னா
 அவ்வயின் என்னாந் திருந் கருந்தார்
 செய்யென் னுந் தினையொடு கொள்ளார்.
 (தொல். தொல். வினா. 30)

But according to *Nannūḷār* it belongs to the future tense also. Cf :—

செய்யுகிற் பெதினார் (நன். 145)

The forms of the present tense according to the author of the *Nannūḷ* are generally Śeykireṇ, Śeykinreṇ, Śeyyā-ninreṇ. But no one of the above forms finds a place in any work before the time of the *Tevāram* and the *Nālāyirappirabandam*. Besides the form "Śeyyā-ninreṇ" is considered by the commentator on the *Vīraśōliyam* to be two words *seyyā* and *ninreṇ*. But the author of the *Nannūḷ* has taken them as one word and considers that *āninru* is the sign of the present tense. (*Nannūḷ*. 143).

The oblique cases of "ellirum" and "ellārum" according to *Tolkāppiyāṇār* are *ellirnummaiyum*, *ellirnummāyum*, *ellirnummakkum*, etc., and *ellārtammaiyum*, *ellārtammāyum*, *ellārtamakkum*, etc. Cf :— *Ellāru m-eṇnum paṭarkkai y-irutiyum* (Tol. Elut. 192). But no such form is, as far as I see, found in any extant literature. But, on the other hand, the forms like *ellārkkum* find a place even in the stanzas of *Puraṇānūru*. Cf :—

செல்லு நீரு மெல்லார்க்கு மெனிய (புறநா. 58, 10)

Hence from the forms *ellirnumakkum*, etc. sanctioned by *Tolkāppiyānār* and the use of the *viyaṅkōḷ* only in the third person, we have to infer that the *Tolkāppiyam* is the earliest of the Tamil works that are available now. Hence it belongs to the first period. Since works like the *Puraṇānūru* do not use the suffix ' *kaḷ* ' along with *uyartiṇai* nouns, and the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* use it, the *Eṭṭuttokai* and the *Pattuppāṭṭu* belong to the second period. Since the same suffix is not found in verbs either in the *Śilappadikāram* or the *Maṇimēkalai*, but it is so used in the *Tēvāram*, etc., the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* belong to the third period and the *Tēvāram*, etc., belong to the fourth period. Since the commentator on the *Viraśōḷiyam* considers " *Śeyyā-ninrān* " as two words, while the author of the *Naṇṇūl* regards it as one, the *Naṇṇūl* and the later works may be said to belong to the fifth period.

Tamil Versions of Brhatkatha

By

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In a number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar brought to the notice of the public the existence of the Tamil version of the *Brhatkathā*. There he did not give details of it, as the book was not then published. It is now proposed to give a short summary of the Tamil versions, indicating the most important deviations from Samskrit.

There are two works in Tamil. One is called *Peruṅkadai*, the Tamil equivalent of *Brhatkathā*. The other is called *Udayaṇa-kumāra-kāviyaṁ* which contains 369 stanzas in Viruttam metre. This is only a condensed version of the other work—*Peruṅkadai*, and the author of *Udayaṇa-kumāra-kāviyaṁ* is not known. The author of *Peruṅkadai* is one Koṅgu Vēṇ Mā *alias* Koṅguvēḷir, about whom much is not known. The present edition of the work is based on a single Manuscript, and that too is very defective at the beginning and at the end. While the two Tamil works treat the story of Udayaṇa in detail, the *Brhat-kathā-mañjari*, the *Kathā-sarit sāgara* and the *Ślōka-saṅgraha* treat the story of Udayaṇa very briefly. On the other hand, these Samskrit works treat the story of Naravāhana Datta in detail, while the Tamil versions give only a brief summary of his story.

A short summary of the story of Udayaṇa up to the birth of Naravāhana Datta as found in *Peruṅkadai* is given below. When Udayaṇa was captured by Mahāsēna, Udayaṇa not only managed to escape but eloped with Vāsavadattā,—the daughter of Mahāsēna—with the help of Yūki (Yaugandharāyaṇa) and married her. Mahāsēna forgave Udayaṇa for this act afterwards. Yūki, the crafty minister of Udayaṇa, thought of expanding the kingdom, but the king did not care for it and was only enjoying the pleasures of life. Yūki, with the concurrence of other ministers, devised the supposed death of himself and Vāsavadattā. Udayaṇa did not reconcile himself first for the removal of Vāsavadattā, but as time went on, he yielded to the fascinations of Padmāvati, daughter of the king of Magadha. So far, the Tamil and Samskrit versions agree. While the Samskrit versions are definite in saying that Udayaṇa married only two wives, the Tamil version gives details of his marriage with two other ladies. One is Vāsavadattā *alias* Mānanikai,

daughter of the King of Kōsala. When the King of the Kōsalas was defeated by the king of Pañchālas, the latter took the females also as captives. The daughter of the Kōsala king was one of them. She, with other members, was presented to the queen as a servant-maid. She lived there under the assumed name of Mānaṇikai. When the Pañchālas were defeated in turn by Udayaṇa, his harem was captured, and the inmates were presented to Vāsavadattā as servant-maids. Mānaṇikai was also one of them. She was employed as a personal attendant. One day the queens were playing at balls. Mānaṇikai was also amongst them. She was an adept in playing balls. While she was at play, Udayaṇa saw her, and was enraptured at her beauty. He contrived to talk to her in secret. When it was known to Vāsavadattā, she was much enraged and ordered her hairs to be cut off. The king was much annoyed but was helpless. He sought the intervention of his ministers. Vayantakā interposed and tried to drag the matter for some time and Yūki also, attired in disguise, diverted the queen's attention for some time. In the meanwhile Padmāvati sought the chief queen, and solicited the release of Mānaṇikai. At this juncture, the king of the Kōsalas sent a messenger to queen Vāsavadattā to the effect that his younger sister was living there under the name of Mānaṇikai, narrated the circumstances under which she came there, and requested her to take care of the girl. When she learnt that Mānaṇikai was none other than one of her dear relations, she sought her forgiveness for the cruelty done to her, and Vāsavadattā herself gave Mānaṇikai in marriage to King Udayaṇa.

When Udayaṇa was living in the forest near Lavāṇaka with Vāsavadattā, a young girl named Viricikai—daughter of king of Mandara near Kailās, came to him and asked him to make a garland for her. He made the garland and gave it to her. Since then she was thinking of him alone. When Udayaṇa was enjoying the pleasures of life, the retired king of Mandara came to him and requested him to marry his daughter. After obtaining the consent of his three queens he accepted the offer and married her also. Thus he had four wives.

Now coming to the story of Naravāhana Datta it is given below as found in the *Udayaṇa-kumāra-kāvya* :—

When Udayaṇa was ruling at Kauśāmbi, some merchants came and preferred a complaint. The complaint was this. A merchant had only one wife. They had three children. When they grew up the eldest went on colonial trade. The second one was trading in the bazaar in his native town, and the third son was doing a lucrative business by trading at times. The first son who went away to the colonies died there. The remaining brothers wanted to share the deceased's property. The king directed the minister Rumanvat to enquire into the case. The minister wanted to know the statement of the widow. Her

relatives informed the minister that she was in a family way. He recommended to the king that the property in question should be kept sealed till the birth of the child. If she gave birth to a male child, the property would go to him without any question. In case she begot a female child, the whole property could be divided among the brothers. Satisfied with this order, the parties went away.

Udayana was all the time observing that the domestic happiness lay in having children, and was dissatisfied at his not having any progeny. With this thought uppermost in his mind, he went to the queen's apartments. At that time Vāsavadattā also was observing intently how a mother-bird was carrying food to her young ones, and how she was fondling them. The queen too was thinking about her childlessness. Both of them had that night a dream which, when interpreted, showed that they would have a son ruling over the Vidyādhara. The Samskrit versions differ here and say that Queen Vāsavadattā saw a lady passing along the road with many children, and on her advice she and the king fasted and got a son.

This son was Naravāhana Datta—Tamil Naravāṇaṇ—who married Maṇamañcikā. Vēgavati and Angara-vilāsini according to the Tamil version, whereas it is said that Naravāṇa married 26 wives according to the Nepalese *Ślōkaṅgraha*. Thus, there are interesting variations between the Tamil and Samskrit versions.

Pataliputra in a Tamil Classic

By

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The question of the exact site of Pāṭaliputra, the ancient capital of Magadha had been engaging the attention of antiquarians for a long time. Lt.-Col. Waddell began his excavations in 1890-1 and published his "Discovery of the Exact site of Aśoka's classic capital of Pāṭaliputra" in 1892. Since then archaeologists have been quite busy. The results of later investigations have been thus summarised by Vincent A. Smith :

"Pāṭaliputra, the imperial capital, which had been founded in the fifth century B.C., stood in the tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Son with the Ganges, on the northern bank of the former, and a few miles distant from the latter. The site is now occupied by the large native city of Patna and the English civil station of Bankipore, but the rivers changed their courses many centuries ago, and the confluence is at present near the cantonment of Dinapore, about 12 miles above Patna. The ancient city, which lies buried below its modern successor, was, like it, a long, narrow parallelogram, measuring about nine miles in length and 1½ miles in breadth. It was defended by a massive timber palisade, pierced by 64 gates, crowned by five hundred and seventy towers, and protected externally by a broad deep moat, filled by the waters of the Son."

Bearing on this question, there is a reference in one of the Tamil classics of the Śaṅgam period, *viz.*, *Kurundogai*.¹

1. This work was first edited by the late Mr. Sauriperumal Aranganar, Tamil Pandit Voorhee's College, Vellore. Following his effort, three other editions are known to have been published. But, despite these repeated attempts, the text of this important classic still remains in many places incorrect and obscure. It is a misfortune that a work of such magnitude and literary excellence should not have been properly edited till now. Tamil scholars await, with eager interest, the publication of an accurate and critical edition of this classic and may we hope that their wish will soon be realised. It is a matter for congratulation that the Madras University has invited Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar to address himself to this task.

In stanza 75 of this work (Sauriperumal Aranganar's edition), we find the following two lines :—

வெண் படை யு பாண் கந்தர்வை படி யும்
வெண்படை படி யல் பெருநீயர்

From the colophon² it is clear that these words are spoken by the heroine of the poem to the bard who brings her the happy news of the arrival of her lord. She wishes him a reward as the word 'பெருநீயர்' indicates. Now, what is the reward ?

Mr S. Aranganar considers 'வெண் படை' as the reward and takes the phrase to mean 'abundance of gold.' I may at once say that this interpretation is altogether unacceptable. The word 'படை' can never be taken as a noun without doing violence to language and idiom. The phrase is merely an adjunct and means 'abounding in gold.' There is only one more noun 'பெருநீயர்' in the line, and that must be the word qualified by the adjunct. Now what does 'பாடின' mean ? It must necessarily be the name of a place, and this place should have been well known for its great wealth, as the adjunct clearly shows.

Is there any such ancient city of a name similar to பாடின ? The answer is obvious. The only famous city of antiquity the name of which answers to this description is Pāṭali. That this city was in ancient days noted for its wealth may be gathered from the following lines of the *Ahanāṇṇūru*, another classic of the Śaṅgam period :

‘பல்குடிநீ நிறைந்த வெண்பார் கந்தர்
சீர்திரு பாடலிக் குழிஇக் கங்கை
கீழுதந் கரந்த நிதி பங் கொல்லோ’ (அகம். 265)

A more direct reference to its gold and goldsmiths is furnished by *Peruṇkadai* :

‘பாடலிப் பிறந்த பகம்பொன் விளைஞரும்’ (உஞ்சைக். 58,42)

But what do we find in the *Kurundogai* text ? In the place where we should normally expect 'பாடலி' we find a slightly altered reading, 'பாடின.' Mr. S. Aranganar takes this reading to mean a 'base person' (lit., 'one wanting in greatness'), and applies this term to the bard, who, according to the author of the colophon, brought the news of the arrival of the lord. But Naccinārkiniyar has construed the stanza somewhat differently. (See his commentary on the 6th sutra of *Karpiyal*, *Tolkāppiyam*). According to him, it is the heroine's maid

2. The colophon reads :

இது தலைமகன் வரவுணர்த்திய பாணற்குத் தலைமகள் கூறியது.

who brought the glad news and the speech of the heroine on that occasion was embodied in the poem. This means that the words of the poem must be suitable to this alternative interpretation of the situation also. Now the term 'பாடி' may have some propriety when addressed to 'பாணன்' as he is, according to poetic convention, low-born and frequently represented as resorting to low tricks in his services to his master, the hero. But the term can, by no means, be applied to the heroine's maid, for convention always represents her as high-born and as enjoying the full confidence of her mistress (vide sutra 35 of Kaṭṭavīyal, *Tolkāppiyam*). This shows clearly that 'பாடி' is not the word intended and that it is a misreading of some other word. We have seen that 'பாடலி' may be the word which the context requires. We may also note that, in similar circumstances, wealthy cities and countries (and even celestial worlds) are frequently mentioned in ancient and mediaeval Tamil literature.³

These considerations may fairly induce us to regard 'பொன்மலி பாடலி பெய்தியர்' as the correct reading. And obviously the line means 'may you be rewarded with gold-abounding Pāṭali.' Recently, I had occasion to go through *Kurundogai* and correct the text with the help of some manuscripts.⁴ The readings in these manuscripts confirm in an unforeseen manner the correctness of the inference above made. The first line reads: 'கெண்கோட் டியானே சோனே படியும்' in some manuscripts, while one manuscript gives 'சோனே' instead of 'சோனே'. I may also add that the reading 'சோனே' is supported by Iḷampūraṇar, the earliest of the commentators of *Tolkāppiyam* (vide his commentary on the sixth sūtra of Kaṭṭavīyal). Naccinārkiṇiyar also in his commentary on the above Sūtra gives the same reading சோனே. சோனே is evidently the river Son on whose northern bank stood the ancient classic capital Pāṭaliputra. The situation of this far-famed city of antiquity was a well-

3. 'புனல்பொரு புதவி னுறந்தை யெய்தினும்' (அகம்-237)
 'சோழர் வெண்ணெல் வைப்பி னன்னாடு பெறினும்' (அகம்-201)
 'கருங்கட் கோசர் கியம மெய்தினும்'
 உறுமெனக் கொள்குவ ரல்லர்' (அகம்-90)
 'பொன்னுல காளிரோ புவனமுழு தாளிரோ
 நன்னிலப் புள்ளினங்காள்...
 நன்னலங் கொண்ட டிரான் றனக் கென்னிலைமை தானுரைத்தே'
 (திருவாய்மொழி-6,8,1)

4. One of them was kindly lent to me by Mr. M. R. Raghava Aiyangar, Sethu Samasthana Mahavidwan, (now of Annamalai University). Another manuscript belongs to the late Mr. T. Kanakasundaram Pillai of Madras and was kindly placed at my disposal by his son Mr. T. K. Rajasekharan.

known fact in ancient India, and Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (vide II, 1, 16) cites 'anuśōṇam Pāṭaliputram' as an illustration. This clinches the matter once for all. The reading ought to be

‘கொண்டகடல் டுயரணை டுதரணை டுடி யுள்
புள்ளுடை டுடைய டுடிநீறு’

and the passage means: "May you be rewarded with gold-abounding Pāṭaliputra, where white-tusked elephants bathe in the waters of the Sōnai."

The printed text reads ‘புடிநீறு’ instead of ‘டுதரணை’. This reading is not supported by manuscripts. Moreover, the reading ‘ஈணை’ cannot be correct. The subject-matter of the stanza belongs to what is technically known as ‘*marudam*’ and ‘ஈணை’ belongs to ‘*kuriñji*.’ The Tamil poetic convention requires that the *maṭais* should not be mixed together in respect of one and the same situation.

So the reading ‘புடிநீறு’ is clearly wrong, and it is easy to indicate how the mislection arose. The letters டுண and டுந resemble each other so closely in form that the scribes would often mistake one for the other. ‘புடிநீறு’ and ‘புடிநீறு’ would be written exactly alike on the palm-leaf, the length of the medial vowel being determined by the requirements of meaning or metre. டுதரணை is the name of a river in a distant country and the common scribe of later days could not have known this word. On the other hand, he would be quite familiar with the word ஈணை which would, not infrequently, be written as டுதரணை, both being very similar in sound. It may be remarked that ஈணை is even to-day often mispronounced as டுதரணை. This fact must have first led the scribe to correct டுதரணை into ஈணை. When once ஈணை was thus introduced into the poem, it would be seen that the line was wanting in a syllable. To supply this want, ‘புடிநீறு’ must have been invented. Hence the corrupt text of the printed edition.

We have been able to arrive at the correct text of an ancient poem, and History has greatly aided us in our reconstruction. It is not a little interesting to note that there should lie buried in this poem of antiquity a reference to a fact which took many long years of toilsome excavation to establish beyond a shadow of doubt.

Historical Dramas in Indian Literature

By

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IN his Presidential Address delivered at the opening session of the First Bombay Historical Congress 1931, Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, to whom Indian historical research owes so much, and in whose honour these lines are written, has pointed out the importance of literary works, and especially the Sanskrit Kāvya, as sources of history. "Used with discrimination and judgment", he said, "literature, even general literature, may prove to be of as great value as any other source of history, and sometimes infinitely more reliable and illuminating". In a paper on Vikramāditya (in the Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, I, 149 f.), the learned historian has already referred to the newly discovered drama *Dēvī-Candragupta*, as throwing new light on the history of Candragupta II.

This drama, the text of which has not yet been found, but which happily is at least known by extensive quotations in Bhōja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* and in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, is the work of *Viśākhadatta*, the well-known author of the *Mudrārākṣasa*. It has been possible, by means of these fragments, and with the help of information derived from other literary sources,¹ partly to restore the main plot of the drama and its historical background. The fragments of the play which have been preserved, are not sufficient to restore all the details of the plot. But this much is certain, that it deals with the romantic story of the rescue of Dhruvadēvī (or Dhruvasvāminī) through Candragupta II. Rāmagupta had for political reasons handed over his wife Dhruvadēvī to a Śaka chief.² His younger brother, Prince Candragupta, resenting this ignominy, entered the camp of the Śaka in the guise of the queen, killed the enemy, and rescued the queen, whom he afterwards married, and who became the mother of Kumāragupta.

1. See A. Rangaswami Sarasvati in *Ind. Ant.* 52, 1923, p. 181 ff; S. Lévi in *J. A.*, t. 203, 1923, p. 201 ff; D. R. Bhandarkar in *Malaviya Comm. Vol.*, p. 189 ff; K. P. Jayaswal in *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc.* 18, 1932, p. 17 ff.

2. Rudrasimha? See Radhagovinda Basak, *The History of North-Eastern India*, London, 1934, p. 38.

The date of Viśākhadatta is far from certain. I have been inclined to agree with those who would assign the *Mudrārākṣasa* to the period of Candragupta II.³ But it is not likely that Viśākhadatta would have written the *Dēvīcandragupta*, a drama in which Candragupta marries the wife of his elder brother murdered by him,⁴ at the lifetime of this king, or even of Kumārāgupta, the son of Dhruvadēvi. It would, then, also follow that the reading *pārthiraś-Candraguptaḥ* in the *Bharatavākya* of the *Mudrārākṣasa* is to be rejected, and one of the other readings (*Dantivarmā* or *Avantivarmā*) to be adopted. Thus, the *Dēvīcandragupta*, as far as we know it at present, would support the sixth century as the date of Viśākhadatta.⁵

Among the dramas which have been discovered only a few years ago, there is also the "Kaumudimahōtsava", which its editors call a "historical drama",⁶ and which the ingenious Indian historian K. P. Jayaswal⁷ has treated as a source for the history of Candragupta I.

The play, in five acts, has been edited from one MS. discovered in the Malabar country which has yielded already so many rare literary treasures, especially in the field of Sanskrit dramatic literature.

The title "Kaumudimahōtsava" has been chosen by the editors, because the scribe had written this word at the close of the copy. The great Kaumudī festival used to be held on the full-moon day of the month Kārttika in autumn.⁸ From the prologue we learn, that, at the time when the play was to be staged, the beginning of this Kaumudī festival coincided with the celebration of the restoration of Kalyāṇavarman, king of Pāṭaliputra, to his throne. And the *Sūtradhāra* says that he is going to produce, on this occasion, a play that has the life-history of this very king for its subject. So it seems more likely that the name of Kalyāṇavarman appeared in the title. But we do not know. Nor do

3. See my *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur* III, 210.

4. We do not know in which way the murder of Rāmagupta was described in the play. But see Bhandarkar, *l.c.*, p. 199 ff.

5. Cf. K. H. Dhruva, in the Introduction to his edition of the *Mudrārākṣasa* (Poona 1923), p. x.

6. *Kaumudimahōtsava—A Historical Drama*, Edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, Madras 1929, (The Dakṣiṇa-Bhārati Sanskrit Series, No. 4), first published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Research Society* for 1928-29.

7. *Annals of Bhandarkar Inst.* 12, 1930-31, p. 50 ff; and *History of India*, c. 150 A.D. to 350 A.D. = *Journal Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc.*, Vol. XIX, 1933, pp. 95 ff. 113 ff.

8. It is mentioned at the beginning of Act III of the *Mudrārākṣasa* also.

we know the name of the authoress of the play, for the leaf of the MS. is worm-eaten just in the place where the name of the authoress was mentioned. The remaining letters . . . *kayānibaddham* only show that it was composed by a female writer. Traces of the letter *ja* underneath the worm-eaten portion of the leaf support the conjecture, that the drama was composed by the poetess *Vijjikā*, who is praised by *Rājasēkhara*, and whose verses are quoted in anthologies.⁹

As a drama of *Vijjikā* is nowhere mentioned, I should prefer to say that the question of authorship must remain an open one, as long as no other MS. of the drama is found.¹⁰

The plot of the drama is a combination of a political intrigue with a love story. "Like a poisoned tree," "the cursed *Caṇḍasēna*" (*Caṇḍasēnahatakaḥ*, as he is generally called in the play) had been adopted as a son by *Sundaravarman*, king of *Magadha*, and made commander of his army. In order to usurp the throne of *Magadha* he allied himself with the enemies of *Magadha*, the barbarian (*mlēccha*) *Licchavis*, and laid siege to *Pāṭaliputra*. King *Sundaravarman* was slain in battle, and *Caṇḍasēna* became king of *Magadha*; but *Sundaravarman's* son, *Kalyāṇavarman*, with several sons of ministers, was concealed by the minister *Mantragupta* at *Pampā* in the *Vindhya* mountains, while *Mantragupta* himself, in various disguises, was looking out for an opportunity of regaining the throne for his master's son. While living at *Pampā*, *Kalyāṇavarman* meets the princess *Kīrtimatī*, daughter of king *Kīrtisēna* of *Śūrasēna*, and as usual in Indian dramas, there is love at first sight. Meanwhile, *Mantragupta* has succeeded in organizing a revolt of the oppressed citizens against *Caṇḍasēna*, who is finally conquered, killed by *Mantragupta*, and *Kalyāṇavarman* is proclaimed king of *Magadha*. Our play is supposed to be produced on the occasion of his coronation. *Kīrtisēna*, the king of *Surāṣṭra*, is only too glad to form

9. She seems to be a Southern poetess. There is also a Canarese poetess *Vijayāṅkā*, but I can see no reason for identifying her with *Vijjikā*, or with the Queen *Vijayabhaṭṭārikā*, who lived about 660 A.D. These are mere guesses of P. V. Kane (*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Introduction, p. XLf). Cf. M. Krishnamachariar in *A Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Dept. for the Publ. of Oriental Manuscripts*, Trivandrum, p. 56.

10. Mr. Jayaswal's suggestion (*Annals Bhand. Inst.* 12, p. 50 note) that the name of the authoress was *Kīśorikā*, and that of her father was *Kṛṣṇivāla*, is entirely unfounded. Surely, the peasant-maiden (*kṛṣṇivāla-kīśorikā*) in verse 3, who makes herself an ear-ornament of young rice-flowers (*kalamamañjarī*) which becomes black-spotted by a side-glance from her black eyes, has nothing to do with the name of the authoress of the play, and *kalama-mañjarī* certainly never meant "a pen"!

an alliance with the ruler of Magadha by marrying his daughter Kīrtimati to Kalyāṇavarman, and thus "all endeth well".

It is likely enough that there is some historical background to the plot of this drama, but I do not believe that Mr. Jayaswal, with all his ingenuity and admirable gift of combination, has succeeded in proving that the drama is a work of the Gupta period, composed about 340 A.D. The fact is that neither Caṇḍasēna, nor Kalyāṇavarman or Sundaravarman nor Kirtisēna, are names known to history. But Mr. Jayaswal "feels confident that this Caṇḍasēna was no other than the king who assumed the name of Candragupta after his grandfather's name (Gupta)". The only foundation for this bold hypothesis is the fact, that, in the drama, Caṇḍasēna is allied with the Licchavis, and that we know that the Guptas also were at some time allied by matrimony with the Licchavis. It is difficult to see how the worthy Candragupta I, whose father Ghaṭōtkaca was already king of Magadha, ruling from Pāṭalīputra, who was the third king of the Gupta line, and the first Mahārājādhirāja of the dynasty, could be possibly identical with the "cursed Caṇḍasēna", the traitor and usurper.

There is no justification at all for assigning this "Kaumudimahōtsava" drama to 340 A.D., and it is utterly improbable that it belongs to such an early age. The authoress, whoever she was, was well acquainted with Kālidāsa's poetry.¹¹ A verse which occurs twice (Acts II, 15 and V, 9) alludes to the love of Śaunaka and Bandhumatī, told in Daṇḍin's *Avantisundarikathā*, and that of Avimāraka and Kuraṅgī, the subject of the *Avimāraka*, ascribed to Bhāsa in the Trivandrum Series. The old viṭa (in Act V) who revels in remembrances of the pleasures enjoyed in the company of hetaeras, and has studied the Dattaka-Sūtra on prostitution, reminds us more of the modern Bhāṣas, than of pre-Kālidāsan poetry. It has also some points of contact with the *Mudrārākṣasa*, and is probably later than Viśākhadatta.

The "Kaumudimahōtsava" is a historical drama only in the same sense as the *Mṛcchakaṭīka*. That is to say, as the political intrigue of the latter—the raising of Āryaka against Pālaka—is likely to have some historical background, so also the story of Caṇḍasēna and Kalyāṇavarman in the "Kaumudimahōtsava", but in both cases we are unable to trace the events alluded to in the history of India, as far as it is known to us at present.

11. See Dasaratha Sarma in *Ind. Hist. Quart.* 10, 1934, 763 ff, and D. R. Mankad in *Ann. Bhand. Inst.* 16, 1934-35, p. 155 ff.

The Playhouse of the Hindu Period¹

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PROFESSOR KEITH has traced the origin of Hindu drama in his masterly treatise² where, however, the enacting of dramas in properly built theatres did not receive the due attention of the eminent scholar, probably because it was thought that dramas were composed in Sanskrit more for reading like epics, poems, novels or stories rather than for seeing them enacted.³

Some scholars have, however, boldly endeavoured to draw out a picture of 'Theatre Architecture in Ancient India' from chapter II of Bharata Nāṭyaśāstra. But the text of Bharata and the more confusing commentary of Abhinavagupta appear to have frustrated such attempts. For no correct picture of the theatre is possible without an exact and accurate knowledge of the numerous architectural terms in which are expressed the main idea both by Bharata and Abhinavagupta as also the other texts where the subject has been referred to. And all those scholars appear to have been tired of the apparently confusing dimensions, classifications, shapes, component members, and seating arrangement, which are important features of a practical theatre. The more essential matters in theatres, however, are the stage proper and the auditorium which naturally vary in accordance with the situation and

1. To be published in a slightly different form but with illustrations in the *Modern Review* :

2. The Sanskrit Drama, in its Origin, Development, Theory and Practice by A. B. Keith, D'G 4., D.Litt., 1924. Compare also Mr. G. Venkatachalam, 'Theatre Architecture', Triveni, Vol. I, pp. 100, 112.

3. Keith : *ibid.* p. 358 "nor is there the slightest doubt that the early dramatists were any thing but composers of plays meant only to be read."

4. Mr. V. Raghavan, Triveni, Vol. IV, pp. 715-723 and Mr. D. R. Mankad, *Hindu Theatre, The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, 1932, pp. 480-499.

size of the permanent theatre. Unlike in other architectural objects, light, ventilation, acoustics, safety and security of the theatre-goers, especially the royalty and stage performers, are to be specially considered in these structures. There is, therefore, need for more scientific knowledge and artistic skill. That the essential matters in connection with theatres were clearly understood and practised in Hindu India may be shown clearly and convincingly by a thorough study of the architectural texts like the *Mānasa*, supplemented by those of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and dramas.

Like many other things, Indian tradition has ascribed a divine, that is, an indigenous origin to Sanskrit drama rather than a Grecian influence. The *Nāṭyaveda* is stated to have been created by Brahmā for the benefit of all castes including the Śūdras who had no access to the Vedas. It is significant that dramas were intended at origin to provide facilities for the enjoyment of all classes of people, thus indicating popularity and interest to the subject of the general public, men, women and children, who could hardly be expected even if they were all literates, to read the texts in Sanskrit in order to enjoy the dramas. Thus the drama is stated to have been compiled out of the element of recitation from the R̥gveda, the element of chanting or songs from the Sāma Veda, the element of mimic art from the Yajurveda and the element of sentiment from the Atharvaveda. Siva and Pārvati are stated to have contributed the Tāṇḍava and Lāsya dances, and Viṣṇu "the four dramatic styles essential to the effect of any play". Viśvakarman, the divine architect, is stated to have built the first play-house in which the sage Bharata carried into practice the dramatic art thus created.⁶ This traditional account has been gathered from the Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which treatise the Western scholars have placed in the third century of the Christian era. But the dialogues and other elements have been discovered in the early Vedas.⁷ These dialogues are romantic in nature and dramatic in essence. Thus the conversations between Yama and Yami, or Purūravas and Urvaśi, would charm a modern audience in a most up-to-date theatre. Prof. Keith has further recognised that "the Vedic ritual contained within itself the germs of drama", and in the ceremonies "there was undoubtedly present the element of dramatic representation".⁸

6. Prof. Keith : *ibid.* p. 12.

7. For instance, Rigveda V, 10, 51-53, 86, 95, 108 ; viii. 100, i. 179, 28 ; iv. 18.

8. Keith : *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 23.

It will be, therefore, difficult for Indians to subscribe to the curious conclusion of Hopkins" that the Epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, did not "recognise in any explicit manner the existence of the drama." It is, however, not denied that mention is made in the Rāmāyaṇa of dramatic artiste (*Nāṭa*), professional dancer (*Nartaka*), even plays in mixed languages (*Vyāmiśraka*). Although similar matters are not explicitly mentioned in the Mahābhārata, mention is made of "players who made a drama out of the Rāmāyaṇa legend", in the Harivaṁśa, which is recognised to be "a deliberate continuation of the Mahābhārata". In this connection it is unfortunate that scholars should forget that neither the Vedic nor the Epic and other general literature were intended to be a history of every thing, and whatever we find mentioned therein are but casual references, and that absence of mention therein of any thing should not be interpreted to indicate their non-existence. Although dramatic elements existed in 1500 or 2000 B.C. in the Vedic period, the existence of drama in the Epic age in the 5th century B. C. has been ingeniously denied by prejudiced historians in order to obviously substantiate the Grecian origin of Indian play in the third century B.C. Thus it is commented that "It is undoubtedly far from easy for any people to create from materials such as existed in India (before the advent of the Greeks in the third century B.C.) a true drama, it was a perfectly legitimate suggestion of Weber's that the necessary impetus to creation may have been given by the contact of Greece with India, through the representation of Greek plays at the courts of the Kings in Baktria, the Punjab, and Gujrat, who brought with them Greek culture as well as Greek forces". By way of an explanation of the curious fact that one or more theatrical parties should accompany a military force of an invader in a distant unknown country it was felt necessary to add that "Alexander was fond of theatrical spectacles with which he amused himself in the intervals allowed by his victories" (and probably occasional defeats also). One wonders, however, that, although similar fondness for amusement and need for diversion still exists, no such theatrical or dancing parties are heard of accompanying a land, sea, or air force of more efficient character of modern times. But what is more puzzling is that Indians of Alexander's time were so forgetful of their relation with a foreign invader and so callous of their defeat, disgrace and calamity, that

they ran to and were unhesitatingly admitted into the courts of the kings forcibly occupied by the invader, where Greek plays in an unfamiliar foreign language are stated to have been performed in the intervals of battles. This doubt is corroborated by the following incident recorded by Megasthenes : " When he (Alexander) arrived at Taxila and saw the Indian gymnosophists (yogins), a desire seized him to have one of these men brought into his presence, because he admired their endurance. The eldest of these sophists, with whom the others lived as disciples with a master, Dandamis by name, not only refused to go himself, but prevented the others going. He is said to have returned this for answer, that he was also the son of Zeus (God) as much as Alexander himself was, and that he wanted nothing that was Alexander's (for he was well off in his present circumstances ").¹⁰ This would clearly indicate the feelings of self-respecting Indians towards Grecian invaders. Nor have the exponent of the Grecian origin of Indian plays found out any convincing reason for such a belief. The untenable theory of borrowing curtain for the plays based upon the word *Yavanikā* used in Sanskrit dramas has been discarded by the more careful and generous western scholars because the Grecian dramatists of that time did not know the use of curtain in plays.¹¹

The evidence of a drama being actually played in a theatre as found in the *Mahābhāshya*, which is placed in the third century B.C., has been recognised both by Keith and Weber, the views of the latter having been modified to the extent that " a certain influence might have been exerted by the Greek on the Sanskrit drama," and the former having concluded by saying that " in all these matters indeed the Indian drama rather is akin to the Greek than otherwise.¹² Full-fledged dramas of various kinds began to appear from this period. But the general literature also bears convincing evidences of the existence of regular theatres both for enacting plays and having music-performances and dancing. The *Prekshā-*

10. Megasthenes' *Indica*, Fragment LI, as translated by Prof. J. W. McCrindle in his *Ancient India*, 1877, pp. 115-116.

11. Keith : " Behind the (Indian) stage is the painted curtain (*Patī*, *apātī*, *tiraskarānī*, *pratisira*), to which the name *Yavanika* (*Prakrit Javanika*) is given, denoting merely that the material is foreign, and forbidding any conclusion as to the Greek origin of the curtain itself or the theatre " (*Sanskrit drama*, p. 359).

12. *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 57, 68.

gāra or auditorium is mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*,¹³ a drama by Kalidasa. "It is a perfect Nāṭyaśālā (theatre), there being mention of green-room and the curtain." In the *Śākuntala*, another famous drama of Kalidasa, the queen Hānisapadikā is stated to have been practising music in the Sangīta-śālā (Music hall).¹⁴ The *Bhāvaprakāśan*,¹⁵ a work on Rasa and dramaturgy assigned to A.D. 1175-1250, refers to three types of theatres and thirty different kinds of dramas which were actually played by a dramatic company under the direction of one Divākara.¹⁶ The *Saṅgīta-chūḍāmaṇi*, a text in MSS. on Music, is stated to refer to the

13 तेन हि द्वावपि वर्गां प्रेक्षागृहे संगीतरचनां कृत्वा दूतं प्रेषयतम् ।

अथवा मृदङ्गशब्द एव न उत्थापयिष्यति ।

आह्वतासि देव्या धारिण्या अचिरप्रवृत्तोपदेशं छलिकं नाम नाट्यमन्तरेण कीदृशी मालविकेति नाट्याचार्यमार्यगणदासं प्रष्टुम् । तत्तावत् सङ्गीतशालां गच्छामि । (Act I)

चित्रशालां गता देवी प्रत्यग्रवर्णरागां चित्रलेखामाचार्यस्यावलांकयन्ती तिष्ठति । (Act I)

एष नाट्याचार्यः सङ्गीत शालातो निर्गच्छति । (Act I)

14 भो वयस्य सङ्गीतशालाभ्यन्तरेऽवधानं देहि । कलविशुद्धाया गीतेः स्वरसं-योगः श्रूयते । जाने तत्रभवती हंसपदिका वर्णपरिचयं करोति । (Act V)

15. Theatre Architecture in Ancient India, Triveni, ibid. p. 716.

16. राजा सपरिवारश्च भरतश्च कुशीलवैः ।

नाट्यकृत्याभिनिष्पन्नं विशन्तो रङ्गमण्टपम् ।

यत्र रज्यन्ति भावेन गानवादननर्तनैः ।

सभ्याः सभापतिसखाः स देशो रङ्गमण्टपः ।

चतुरश्र इयश्च - वृत्तभेदात्सोऽपि त्रिधा भवेत् ।

परमण्टपिकैः सन्निः पौरजानपदैः सह

राज्ञः सङ्गीतकं यत्र वृत्ताख्यो रङ्गमण्टपः ।

वरकन्याऽमात्य वणिक्सेनः पतिसुहृत्सुतैः

यत्र सङ्गीतकं राज्ञां चतुरश्रः स उच्यते ।

ऋत्विक्पुरोहिताचार्यैः सहान्तः पुरिका जनैः

महिष्या सह यत्र स्यात् इयश्चोऽसौ रङ्गमण्टपः ।

मार्गप्रक्रियया कार्यं सङ्गीतं इयश्चमण्टपे ।

चतुरसे मार्गदेश मिश्रं सङ्गीतकं भवेत्

मिश्रे तु चित्रं संयोज्यं वृत्ताख्ये रङ्गमण्टपे ॥

(Bhāva Prakāśana, chap. X, 5-18).

drop scene and the other curtain.¹⁷ "The first curtain is the front drop which is removed as soon as the show begins. Behind the mist-like curtain, the *danseuse* performs the dance called *Lāsyā*" Further, sceneries appear to have been referred to by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*. These include representation of houses, cities, gardens, groves, streamlets, hermitage, forests, seas, islands, earth and heaven, netherlands (*pātāla*), as also the abodes of the demons. In accordance with need, the external, internal or side views of these objects in near or distant perspective are, further, stated to be indicated in these sceneries.¹⁸ By the time of the Bharata *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the subject reached its full perfection like the art of painting reaching the perfection in the Ajanta caves which in its technical and artistic features surpassed the 14th century Italian paintings. In (some) thirty-eight chapters¹⁹ the subject of dramatic

17. Triveni, *ibid* p. 722.

18. कक्षा विभागे ज्ञेयानि गृहाणि नगराणि च ।
 उद्यानागमसरित आश्रमा अटवी तथा ॥
 पृथिवी सागराश्चैव त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ।
 वर्षाणि समद्वीपाश्च पर्वता विविधास्तथा ॥
 अलोकश्चैव लोकश्च रसानलमथापि च ।
 दैत्यानामालयश्चैव गृहाणि भुवनानि च ॥
 नगरे च वने चापि वर्षे वै पर्वते तथा ।
 यत्र वार्त्ता प्रवर्त्तते तत्र कक्षां प्रयोजयेत् ॥
 बाह्यं वा मध्यमं वापि तथैवाभ्यन्तरं पुनः ।
 दूरं वा सन्निकृष्टं वा देशं तु परिकल्पयेत् ॥

Bharata *Nāṭyaśāstra*, ed. Joan Grosset, Paris 1898, chap. XIV, 4—8.

19. १. नाटयोत्पत्तिः, २. मण्डप (प्रेक्षागृह लक्षण) विधान, ३. रङ्गदैवत-पूजाविधान, ४. ताण्डवलक्षण, ५. पूर्वैरङ्गविधि, ६. रसविकल्पन, ७. भावव्यञ्जन, ८. उपाङ्गलक्षण, ९. हस्ताभिनय, १०. शारीराभिनय, ११. चारिविधान, १२, मण्डलविधान, १३. गतिप्रचार, १४. कक्षायुक्तिधर्माभिव्यञ्जक, १५. वाचकाभिनये छन्दविधान, १६. छन्दवृत्तविधि, १७. अलङ्कारलक्षण, १८. भाषाविधान, वागङ्गाभिनय १९. काकुस्वरव्यञ्जन, २०. दशरूपविधान, २. सन्धिनिरूपण २२. वागभिनयवृत्तिविकल्प, २३. आहार्याभिनय, २४. सामान्याभिनय, २५. बाह्य (वेद्य) अपचार, २६. स्त्रीपुंसोऽपचार, २७. चित्राभिनय, २८. सिद्धिव्यञ्जक, २९ जातिलक्षण, ३०. ततातोद्यविधान, ३१. सुषिरातोद्यविधान, ३२. तालविधान, ३३ ध्रुवाविधान, ३४. वाद्याध्याय, ३५. प्रकृत्याविचार, ३६. भूमिकापात्रविकल्प, ३७. नाट्यावतार (नाटशाप), ३८. गुह्यविकल्प.

(Vide Joan Grosset. *ibid* p. xxii-xxiii).

plays has been described thoroughly and exhaustively in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Thus are found therein reference to the origin of the dramatic literature, the construction of the playhouse, the invocation of the stage deities, varieties of dancing, pre-staging rules connected with arts like pacing to be learnt before entering the stage, sentiments to be staged, training in expressions, exercise of limbs and body, corresponding harmony of the feet, legs, thighs, hips and buttocks, similar movements of the upper body, pacing rules, sceneries, dialogues, recitation, conversation, mimicry, languages, ornamentation, various kinds of acting with reference to different types of dramas, chorus, harmonious instrumental and vocal music, and semi-nude posture, etc.

The contribution of the *Śilpaśāstra* to the subject is naturally limited to one feature only, namely, the construction of the playhouse which has been incidentally referred to in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and several other texts on dancing, singing and instrumental music. Thus the *Vishṇu-dharmōttara* is stated to have referred to two types of theatres, of which, however, no structural details are available.²⁰ The *Saṅgīta-makaranda* of Nārada supplies a literary account of an unspecified type of the stage and the auditorium.²¹ In this description the constructional details are wanting. The playhouse (*nāṭyaśālā*) is stated to be sixty-four cubits with four corners and twenty-

20. Raghavan, *ibid*, Triveni, p. 717.

21. पडशीतिहस्तमात्र चतुरस्रसमन्विता ।
 चतुर्विंशतिकस्तम्भनानाचित्रसमन्विता ॥
 नानाविकारसम्पन्नप्राकारा चित्रशोभिताः ।
 चतुरशीतिवन्धाश्च लेखनीया मनोहराः ॥
 रत्नैरनेकैर्विविधैः पटवस्त्रैश्च चामरैः ।
 पताकातोरणैर्युक्ता चतुर्द्वारादिसंयुता ॥
 मध्ये तु वेदिका रम्या चतुर्विंशति हस्तका ।
 कार्या सर्वगुणोपेता नानापरिमलान्विता ॥
 अनेन विधिना कार्या नाट्यशाला मनोहरा ।
 तल्लक्षणं न हि कृतं राक्षां दोषमवाप्नुयात् ॥
 तस्यां मनोहरं रम्यं सिंहासनमनर्घ्यकम् ।
 तदग्रे फलपुष्पाणि स्थापयित्वा धिराजितम् ॥
 विद्वात्कविभटगायकसहासकज्योतिषवैद्यपौराणिकाः ।
 एभिर्नवभिर्युक्ता या सभा राजसभेति तैरुक्ता ॥
 विद्वांसः कवयो महागायकाः परिहासकाः ।
 इतिहास पुराणज्ञाः सभा सप्ताङ्गलक्षणम् ॥

(*Saṅgīta-Makaranda* V. 2-9).

four pillars and furnished with various paintings. Walls of various shapes and decorations, eighty-four positions charmingly drawn, four doors with decorations of various jewels, silk cloths, chowries, flags and arches, with a platform of twenty-four cubits in the middle (of the play-house), therein should be lion-throne for the king who is to be accompanied by nine or seven groups of courtiers. It will be noted that in this description it is not clear whether the dimension refers to both the stage and the auditorium. The height of neither portion of the whole play-house is mentioned at all. Nor are supplied the situation and measures etc., of the walls, pillars, doors and other parts. Apparently, this text, like many others, has carelessly borrowed from a standard treatise on architecture and, in order to complete the description, the architectural features are casually and imperfectly mentioned.

The seating arrangement is clear to some extent in the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara* of Nihśaṅga-dēva.²²

22. विचित्रा नृत्यशाला स्यात् पुष्पप्राकारशोभिता ।
 नानावितानसंपन्ना रत्नस्तम्भ विभूषिता ॥
 तस्यां सिंहासनं रम्यमध्यासीनः सभापतिः ।
 वामतोऽन्तःपुराणि स्युः प्रधाना दक्षिणेन तम् ॥
 पृष्ठभागे प्रधानानां कोपः श्रीकरणाधिपः ।
 तत्संनिधौ तु विद्वांसो लोकवेदविशारदाः ॥
 रसिकाः कवयोऽप्यत्र चतुराः सर्वरीतिषु ।
 मान्याञ्ज्योतिर्विदो वैद्यान् विद्वन्मध्ये निवेशयेत् ॥
 स्याद् वामेतर(तत्र) भागे तु मन्त्रिणां परिमण्डलम् ।
 तत्रैव सैन्यमान्यानामन्येषामुपवेशनम् ॥
 विलासितो विलासिन्यः परितोऽन्तः पुराणि च ।
 पुरतोऽपि नृपस्य स्युः पृष्ठभागे तु भूपतेः ॥
 चारुचामरधारिण्यो रूपयौवनसंभृताः ।
 सकङ्कणक्षणकारनिर्वाणजनमानसाः ॥
 अग्निमा वामभागे स्युरग्रे वाग्गेयकारकाः ।
 कथका बन्दिनश्चात्र विद्यावन्तः प्रियंवदाः ॥
 प्रशंसाकुशलाश्चान्ये चतुराः सर्वमातुषु ।
 ततः परं तु परितः परिवारोपवेशनम् ।
 अधिष्ठितं सद् कार्यं दक्षैर्वैत्रधैरैर्नरैः ।
 भङ्गरक्षास्तु तिष्ठेयुः सर्वतः शस्त्रपाणयः ॥
 संनिवेश्य सभामेवं नेता संगीतमीक्षते ॥

‘In the variegated music hall decorated with flowered walls, various flags and jewelled pillars, the president (king) is seated in a beautiful lion-throne (in the middle of the auditorium). To his left should be seated the court ladies of the harem, but the chief ones (queens) should be to his right. Behind, there should be the seats for the chief treasury officers; close thereto should be the learned experts in human study as also the humorous poets and the clever people conversant with all customs. The honourable astronomers and astrologers and physicians should be seated among the learned. To the right (? left side behind the court ladies) should be seated the Council of Ministers, and therein should also be the seats for the honourable military officers and others. Fashionable males and females should be seated surrounding the court ladies. In front of the king, and behind him, should be the female guards full of youth and beauty and holding beautiful chowries and tinkling bracelets. The forward (guards) should be to the left side having in front the vocal singers, conversationalists, bards learned and talking pleasantly, experts in panegyric, and clever in all tunes. Thereafter should be the family members in the surrounding places. The dexterous (guard) holding canes should be kept seated. All over the bodyguards should stand with weapons in hand. The audience being thus placed, the president (king) should see the music performance.’

In this account the reference to the architectural features is very casual and scanty. It has been apparently based upon a fuller description in some other architectural or non-architectural text. No specific reference is made to the shape, size, or dimensions of the stage or the auditorium. The seating arrangement itself is confused. If the un-amended text is to be followed, the side of the auditorium to the left of the royal box would remain mostly empty, while the other side will be overcrowded. The frontmost row to the left appears to have been reserved for the orchestra, because otherwise these musicians should not have the place of honour even before the king.

In this theatre there appears to be no place for the general public. This is apparently a royal theatre built in the palace itself. There is no reference to the fact whether it is an open or closed theatre, but possibly it was a closed one.

The seating arrangement in a temple-theatre as also in a palace theatre is succinctly referred to in the *Mānasāra*.²³ Herein the ‘theatres

23. देवानां च नृपाणां च स्थापितं सनयोग्यकम् ।
मुक्तप्रपाङ्गमानं च लक्षणं वक्ष्यतेऽधुना ।

are stated to be built in continuation of the open courtyard connected with the tank (or shed) in a temple and a palace (of which further details are referred to later). Therein (in the theatre) and in the auditorium the divine and royal throne of ordinary and ceremonial use for the gods, goddesses, kings and queens, as well as seats made of wood, stone and brick for the ordinary public, should be arranged in compartments partitioned by dwarf walls'.

The erection of partition walls in the auditorium to provide accommodation for different groups of audience would lead to the conclusion that the auditorium was divided into front stall, back-side pit, and possibly into galleries and balconies as made more explicit in the *Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra*. The architectural details of the auditorium are clearer in some respects in the *Bharata Nāṭyasastra*. It is stated that the divine architect 'Viśvakarma designed, in accordance with the science (of architecture which is not, however, specified), the audience-house in three types, namely, the circular or semicircular ²⁴ (literally, elongated, rather divided into extended parts, *Vikṛṣṭa*), quadrangular, and triangular pavilion.²⁵

यद्युक्त रङ्गमध्ये तु चतुर्विंशति भाजिते ।
तत्र मध्ये सभामध्ये न्यसेत्सिंहासनादिभिः ॥
नित्यनैमित्तिकाख्यादिकाम्यैरपि च सर्वभिः ।
चक्रवर्त्यादिभूपतेश्च देवसिंहासनोपरि ॥
स्वशक्तिभिरधिष्ठाप्य संस्थिता जनसेविता ॥
सिंहासनं मकरतोरण कल्पवृक्षम्
मुक्तप्रपाङ्गमपि दारुशिलेष्टकाद्यैः ।
रत्नैरनेक लोहं विशेषकैश्च
कुर्यान्मनोहरतरं चाथ सालभक्त्या ॥

(Mānasāra XLVII, 1-3, 26-33).

24. This is definitely suggested by Saradatanaya in his *Bhavaprakasana* (quoted above) where in place of *Vikṛṣṭa* the reading is *Vṛitta* or circular, the other two types, quadrangular (*Chaturasara*) and triangular (*tryasra*) being common in both the texts.

25. इदं प्रेक्षागृहं दृष्ट्वा धीमता विश्वकर्मणा ।
त्रिविधः सन्निवेशश्च शास्त्रतः परिकल्पितः ॥ ७ ॥
विप्रकृष्टश्चतुरस्रश्च त्र्यस्रश्चैव तु मण्डपः ॥ ८ ॥
प्रेक्षागृहाणां सर्वेषां त्रिप्रकारो विधिः स्मृतः ।
विकृष्टश्चतुरस्रश्च त्र्यस्रश्चैव प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥ २५ ॥

(Nāṭyaśāstra, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, XXXVI, Chap. II, 7, 8, 25).

These three types of the auditorium admit of three sizes each, namely, large, medium and small.²⁶ Thus according to the commentator, Abhinanagupta, there are nine types of auditorium. The small size is recommended for the triangular type, medium size for the quadrangular type, and the large size for the circular type. Again the medium size is more suitable for ordinary use in palaces and towns, while the large size is reserved for big temples, and the small ones for countryside and dwelling houses. Then follow some specific dimensions and other features of the auditorium.²⁷ The maximum diametrical length of the auditorium should be 64 cubits or 96 feet, and the breadth in front of the stage 32 cubits or 48 feet. For acoustic reasons it should not exceed these dimensions in theatres for the general public.²⁸ But in divine theatres built both in temples and forests or gardens it may be larger.²⁹ "This 64 cubit-dimension should be divided into two parts, the back part thereof should be again subdivided into two parts, and an equal half part of that should be the measure of the head of the stage front (Raṅgaśīrṣa). In the hind (western) part thereof should be the green room."³⁰

Thereafter the walls should be raised and then the pillars should be set up.³¹ The pillars are divided into four groups, called Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra.³² But Bharata leaves abruptly the subject of pillars, doors, roofs, walls and green room, saying that the practical details of architecture should be gathered from the science of architecture.³³ Then he gives a similar description of the stage proper

26. तेषां त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रमाणानि ज्येष्ठं मध्यं तथाऽध्वरम् ॥
एतान्येव त्रीणि ज्येष्ठादीनीति 'केचित् । अन्ये तु प्रत्येकं त्रित्वमिति
नघैतेऽत्र भेदा इत्याहुः । एतदेव युक्तम् ।

(Nāṭyaśāstra, II 8, 26).

27. प्रमाणं यच्च निर्दिष्टं लक्षणं विश्वकर्मणा ।
प्रेक्षागृहाणां सर्वेषां तच्चैव हि निबोधत ॥ १५ ॥

(Nāṭyaśāstra, II 5.)

28. Ibid. II, 20 ft.
29. Ibid. II, 27, 28.
30. Ibid. II, 36, 38.
31. Ibid. II, 46-47.
32. Ibid. II, 49-50.

These are not architectural divisions of the pillars. Professor Keith appears to be right in surmising that these pillars demarcate the quarters in the auditorium reserved for the four castes. For architectural and other divisions of pillars, see the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, under Stamba, and p. 850.

33. स्तम्भं द्वारं च भित्तिं च नेपथ्यगृहमेव च ।
एवमुत्थापयेत्तज्ज्ञो विधिदृष्टेन कर्मणा ॥

(Nāṭyaśāstra, II 65, 66).

(*Raṅgapīṭha*). 'On the two sides of the stage should be erected an entablature (*mattavāraṇī*) over the four pillars, and it should be 1½ cubits or 2 feet 3 inches high. This should be the total height of the stage-pavilion' (*Raṅgamaṇḍapa*, i.e., *Raṅga-pīṭha* as stated by the commentator³⁴). The account of the stage is also left abruptly saying that it should be built according to the science (of architecture³⁵). The fore-part of the stage (*Raṅgaśīrṣa*) which would correspond to the platform, is stated to be built of six pieces of wood, and furnished with two doors as in the green room as well as in the auditorium.³⁶ It should be smooth and even like a mirror, and decorated with jewels.³⁷ The wooden wall of this part of the stage which is decorated with various carvings, paintings, closed windows to prevent air in, turrets, towers and pillars, should make it (stage) look like a turret-like cavity (*Nirvyūha-kuhara*) or a mountain-cave (*śaila-guhākāra*) with a variously formed platform and the stage pavilion (*nāṭya-maṇḍapa*) should thus be of two-storesy.³⁸

Thus is stated to be built the large type of playhouse (comprising the auditorium and the stage³⁹). The other types, namely, the quadrangular medium ones and the triangular small ones, do not materially differ from the circular or semi-circular large type.

The quadrangular type of auditorium should be a square of 16 cubits or 24 feet sides. Externally, the walls all over the theatre should be made strong of well-fitted bricks. Internally, the stage (*Raṅga-*

34. But neither the height of the platform nor of the pillars above is mentioned: thus, the actual height of the stage is left unspecified here. See later.

35. रङ्गपीठं ततः कार्यं विधिदृष्टेन कर्मणा ॥

(Nāṭyaśāstra, II. 71.)

36. रङ्गशीर्षं तु कर्तव्यं षड्द्वारु समन्वितम् ।

कार्यं द्वारद्वयं चात्र नेपथ्यस्य गृहस्य च ॥

(Nāṭyaśāstra. II 71, 72 see 78).

37. Ibid. II, 75-77.

38. एवं काष्ठविधिं कृत्वा भित्तिकर्म प्रयोजयेत् ॥

निर्व्यूहं हरोपेतं नानाग्रथितवेदिकम् ॥ ७० ॥

कार्यः शैल गुहा कारो द्विभूमिर्नाट्यमण्डपः ॥ ८४ ॥

(Ibid II, 70, 84).

See दरीगृह (Kumāra Sambhava, 1.10,114)

and शिलावेशमन् (Meghadūta, 1. 25.)

39. एवं विकृष्टं कर्त्तव्यं नाट्यवेशम प्रयोक्तुभिः ॥ ९० ॥

(ibid II, 90.)

pīṭha) should be supported by ten pillars. Towards the outside the pillars should be connected with flights of stairs to the pedestal (or stage platform). The auditorium should be furnished with rows of seats made of brick and wood and raised to one cubit or $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the ground so that the stage can be easily seen. A set of six pillars strongly erected (from the floor of the auditorium) should support the (stage) pavilion (i.e., platform), and above should be erected a set of eight pillars extending to the entablature of same height (i.e., $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits or 2 ft. 3 inches) as in the case of the large type. (Thereafter) should be the green room. Therein should be one door for entrance to the stage. In a line to this there should be a corresponding door to the auditorium opposite for the entrance of the audience: this second door should be made facing the stage. The stage should be of 8 cubits or 12 feet dimension. It should be square and furnished with the platform (i.e., the Raṅgaśīrṣa). This platform should have four pillars on the sides. The height of the platform should be the same as in case of the large type.⁴⁰

In the triangular type of the small size the auditorium is stated definitely to be triangular in shape. The stage in the middle should also be of triangular shape (of which, however, the dimensions are not specified). At each corner there should be one door. At the back of the stage (raṅgapīṭha) there should be a second door. The walls, pillars

40. Nāṭyaśāstra, II. 90-105.

समन्ततश्च कर्तव्या हस्ता द्वात्रिंशदेव तु ॥
 बाह्यतः सर्वतः द्वार्या भित्तिः श्लिष्टेष्टका दृढा ॥
 तत्राभ्यन्तरतः कार्या रङ्गपीठोपरि स्थिताः ।
 दशप्रयोक्तृभिः स्तम्भाः शस्ता मण्डपधारणे ॥
 स्तम्भानां बाह्यतश्चापि सोपानादङ्गि पीठकम् ॥
 षडन्यानन्तरे चैव पुनः स्तम्भान् यथादिशम् ।
 विधिना स्थापयेत्तज्ज्ञो दृढान् मण्डपधारणे ॥
 अष्टस्तम्भान् पुनश्चैव तेषामुपरि कल्पयेत् ॥
 अष्टहस्तं तु कर्तव्यं रङ्गपीठं प्रमाणतः ।
 चतुरस्रं समतलं वेदिका समलङ्कृतम् ॥
 पूर्वप्रमाणनिर्दिष्टा कर्तव्या मञ्चारणी ।
 चतुःस्तम्भसमायुक्ता वेदिकायास्तु पार्श्वतः ॥

and other members are stated to be as in the case of the quadrangular type.⁴¹

Thus it should be noted that the dimensions suggested here are neither complete nor unchangeable. In fact in the architectural texts proper dimensions of all kinds of buildings are comparative and suggestive, and they can be altered to suit the requirements of various kinds. Thus it is laid down in the *Śilpaśāstra* of Śrikumāra quoted above that the playhouse (*nāṭyamaṇḍapa*, i.e., the auditorium) of two or three types being divided into four (equal) parts either by drawing lines lengthwise or breadthwise, externally or from top to bottom, each part or each two parts should be separated by pillars for the audience, and the fourth part should be left for the stage proper. The dwarf pillars supporting the raised platform of the stage should be two or three parts of the total height (of six or eight parts as stated in the *Mānasāra* wherefrom Śrikumāra appears to have borrowed) and the rest should be given to the upper pillars, base (i.e., the platform), entablature and the roof. Pentroofs sloping towards eight directions, two on each side, prolonged and continued, should be of two parts; and at the interval of one part these sloping roofs should be beautifully decorated with huntings and paintings.⁴² According to Śrikumāra, the stage proper, (of all theatres) 'forming half part of the whole platform should be furnished with four pillars extending to the sloping roof, and look like the oval drum (*mṛdaṅga*). Thereafter should be the green room of the required size. The bottom of the stage should be in level with the floor of the auditorium, and the wall underneath of the raised platform about one cubit or 1½ feet high should look by association of members like a lock of hair. Alternately, the whole theatre from end to end may be divided by pillars into forty, twenty-eight or twenty parts (which should be distributed as detailed above). The music hall in front of the temple towards the right may be divided into two portions of twenty-four parts each, of which ten parts should be given to the width; or alternately, in temple theatre, the proportion of length and breadth should be sixteen and six parts respectively. But in the

41. *Nāṭyaśāstra* II. 105-109;

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि त्र्यक्षगेहस्य लक्षणम् ॥
 त्र्यक्षं त्रिकोणं कर्तव्यं नाट्यवेश्म प्रयोक्तुभिः ।
 मध्ये त्रिकोणमेवास्य रङ्गपीठं तु कारयेत् ॥
 द्वारमेकेन कोणेन कर्तव्यं तस्य वेश्मनः ।
 द्वितीयं चैव कर्तव्यं रङ्गपीठस्य पृष्ठतः ॥

42. This would supply a festive look to the whole theatre.

public theatre and the royal theatre built in the palace or capital cities, the dimensions and other features should be discreetly given. The rest of the theatre, comprising the auditorium and the stage, is left to be built according to the discretion of the architect.⁴³

This architectural text also appears to have borrowed its contents from a more comprehensive text, which has been too briefly abbreviated. The *Mānasāra*, the standard treatise on architecture, has also treated this subject rather briefly, obviously because the auxiliary members like the platforms, pillars, doors, walls, roofs, etc., have been separately described in detail, and also because the pavilions for music, etc., in temples, palaces and various other localities have been described exhaustively elsewhere. Thus it is stated in connection with dwelling houses that "in the north-west, the Bhallāṭa or Nāga quarter, of all houses should be built pavilions for music (dancing, etc.) of the females"⁴⁴ The details of such a family playhouse are given elsewhere. Again, in the chapter on Pavilions it is stated that "thus should be the Śāla pavilion and the Kṛita pavilion; the wise (architect) should build the theatre underneath the pinnacle of a ten parts square." The elevation (lit., the relative or divisional measurement), the thickness of the walls, the verandahs, and the sheds with yards and the shapes of pavilions: these five features are described in order.⁴⁵

Thus in the chapter on Theatre the comparative measures of certain members of the stage only are referred to. An open courtyard is stated to be made "within the central theatre, the breadth whereof

43. Śilparatna, Trivandrum Oriental Series, LXXV, Part I, Chapter XXXIX, 60-68:

अथवाष्टाविंशति मिश्रन्वारिंशतिभिः पुनः ।
 विंशद्भिर्वार्थ विभजेत्पर्यन्तार्थं पदामये ॥ ६६ ॥
 देवस्याग्रे दक्षिणतः रुचिरे नाट्यमण्डपे ।
 नाट्यार्थं चतुर्विंशतिं विस्तारं दशभागतः ॥ ६६ ॥
 षोडशं पटंशा वा कुर्याद्वा सुरमन्दिरे ।
 मानुष्यराजधान्यादौ युक्त्या लक्षणसंयुतम् ॥ ६७ ॥
 सर्वं समाचरेन्तारथ मण्डपेषु यथोचितम् ॥ ६८ ॥

44. *Mānasāra*, XXXVI, 73. Theatres for females are also referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1.5.12). See the writers' *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, p. 534.

45. *Mānasāra*, XXXIV, 246-247, 3-4 for further details including classification in accordance with shape and number of pillars, see the writers' *Architecture of Mānasāra*, pp. 338-372, and *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, under *Maṇḍapa*, pp. 468-490.

should be divided into thirty-two parts, and the breadth of the shed proper is desired to be one part less on each side. Of the four parts of the height of that (shed proper) the height of the plinth (or platform) should be one part; twice that should be the height of the entablature. As an alternative, the whole height should be divided into eight parts in particular; of these the height of the platform should be one part and a half, or the height being divided into six parts, the height of the platform should be one part, and the height of the pillar four parts, and the height of the entablature one part. It should be adorned with all ornaments. Four half-pillars may be, otherwise, erected with one-third of the total height as their length. The pillars should be circular, square, octagonal or sixteen-sided. There should be made four porticos on the four sides, but according to some there may be only one portico. There should be eight or sixteen small vestibules on all sides. Its (shed's) top-portion (i.e., the ceiling of the auditorium) should be decorated with the images of the leopards and crocodiles, etc. There within (i.e., inside the auditorium) the thrones, etc., should be arranged in tiers in the middle (of the yard, that is, comprising all kinds of seats) assigned for ordinary, special and occasional uses to the Chakravartin and the other (eight) classes of kings, as well as to the gods, to be seated together with their consorts, as also the accommodation of ordinary people."⁴⁶

The epigraphical evidences are also not wanting. Thus from its arrangement and inscriptions the cave in Ramgarh Hill in Sarguja "appears to have been evidently intended for dramatic performances."⁴⁷ The queen's cave and that of Ganeśa in Udayagiri "are further examples: they represent the doings of these ladies and gentlemen (actresses and actors) in a highly realistic way."⁴⁸ "By Nāga, the Vira-Ballāla-paṭṭam-Swāmī, were built the dancing hall and terrace of Pārśva-deva, and in front of the Basadi of Kamaṭha Pārśva Deva stone pillars and a dancing hall were made."⁴⁹

46. *Mānasāra*, Chapter XLVII, 2-12, 16, 20, 24, 25, 26-29.

47. Dr. Block: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen*, Bd. LVIII. S. 455.

48. Luders: *Indian Caves as pleasure Resorts*, *Indian Antiquary*, XXXIV, pp. 199-200. But Jacobi is still under the old prejudice when referring to the cave theatre of Ramgarh Hill, he says that "it is arranged after the Greek pattern." The cave theatres are, however, referred to in the *Kumāra-Sambhava* (1, 10, 14) and *Meghadūta* (i. 25) of Kālidāsa.

49. Rice: *Ep. Carnatica*, Vol. II, No. 130, Translation, p. 178. See also the Hampe Inscription of Krishnaraya, lines 24, 32, North Face.

All these documents referred to above comprising general literature, technical works on music, architectural texts, and epigraphical records, may supply a fairly complete picture of the playhouse of the Hindu period. That the Hindu mind is essentially musical needs no elucidation. Music was required for the Hindus to celebrate one's birth, wedding and similar other happy occasions. It was also required to mourn one's death and similar sad incidents, including even calamities like earthquakes and epidemics. Religious ceremonies had to be accompanied by music. These musics include both vocal and instrumental songs, dancing, and enacting of plays varying from a single act or scene to a performance which continued for days and nights. Thus, the elements of the drama are available in the earliest Vedas. The excavations at Mahenjo-Daro, Harappa and other sites may supply evidence of regular theatre even for the Pre-Vedic period.

In order to carry out into practice the musical habit of the Hindus, the existence of which for milleniums is so convincingly evident, suitable accommodation had no doubt to be evolved by indigenous efforts. It would be the limit of prejudice to imagine that, although the Hindus knew all about a dramatic performance, and although the art of building was understood and successfully practised as early as at least between B.C. 3000 and 4000, when Mahenjo-daro edifices might have been erected, they did not think of constructing a playhouse even after the model of the then existing natural caves until the Grecian invaders supplied the pattern between B.C. 300 and 350. Those who are not thus prejudiced will find it easy to infer, from the evidences quoted above, the conclusion that there were in Hindu India rustic theatres for folk dance or popular performance, as well as regularly constructed playhouses of various shapes and sizes. They were built with scientific knowledge of acoustics, light, ventilation, safety and security. They were erected in villages, small country towns, centres of pilgrimages, and in big capital cities. They were attached to commodious dwelling houses, king's palaces, and god's temples. In all these constructions, provisions were distinctly made for the stage proper and the auditorium. The former comprised the platform with a thick drop scene in front and the theatre proper, with various realistic sceneries and curtains behind which even semi-nude dance could be performed, indecency being prevented by the mistiness caused by the device of thin curtain and light. The 'green' and other rooms were made for the dressing and resting of the actors and actresses, and even for interview with them by some fascinated audience. The auditorium, with the orchestra in front, provided seats for all classes and ranks, and these were artistically arranged in tiers and galleries. It was adorned with beautiful doors, windows, balconies, walls, and ceilings with carvings and paintings on them.

There were also open air auditoriums with surrounding walls and terraces, the latter of which served as galleries. But the stage appears never to have been uncovered either on the sides or at the top.

The reconstruction of such playhouses by competent architects is not impossible. The restoration has been undertaken, and the plates and measured drawings indicating plans and elevations published elsewhere⁵⁰ will supply further materials for the judgment of practical architects and engineers.

50. Vide the writers 'Illustrated Encyclopedia of Hindu Architecture' and 'Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad' and see the 'Modern Review,' 1936.

The Temple of Siva Nataraja at Chidambaram

By

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DESPITE the wealth of epigraphs, inscriptions, traditions, and references in classical literature bearing on the temple of Śrī Natarāja at Chidambaram, it is exceedingly difficult to determine the date of the origin of the famous shrine. Tradition has it that the fane was built by God himself. The lives of the two great devotees *Vyāghrapāda* and *Patañjali* figure so prominently in the traditions of the temple that we may give here a brief account of them. The *Kōilpurāṇam* of *Umāpati Sivāchārya* describes in beautiful language the stories woven round the revered names of *Vyāghrapāda* and *Patañjali*.

Vyāghrapāda, the son of a Brāhman hermit of Benares, acquired, even while very young, remarkable proficiency in the *Vedas*. Learning from his father that, of all the manifestations of *Siva* on the earth, that at Chidambaram is the most sacred, he conceived a desire to visit *Tillai* (*Chidambaram*). After a long and arduous journey, he reached the forest of *Tillai* and settled on the banks of the *Śivagaṅga* tank. In his zeal for the worship of *Śiva* he would penetrate into inaccessible places to gather flowers in the early hours of the morning. Very soon he realised that, unless he climbed up tall and slippery trees, he could not secure those flowers that were the favourites of the great deity. Moreover his sight was failing. So he prayed to God to endow him with the feet and the keen eyes of a tiger so that he could climb up the trees and gather the flowers for worship. His prayer was granted, and from that day the great ascetic came to be known as *Vyāghrapāda* (Tiger-footed), and the place of his worship as *Puliyūr* (Tiger-town).

The *Patañjali* myth appears to be much more ancient than that of *Vyāghrapāda*, since it deals with the very origin of the *Śiva Linga* in the innermost shrine of the temple. The story begins with the visit of *Viṣṇu* to *Kailās* to worship *Śiva*. The great Deity told *Viṣṇu* that a group of heretics were living in the forest of *Tāraka* and that he intended to go there to convert them. *Viṣṇu* consented to accompany *Śiva* on his proselytising mission. Together they entered the forest—*Śiva* disguised as a mendicant and *Viṣṇu* as his wife. The sages suspecting some danger to themselves immediately raised an *Abhichāra-hōma* (sacrificial fire) to destroy the intruders. A fierce tiger emerged from the fire

and rushed upon *Śiva*, who seized it and tearing off its skin wore it as a mantle. The sages continued their sacrifice, and there came out a huge serpent which *Śiva* seized and coiled round his neck as an ornament. Thereafter the mighty God began His mystic dance. Undismayed by the futility of their attempts, the sages continued their incantations, which brought into existence the black dwarf *Muṣalagan*. *Śiva* crushed this vile creature under his sacred foot, and keeping him writhing on the ground, continued his dance, which was witnessed by all the gods. The heretics acknowledged *Śiva* as their Lord, and thenceforward became his fervent devotees.

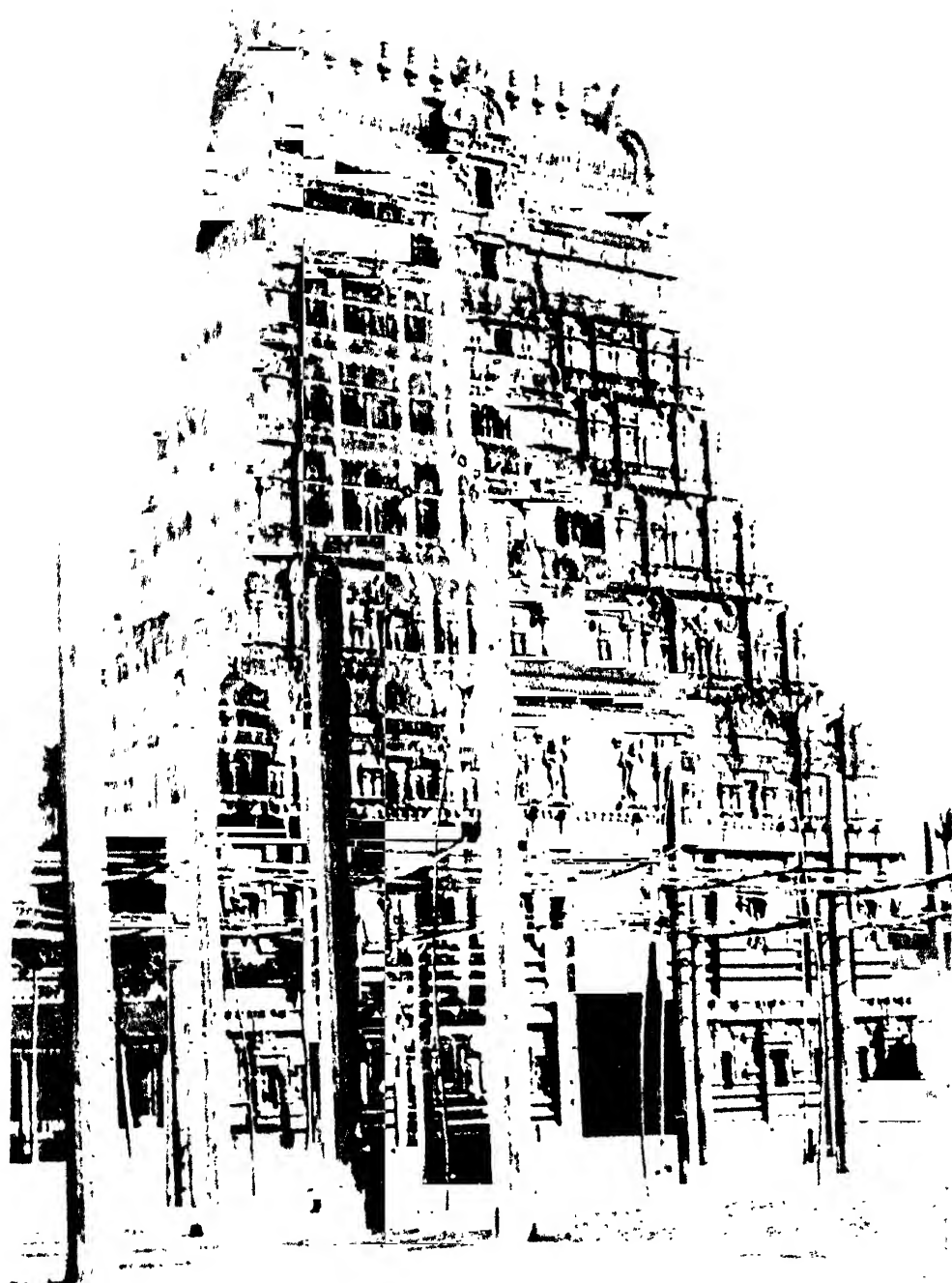
After the successful completion of their mission, *Śiva* and *Viṣṇu* returned to *Kailas*. *Ādiśeṣa*, the thousand-headed serpent who serves as the couch of *Viṣṇu*, was so enchanted by *Viṣṇu*'s recital of the great dance of *Śiva* at *Tillai*, that he prayed to *Śiva* to grant him the beatific vision of the dance. *Mahēśvara* (*Śiva*) directed *Ādiśeṣa* to go to *Chidambaram* and to await his second visit to the sacred shrine. Accordingly *Ādiśeṣa* transformed himself into a half-man and half-snake, went to *Tillai* forest, and in the company of *Vyāghrapāda* awaited the descent of *Śiva*.

The second visit of *Śiva* is associated with an interesting local legend. According to the story current in *Chidambaram*, there were at first two shrines, one dedicated to *Śiva* and the other to the goddess *Kālī* inside the precincts of the temple. When *Śiva* came down to grant his boon to his devotee, *Kālī* would not permit him to enter the *Nṛtta-sabhā*. Thereupon *Śiva* entered into a dancing contest with *Kālī*, and it was agreed that, who soever was vanquished, should relinquish all claims over the shrine and go out of the town. Then began the great dance in the presence of the devotees at the spot where the *Nṛtta-sabhā* now stands. After a fairly equal contest for a long time, *Naṭarāja* resorted to the pose in which he shot up his right leg straight above his head. *Kālī* would not imitate this pose though she could have done it equally well (being after all a modest deity of the gentle sex). Consequently she had to acknowledge her defeat. Thenceforward she left the shrine, and took up her abode on the outskirts of the town.

When we leave behind myth and tradition and enter the realm of fact, we realise that there is insufficient material for building up a reliable history of the temple. Our difficulty is enhanced by the fact that the temple does not belong to one age, but grew up through a period spread over 1,300 years (from 6th to 19th century A.D.) The first historical incident of any importance connected with the temple is the visit of *Simhavarman* who made a long pilgrimage to *Chidambaram* in order to get himself cured of leprosy. We are told that he bathed in the *Śiva*-



The Great Temple of Siva Nataraja at Chidambaram
A General view of the Central Shrine



The Eastern Gopuram

ganga tank, and that his body now free of the fell disease acquired a golden hue. He was thereafter known as *Hiraṇyavarman*. Out of gratitude to the God for the benefit he received he built several *Maṇṭapams* and *Prākāras* round the central shrine of *Śrī Nāṭarāja*.

Fergusson, speaking of the temple in his 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, says: "The oldest thing now existing here is a little shrine in the innermost enclosure with a porch of fifty-six pillars about eight feet high and most delicately carved, ornamented with dancing figures, more graceful—and more elegantly executed than any others of their class, so far as I know in South India. It is the *Nṛtta* or *Nṛtya-sabhā*, the hall of the dance. 'In front of the central shrine is one of very unusual architecture, with a tall copper roof, which I have no doubt, represents or is the Golden or Kanaka-sabha, and in front of this is a *gōpuram* and pillared porch making up what seems to have been the original temple.'" The shrine of *Nāṭarāja* is built of wood, which is a clear proof of its antiquity. The *Chit-sabhā* and *Kanaka sabhā* are enclosed by a wall separating them from the *Sanctum-sanctorum* and bearing inscriptions relating to Vikrama Chōḷa. It is round this central shrine, which, according to Fergusson, may be dated as early as the 10th century, that the temple gradually grew up. The shrine of *Pārvati*, the hall of the thousand pillars, and the temple of *Subrahmanya*, belong to a later age.

The great *gōpuras* of the temple appear to have been built by different kings at different periods. That the northern *gōpura* was built by *Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya* of Vijayanagar is evident from his own inscriptions in the temple. Another epigraph of the *Vijayanagar* king says that, while the other *gōpuras* were built by crowned kings, the northern *gōpura* was built by God himself. The eastern *gōpura* seems to have been built by the *Pallava* Chief *Kōpperuñjīnga Dēva*, and renovated by *Subbammāl*, the sister of the great South Indian educational benefactor *Pachaiappa Mudaliar* (1754-1794).

That the southern *gōpura* must have been the work of a *Pāṇḍya* king may be inferred from the *Pāṇḍyan* crest, the fish on the cross stone, connecting the right and the left niches of the tower.

Although the temple has been aggregated at different ages, and grown by accident rather than design, yet the whole structure is well-balanced and symmetrically arranged round the *Śivagaṅga* Tank.

The Rock-cut Caves of Malabar

By

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IN recent years rock-cut caves have been reported in increasing numbers from various sites in the district of Malabar. It was for long believed that, while on the Western side of India there are infinite number of rock-cut temples, there are no tombs of any sort. Babington¹ was the first to report on the sepulchral monuments of Malabar known by the names of *Toppikallu* or hat-stone, and *Kudu-kallu* or umbrella stone. Logan² and Rea³ followed with accounts of further discoveries of caves in the district, and more recently Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil has examined the Malabar caves in greater detail, publishing his results in a pamphlet entitled "Vedic Antiquities."

In October 1934 the local papers announced the accidental discovery of two caves (Figs. 1 & 2) at Pānuṇḍa, about 8 miles north-east of Tellicherry in North Malabar, at a site in the vicinity of a Śaivite shrine, where two caves had been previously discovered. These form an interesting series of four caves, which I visited in December of last year. An examination of the bigger of the two caves (Fig. 1.) yielded a spear 3 feet 4 inches long with a knob at one end, and a small grind-stone and roller of excellent finish, while from the other I obtained a miscellaneous lot of iron objects. The pottery in both the caves had already been smashed to pieces.

Of equal interest for its rock-cut caves is the region round about Punnōl, a place about 4 miles to the south-east of Tellicherry. Here I was fortunate to spot a cave, which on excavation disclosed a valuable series of antiquities consisting of pottery bearing painted designs in black, and iron objects. The cave is in the neighbourhood of a local shrine, the Chelleth Kāvu, one of the numerous shrines devoted to the worship of the minor deities scattered throughout North Malabar.

The pottery found in the Chelleth cave (Fig. 4) falls into three groups—the four-legged, the round-bottomed, and the narrow-bottomed.

1. Babington. Bom. Lit. Soc. Trans. 1819.

2. 'Malabar.' Vol. I, p. 180, et Seq; Indian Antiquary. Vol. VIII.

3. Ann. Report, Mad. Archl. Dept. 1910-11.

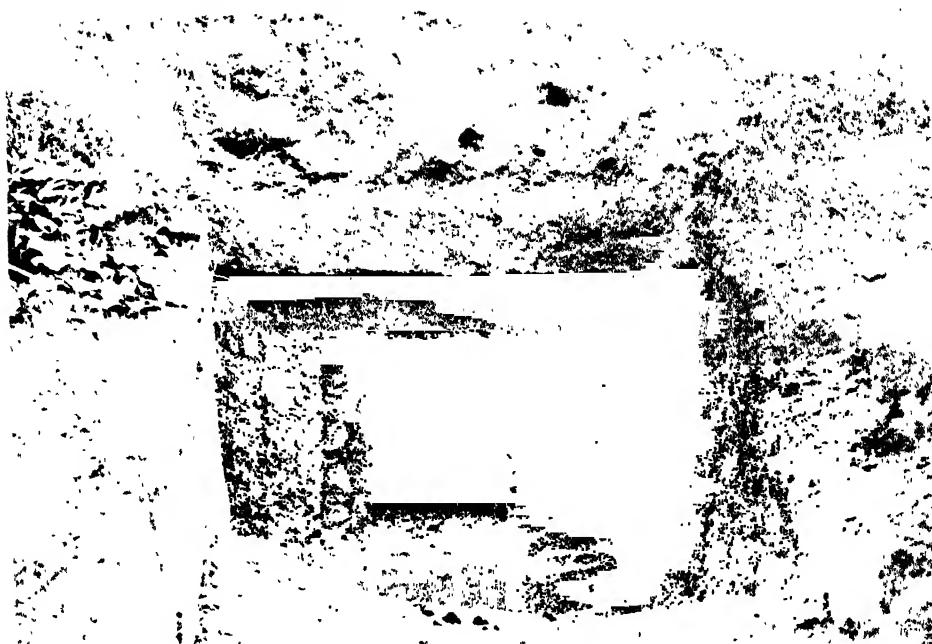
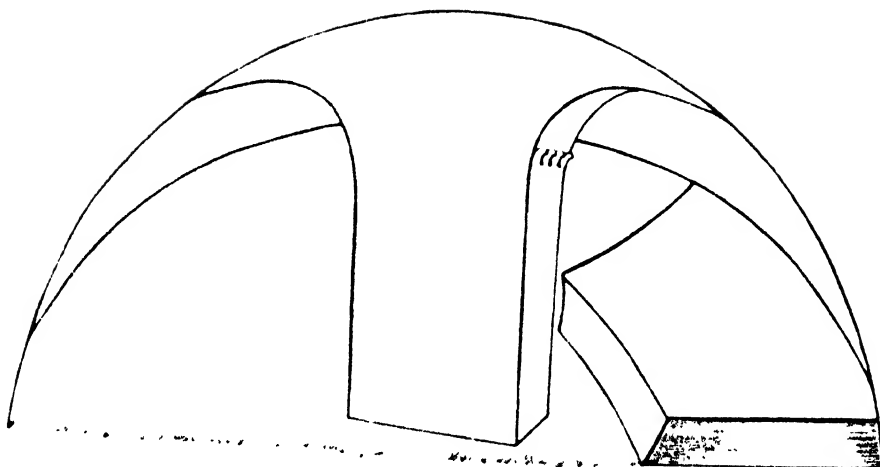


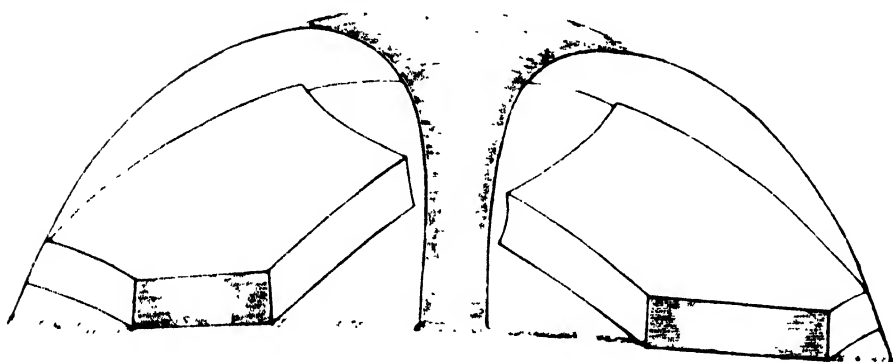
Fig. 1.
Panunda Cave A.



Fig. 2.
Panunda Cave B.



(1)
Section of Cave A



(2)
Section of Cave B.

Fig. 3.

The last is represented by a big-sized vessel found standing on an iron tripod. Three of the four-footed vessels are decorated by geometrical designs and bands in monochrome. Two of the small globular jars and one of the four-footed type are adorned with single bands of black in neck and shoulder. The colour in all designs is a dull black, which must have been applied directly on the pottery after the firing. The designs are faint owing to scaling caused by the damp and by the overlaying laterite dust. The black appears to be a cold black of some form of carbon unmixed with other colours. The designs are more or less regular and uniform, indicating that the painting was done with a brush. The lines of the designs are flush with the surface, and the paint being applied in the watery state has permeated below the surface.

The decorative motifs on the three vessels bearing geometrical designs include groups of triangles in black outline, being an elaboration of the triangular form, the enclosed space being left plain. (Fig. 5) The space between the wider triangles is filled with a narrow elongated triangular design with open base. The designs in other two jars are rather unusual, consisting of wide vertical panels with either the base or one side open, and filled in with small dots which alternate with plain panels. A plain band borders the designs on either side.

Of outstanding interest is the pottery bowl which treasured the bone relics, covered over with a lid. The lid is furnished with a holed knob with a pair of lugs symmetrically placed on either side. The perforation of the knob is perfectly round. The material of the bowl is different from that of the rest of the pottery, the clay being of dull black colour. The great rarity of handled vases in ancient Indian pottery being well known, the interest attaching to this piece of a handled lid is obvious.

The antiquities in metal comprise five objects in iron, including a bar of iron 17½ inches long, with a waist formed about 3½ inches from the top. Round the waist is twisted a piece of strong iron rod, the two ends of which hang down on either side. Judging from the figures of conventionalized human form which are features of the cave art of pre-historic Europe,⁴ the probability is strong that it is an effigy symbolic of the deceased. From the manner of its disposition in the cave (Fig. 6) stuck up with the hands hanging down it very much simulated the

4. "Hunters and Artists"—Peake and Fleure—p. 101, Fig. 55. "Spanish petroglyphs, representing human figures more or less conventionalized."

human figure. The other objects are sharp iron sticks, thick in the middle and pointed at either end, which are suggestive of the writing stylus of iron in use in Malabar from very early times, and surviving to the present day for use in writing on palm leaf. All the antiquities found were removed to the Madras Museum.

A sufficiently wide area of spreading laterite rock is the first requisite for a cave of this nature. The side sloping towards the east is evenly and perpendicularly cut down and rectangular recesses are cut in the rock in a graded series each narrower than the other, culminating in a narrow opening about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet, which ultimately forms the doorway, through which the boring proceeds. The solid mass within is hollowed out, all but a pillar which is left standing opposite the entrance. The column is rectangular at its base, but rounded higher up, until it sends radiating shafts on either side forming with the side walls of the cave symmetrical radiating arches which support the vault of the cave, which is fully domed and hemispherical. The central pillar is thus not an ornamental appendage which could have been dispensed with, but is indispensable to the structure and essential to its stability, bearing all the pressure and thrust of the mass above, and giving the whole cave the character of an enduring monument. A raised platform is left on one side, or on both the sides, so as to serve for keeping offerings of food and drink.

The flat facade presenting a graded series of jambs, the vaulted and hemispherical dome, the interior furnishing with its shapely column and the symmetrical platforms, all testify to the high skill attained to by these early cave builders. These caves are however devoid of any attempt at sculpture, excepting for a decorative pattern of leaves sculptured on one side of the central pillar in one of the Pānuṇḍa caves (Fig. 3). It is not clear whether the idea was to continue the leaf motif all round the pillar so as to form a capital. That it had not been continued all round indicates that it was abandoned, possibly because such a step might have been prejudicial to the stability of the structure.

The arch form of the vault of the cave is fully circular in section—(Fig. 3) not taking the form of the pointed or the horizontal arch,—a structure example of the true radiating arch. These caves thus furnish an interesting link in the chain of the growth of the domed architecture. The vast majority of these rock-cut tombs still remain entombed without any indication outside of their existence.

Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil in his "Vedic Antiquities," puts forward a strong plea for considering these caves to be Vedic stupas of pre-Buddhist age, being "hemispherical tombs for the relics of the Aryan

chiefs, imitating the primitive Aryan hut, which was a hemispherical dome made of timber covered with clay, and the Buddhist stupa is a development from the Vedic Stupa of the Aryans." While the Aryan hut was of timber, the evidence is against the Aryans having employed stone for any purpose ; nor are they known as a tomb-building people.⁵ As to the stupa, it is more probable that it is " the lineal or direct descent " of the sepulchral tumulus or circular mound of the early megalithic peoples,⁶ having developed out of these early structures rather than from any form of the Aryan hut.

It is not easy to deal with the problem of the age of these caves, and the class or race of peoples who were responsible for excavating them. The bones collected from the Pānuṇḍa caves show great decay and are almost chalky-white in appearance, indicative of high antiquity. Those inside the Chelleth cave were better preserved in the bowl, and are of a reddish tinge apparently from the adhering laterite dust. While these bones testify to the sepulchral nature of the caves, the remains bear no signs of charring or cremating. The burials do not therefore seem to be post-cremation burials, but appear to be of the nature of secondary burials, or consecration graves, as the fragmentary character of the bones leads us to conclude. In these secondary burials⁷ the body was disinterred after the flesh had decayed, and a selection of bones given a ceremonial or consecration burial in urns, sarcophagi or sepulchral caves or tombs.

Logan⁸ quotes a Chinese pilgrim who visited Malabar—"one of the numerous Chinese pilgrims who flocked to India"—who is credited with having written in 605 A.D. that "the bones of the dead are buried and their ashes placed in a *So-tu* (Stupa)," and Logan considers this "a practice which Malayalis certainly observed, if the evidence of the rude stone monuments of the district signifies anything." The interior of the rock-cut caves is in the shape of a hollow stupa as archaeologists have observed, and the Chinese pilgrim was apparently referring to these caves and other sepulchral structures of the district. Cave burials obvi-

5. Cf. Fergusson. "Rude stone Monuments." p. 39.

6. Fergusson. "Rude stone Monuments." p. 490. Fergusson "History of India and Eastern Architecture"—Introduction, p. 39.

"The worship foreshadowed in the Vedas is of a class too purely intellectual to require the assistance of the stone mason and the carver to give it expression. The Vedic Aryans were no builders—least of all of carvings in rocks."

7. Gordon Childe—New Light on the Most Ancient East.

8. Logan. Malabar. Vol. I. 263.

ously go back to a distant date in the history and culture of Kerala, as in the history of most other Asiatic countries, and Logan is presumably correct in assuming these monuments to the dead to have been erected by the early peoples of Malabar prior to the intrusive culture of the Vedic Brahmins, whose death ceremonies were much simpler, and who had "no necessity for costly death houses, or for furnishing such with all the deceased's weapons and implements in use by him during life."

While the sepulchral nature of the caves is thus obvious, there is yet another aspect to be considered.—whether at any time in the history of the country, they may have served as abodes of the living. Interesting light on this aspect is thrown by the folk songs of the country. One such song,⁹ the only one I have been able to discover, refers to the construction of a rock-cut cell in order to shelter a child,—the sole male issue of a family subjected to *Kudi Paka* or hereditary blood feud,—a form of vendetta which obtained in mediaeval Malabar, by which the aggrieved family took the law into its own hands, and vowed revenge, the vow taking the form of an oath to kill every male issue of the rival family for generations. The child, Koman by name of one such family, is brought up in secret, lodged in a cave concealed from public view until he grows into manhood. How far the incidents narrated in the song supports the idea of such rock-cut caves having been used as abodes of the living, is a matter for further enquiry.

The nearest parallel which these caves bear to the dwelling houses of the living, is to the hut of the Todas of the Nilgiris, with its domical roof and direct access from the ground outside as in these caves. The similarity extends to the interior furnishings of a Toda hut, with its raised platforms for keeping the belongings. It will be interesting to pursue the matter further with a view to discovering whether there is any evidence to indicate that the earliest type of Malabar houses may have been circular or vaulted in design, and how far the rock-cut cave of the dead is a replica of the house of the living, the house of the dead being among all races designed and constructed on the same plan as the house of the living. While the fact that these caves open towards the east, and that for the greater part of the day, the cave is fairly lit by the rays of the sun, argues in favour of their possible use as habitation, the low roof of most of the caves—(the biggest of the Pānuṇḍa caves has an altitude of only 2½ feet from the floor to the vault)—which does not permit of the erect posture, argues against it.

9. "Vadakkan Pattukal"—folk-songs of North Malabar.



Fig. 4.
Chelleth Cave Pottery.

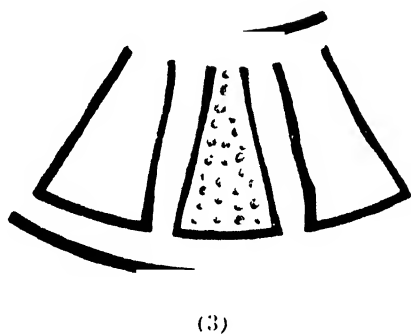
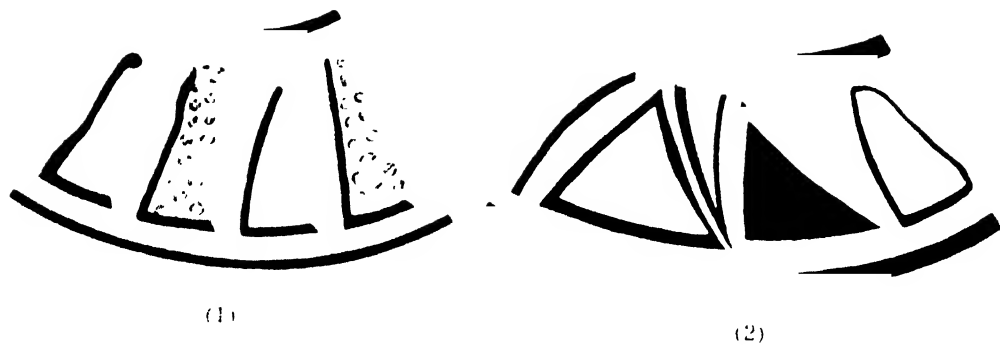


Fig. 5.
Designs on Pottery.

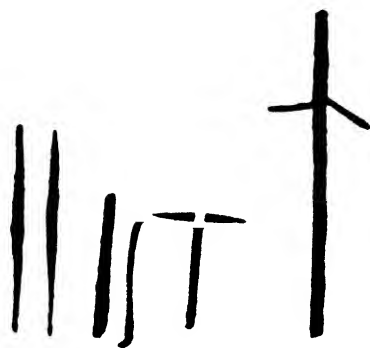


Fig. 6.
Metal objects from Chelleth Cave.

We have finally to consider the problem already suggested above, whether these stone monuments of Malabar do not more properly belong to the class of megalithic structures. Fergusson in his account of megalithic monuments of Western India, refers to the stone chambers of Malabar "always buried in the earth, only showing the cap-stone flush with the surface of the soil."¹⁰ By these he no doubt means the caves commonly reported from South Malabar,¹¹ which may be referred approximately to the same period of time and culture as the caves of North Malabar, judging from the character of the associated finds such as the iron objects and pottery.

Whether these caves are the work of a race of Mediterranean stock who settled in Kerala before the coming of the Aryans or whether they are to be ascribed to the Vedic Aryans as Prof. Dubreuil considers, or to the later Vedic Brahmins, or whether they were the work of the Buddhists of Kerala, are questions which cannot be satisfactorily answered until a more complete investigation is carried out than has hitherto been attempted.

10. Fergusson—"Rude stone monuments of all countries." p. 472.

11. Rock-cut cave-tombs of Feroke, S. Malabar. A. Aiyappan, *Q.J.M.S.* Vol. XXII, No. 3.

The Evolution of the Theory of Music in the Vijayanagara Empire

By

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THE Empire of Vijayanagar, it is well known, rendered incalculable service to every aspect of Hindu cultural development. I propose in this article to deal with the development of the science of music in it, to honour one who is associated so largely with the elucidation of the history of that Empire. The greatest work of pre-Vijayanagara times on music is the *Saṅgita-ratnākara* of Śārṅgadēva, who belonged to the court of the Yādava king Singhana II of Dēvagiri (1209-47). The geographical situation of this kingdom naturally made this work well known both in North and South India. Śārṅgadēva shows a remarkable grasp of detail and, by his masterly presentation of the subject, has made his classic indispensable for tracing the history of Hindu music. Even before him there seems to have been free exchange of ideas between Aryāvarta and Southern India, as is attested by the fact that such distinctly classical and non-Dravidian rāgas like Nāṭṭa, Nattabhāṣā, Gandhāra-pañcamam, Gandhāram, etc., were used in the singing of the Tēvāram by the Nāyaṇārs. The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata and the Saṅgita-ratnākara had exercised decisive influence on the evolution of South Indian music.

The first of the Vijayanagar musicians was Vidyāranya whose contribution is dealt with in connection with his commentator Govinda Dikṣita in pp. 397-8 below. In the middle of the 15th century, a brilliant commentary on Śārṅgadēva's work was written by Kallinātha under the patronage of Immaḍidēva, the successor of Dēva Rāya II, some time between 1447 and 1465. Kallinātha is a delightful commentator, gifted with a happy style; and the range of his reading is very wide. His *Kalānidhi* is full of quotations from ancient works on music, philosophy, politics, and even medicine.¹ His proficiency in dancing is indicated by the title *Abhinava Bharatācārya*. He calls himself the visible deity of music (*Sākṣāt Saṅgita-dēvata*); and being skilled alike in singing and composing, he

1. Kallinātha belonged to the Śaṇḍilya-gōtra. His full title, as given in the colophon to his work is: Śrīmad-abhinava-bharatā cārya-rāya-vayakāra- = Tōḍa-ramalla Śrī Lakṣmaṇācārya-nandana-catura-kallinātha.

was known as Rāyavayakāra. Tōḍara Malla seems to have been a title bestowed upon him, as on Lakṣminārāyaṇa, another musical writer of the 16th century, and of the still later Rāmāmātya. Kallinātha indicates some important changes in the nature of the Rāgas in his commentary.² The Grāma music was at this time slowly disappearing, and a new epoch was at its beginning. The distinction between the Ṣaḍja and Madhyama grāmas were slowly beginning to fade, and new musical intervals emerging in practice, with far-reaching consequences on the music of India. Kallinātha explains the Mārga and Dēśi Rāgas of the *Sanḡitaratnākara*, thus throwing a flood of light on the nature of the Rāgas current in his time. He also defines Bhāṣa-rāgas, etc., unlike Śāraṅgadēva. Amongst these Rāgas it is interesting to note the remark of Kallinātha that Bhavāni is very frequently met with in the singing of the Sāmaveda. Gandhāri is described by him to be specially dear to women. Gandhāravalli, he says, was sung during the ceremonial offerings to the Pitṛs. Pulindī was a Rāga popular among mountain tribes. A Rāga with the interesting name Tumbura is given the epithet *Brahmacāriṇī*. Ṣaḍja-bhāṣa is said to have been sung during worship. The theory of Śāraṅgadēva relating to the Prabandhas, Nṛtya and Nartana probably determined practice at this time.

The *Sanḡitasūryōdaya* was written during the reign of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. The author, like Kallinātha, was a Rāyavayakāra, and had the title Tōḍara Malla. He closely follows the *Sanḡitaratnākara*, and deals with the Svaras, Jatis, Tālas, Prabandhas and Nṛtya. It is disappointing, however, that he makes no mention of Dēśi-rāgas. It may be that this portion is missing, and may be recovered.

Perhaps the most important work of the period is the *Svaramēla-kalānidhi* of Rāmāmātya, who had the titles of Abhinava Bharatācārya, Rāya Vāggeyakāra, and Tōḍara Malla. It has been suggested that he was the grandson of Kallinātha.³ This is quite probable as his grandfather Kallapadēśika is described in the *Svaramēlakalānidhi* as comparable to sage Dattila for his mastery of music, and also because of the similarity of title. Rāmāmātya wrote his work at the behest of Rāma Rāya about 1550. His object was to reconcile the differences which had crept in between the theory and practice of music. It is important as it deals with the art at the time when the Empire was very powerful. It deals with the Rāgas only, and leaves the other aspects of music as laid

2. Vide the author's *The Rāgas of Karnatic Music*, about to be published by the Madras University.

3. Vide Introdn. *Svaramēla-kalānidhi*, ed. by M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar.

down in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* undisturbed. He in fact refers the reader to the *Ratnākara* for the treatment of *Tāḷa* and *Prabandha*. The most outstanding fact in his time is that the *Madhyama-grāma* disappeared from practice, and only the *Ṣaḍja-grāma* was in vogue. This means that the *Grāma* system was definitely a thing of the past, and, what at present affects *Karnātic* as well as *Hindustani* music fundamentally, the *Pañcama* and *Saḍja* had lost their nature as *Vikṛtas* and gained a definite and inviolable relationship technically called the consonance of the fifth. Since five of the *Vikṛta* notes of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* had lost their distinction in practice, *Rāmāmātya* either rejected or renamed them. He retains only seven *Vikṛta* and seven *Śuddha* notes, and except for two intervals in the former group, the notes afterwards permuted into the seventy-two *Janaka-mēlas* by *Vēṅkatamakhin* were anticipated by him. Had he only thought about it, he might himself have laid down the seventy-two *Mēla-kartā rāgas*.

A study of the notes described by *Rāmāmātya* throws light on the nature of the intervals that prevailed during the period of *Grāma* music, how they were transformed in practice in *Vijayanagara* times, and how they function in modern days. The fixing of the relationship of the *Ṣaḍja* and *Pañcama* as the fifths at this time has been alluded to. The most significant fact affecting this relationship, which has ever since been the fundamental factor in our music to the present day, is the treatment of the *Vikṛta* or the *Cyutapañcama*, the pivot of the *Grāma* system, as a *madhyama* under the name *cyutapañcama-madhyama*. This new interval gave rise to what are now known as *Pratimadhyama-rāgas*, and without this the present scheme of *mēlakartā-rāgas* could not have been formulated. *Rāmāmātya*'s analysis of the other *Vikṛta-svaras* mentioned in the *Ratnākara* is equally significant. He says that no difference is perceived between the *śuddha* and *cyuta-ṣaḍjas* and *madhyamas*, *Śuddha* and *Vikṛta Rṣabhas* and *Daivatas*, and *Vikṛta-pañcama* and what may be termed *Vikṛta-pañcama-madhyama*. *Rāmāmātya* states that the *Cyuta-Ṣaḍja* is recognised as having the quality of *Niṣāda*, and that hence it is named *Cyuta Ṣaḍja-Niṣāda*; since *Cyuta-madhyama* is treated as a *Gāndhāra* he gives it the name *Cyuta-madhyama Gāndhāra*. Similarly he calls *Cyuta-pañcama* by the name *Cyuta-pañcama-madhyama*. There are some new intervals which are not mentioned in the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara* but which are named by *Rāmāmātya* and adopted by subsequent writers. The intervals are *Rṣabhas* occurring in the place of *Śuddha* and *Sādhāraṇa Gāndhāras*, called by *Rāmāmātya* *pañchaśruti* and *ṣaṭśruti rṣabhas* respectively, and the *daivatas* occurring in the place of *Śuddha* and *Kaisiki-niṣāda* now named *pañchaśruti* and *ṣaṭśruti-daivatas* respectively. *Rāmāmātya* states that, according to one view *Cyuta-madhyama-gāndhāra* and *Cyuta-ṣaḍja-niṣāda* are substitutes for

Antara-gāndhāra and Kākali-niṣāda, and this identification results in the inclusion of five of the twenty mēlas described by him in the other fifteen (vide Appendix B.). This identity must have been real in Rāmāmātya's own day and general practice decisively ; because on the Viṇās described in the Śvaramēlakalānidhi each identical pair was not provided with two frets but was included in one single fret. The above facts show that, at the time when the Vijayanagar Empire had reached its zenith, musical practice in respect of the notes employed had progressed far beyond the system described by Śārṅgadēva. But the main scheme of this system was still adhered to. Rāmāmātya found new intervals in the practice prevalent in the Empire, and he gave them names which have survived to the present day, and included them in his theoretical treatment. Some of the notes of the Saṅgīta-ratnākara are found to have assumed new applications which remain intact even now. (Cf. the notes of Kallinātha and Rāmāmātya, vide Appendix A). Thus from the point of view of the Saṅgīta-ratnākara the Vijayanagara Empire registers a complete revolution in the theory and practice of music.

The scales given by Rāmāmātya are now part of the Mēlakartā scheme though they are known by different names. They are enumerated in Appendix B, and it is interesting to compare them with Śrī Vidyāraṇya's mēlas (vide post). Among these scales of Rāmāmātya are to be found some which are nowadays considered to be difficult to render and hence are not popular, viz. :—the equivalents of Kanakāṅgi, Vāgādhiśvari, Śūlinī, etc. There is nothing to distinguish sharply between Rāmāmātya's Mālavagauḷa and Hejujji, Sāraṅganāṭa and Kām-bhōji, and his Śuddhanāṭa and Sāmanta ; they are likely to sound identical for modern ears. Among mēlas identified by Rāmāmātya, the identification of Vasanta-bhairavi with Hejujji, and of Kannaḍagauḷa with Sāmanta, seems to be inadmissible. Though Rāmāmātya's list of mēlas is antiquated, it serves to explain some lakṣaṇas of some modern rāgas. His definitions of Mālavagauḷa, Śuddha nāṭa, and Śuddha varāḷi are even now accepted. His Śrīrāga-mēla is adopted by Veṅkaṭamakhin. His assignment of Sādhāraṇa-gāndhāra to Nadarāmakriyā supports some phrases used in the rāga at present. Laṭitā, Saurāṣṭra, Madhyamadi and Bhūpāḷa are even now defined in accordance with their treatment in the Śvaramēlakalānidhi. Bauli, Garjari, Guṇḍakriyā, and Dēśākṣi are defined in this book almost as we know them.

As regards instrumental music, the Viṇa acquired its present shape, making allowance for differences in the modes of tuning and the number of frets, in the Vijayanagar Empire. At the time when Śārṅgadēva wrote, the Śvara-viṇa was often marked on the finger-board to indicate śrutis. Śārṅgadēva describes Viṇās having one string, two strings, three strings as well as seven and nine strings. The Matta-kokila Viṇa

with twenty-one strings was the most important of all. According to him the Kinnaris were provided with frets which yielded a range of two Saptakas. The Kinnara Viṇa must have been very popular, for it is with reference to it that Śārṅgadēva explains the instrumental rendering of a number of rāgas. This instrument developed into the Rudra-viṇa of the Vijayanagar Empire described by Rāmāmātya. This Rudra-viṇa has come down to us without its essential characteristics being impaired. Rāmāmātya mentions three principal varieties of the instrument viz., Śuddha-mēḷa, Madhya-mēḷa, and Acyuta-Rājēndra-mēḷa. The last should have been constructed in honour of King Acyuta Rāya (1530-1542). Each of these three Viṇas was of two kinds according as it was intended for playing one or all rāgas. These Viṇas were fitted with four main strings and three śruti-strings,⁴ and usually six frets. In the following diagram is given the Madhya-mēḷa Viṇa of Rāmāmātya, since its form as amended by Vēṅkaṭamakhin corresponds to that of the modern Viṇa.

4. Vide Appendix 'The Sruti or Drone' in the 'Ragas of Karnatic Music' by the author.

RĀMĀMĀTYA'S RUDRA-VĪNA (MADHYA MĒLA)

Side strings.

Main strings.

1

2

3

4

1

2

3

Note on the
open string.

Mandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Anumandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Mandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Anumandra
pa

1st fret.

Mandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Anumandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Mandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Anumandra
pa

2nd fret.

Mandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Anumandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Mandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Anumandra
pa

3rd fret.

Mandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Anumandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Mandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Anumandra
pa

4th fret.

Mandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Anumandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Mandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Anumandra
pa

5th fret.

Mandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Anumandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Mandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Anumandra
pa

6th fret.

Mandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Anumandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Mandra
pa

Mandra
sa

Anumandra
pa

Vēṅkaṭamakḥin⁵ severely criticises Rāmāmātya for tuning the main strings in the above manner, since, according to him, even a cow-boy knows it is inappropriate for two strings (the second and fourth in the diagram) to be tuned to the same note viz., the Mandra-ṣaḍja. Vēṅkaṭamakḥin prescribes Madhya-ṣaḍja instead for the fourth string which makes the Vīṇa correspond to its present form. Making allowance for the difference in tuning, the number of the main and of the side strings, the sequence of the notes, and its general shape make the instrument as described by Rāmāmātya the direct predecessor of the modern Vīṇa.

Rāmāmātya must have been an able Vaiṇika, for his mastery of the instrument led him to discover and define 'svayambhus' so far as he was enabled by the means at his command. His contribution on the subject raises his treatment to a really high and scientific level. The presence of upper partials in a note was recognised by Śārṅgadēva who was aware of the musical sounds which accompanied the sounding of the note. This he explains in the following definition of the Svara :

श्रुत्यनन्तरभावीयः स्निग्धोऽनुरणनात्मकः ।

स्वतो रञ्जयति श्रोतृचितं स स्वर उच्यते ॥

But the identification of the upper partials, in the light of existing data, was made for the first time by Rāmāmātya. He was able to make out only the first harmonic or the second partial tone in the several instances cited by him. After Rāmāmātya nothing worth mentioning was discovered in India in this branch of acoustics till the beginning of the 20th century. As compared with this, in Europe, as early as 1636, Marsenne, according to an important authority, clearly distinguished between 5 or 6 sounds emanating on a string along with the prime note. Marsenne also identified the ninth partial tone. In the 19th century Helmholtz was responsible for a very considerable advance in the knowledge of harmonics. Even before his time the knowledge of upper partials was used for practical purposes in Europe. To Rāmāmātya goes the credit of having observed the harmonics arising on the Vīṇa and, what is more significant, of making use of them in an original manner. Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, in his introduction to the Śvaramēlakalānidhi, asks what the value of this discovery of svayambhus is, so far as practical

5. In view of Vēṅkaṭamakḥin's criticism it is not possible to accept Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar's amendment of mandra ṣaḍja as madhya ṣaḍja for the fourth string (vide p. 20, his edition of the Svaramēla-kalānidhi). To treat 'mandra ṣaḍja as a copyist's mistake is unwarranted. The question of it being a printer's error does not arise.

singing is concerned. He answers by quoting Blaserna's statement that a note, not accompanied by its harmonics, is always thin and poor and hence little musical, and supports this by a quotation from Sōmanātha to a similar effect. But this answer seems rather to be beside the point. For the appeal of the svara or note is spontaneous according to all definitions, and to appreciate the beauty of a note it is not necessary to analyse its harmonics. The problem is to find out how to make use of a partial tone once it was discovered emanating on a fundamental note. Rāmāmātya made use of it with great wisdom, and his originality in this direction has not been realised and appreciated as it should be. He makes use of the svayambhus to determine the measure of notes, and thus his svaras make the nearest approach to perfect intervals. Not only are we enabled to infer the values of his notes, but also those of his predecessors, by following his equations of harmonics and svaras. He points out that svaras were measured by the method of Saṅgita-ratnākara, viz., by combining notes according to their *saṁvādi* relationship measured by the number of intervening śrutis. This method every one knows to be vague, and in the light of the results of modern research, tends to be even slightly inaccurate. Compared with this, Rāmāmātya's method appears to be well-nigh infallible. Theoretically and practically his system of fixing the frets on the Vīṇa with the aid of svayambhus marks a great advance. It is not without importance even now. This alone is enough to give Rāmāmātya a high rank among our theorists. (The Prabandhas mentioned by him are in accordance with the terminology of the Saṅgitaratnākara. This shows how the work must have continued to influence practice.)

(It may be noted that Sōmanātha, who belonged to the Telugu country and wrote his 'Rāga-vibodha' in 1609, accepts the vikṛta intervals of Rāmāmātya except for differences in the names of the prefixes to three svaras. Besides these seven, he creates eight new vikṛtas. In this extension of the use of vikṛtas, he was perhaps actuated by the spirit in which the vikṛtas of Rāmāmātya were used. Though Sōmanātha creates hundreds of mēlas with the aid of the 15 vikṛtas, he describes only twenty-three as being current in his time.)

After the battle of Talikota (1565 A.D.), the most important figure from the point of view of Karnatic music was Govinda Dikṣita. His 'Saṅgita-sudhā' is a monument to his vast knowledge of the subject and his striking ability as a critic and researcher. He was the connecting link between the art of Vijayanagar and of Tanjore. In this work he subjects the system of Śārṅgadēva to a searching scrutiny, and after an elaborate analysis of this system he describes fifty Rāgas which, he says, are well known, everywhere since the period of Śrī Vidyāranya. This makes the Saṅgita-sudhā invaluable in the history of Karnatic music,

and reveals an unknown aspect of the glorious personality of Vidyāraṇya. Dikṣita says that he has perused the treatise of Vidyāraṇya called the 'Saṅgita-sāra,' which is not available at present except fortunately through the quotations in the Śaṅgita-sudhā. Govinda Dikṣita thoroughly analyses the svaras of Śārṅgadēva, but practically discards that system and in explaining the rāgas according to Vidyāraṇya he enumerates svaras which are virtually the same as those of Rāmāmātya. He provides for twelve frets in consecutive order on the Vīṇa, and the svaras assigned to them by him are the same as our own, except for the names of three notes. The ideas of rāgas classified under 15 generic scales, with the now familiar name of mēlas, is thus found embodied in the Saṅgita-sāra of Vidyāraṇya. The intervals characteristic of post-grāma music and found by Rāmāmātya to be current in lakṣya, viz., Pañcaśruti ri and da, Ṣaṭśruti ri and da, and Cyuta-pañcama ma can be thus said to be current even as early as Vidyāraṇya's life-time. Dikṣita speaks of Vidyāraṇya with veneration in the following terms before explaining his mēlas :—

संगीतसारं समवेक्ष्य विद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणप्रणीतम् ॥

... ..

कर्णाटसिंहासन भाग्यविद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणप्रणीभ्यः ॥

आरभ्य रागान्प्रचुरप्रयोगान्पञ्चाशतं चाकल्ये षडङ्गान् ॥

रागास्तु पञ्चाशदिहोचदिष्टा नट्टादयः सर्वजगत्प्रसिद्धाः ॥

तेषां मताः पञ्चदशैव मेलः क्रमात्तदुद्देशमिहामनामः ॥

In the accompanying list of mēlas Antara-gāndhāra and Kākali-niṣāda are mentioned in the place of Cyuta-madhyama-gāndhāra and Cyuta-ṣaḍja-niṣāda which are the names given by Govinda Dikṣita to the corresponding notes on the frets of the Vīṇa. Again the note called Cyuta-pañcama-madhyama on his Vīṇa is termed 'Ṣaṭśruti-madhyama' in his definition of Vidyāraṇya's mēlas. Among these mēlas Naṭṭa and Sāmanta appear to be identical. It is remarkable that the notes occurring in these scales and many of the scales themselves have come down to the present day intact.

Names of melas.	Śaḍja.										Śaḍja.			
	Suddha riṣabha.	Suddha gāndhāra.	Śaḍsruti ri.	Antara ga	Suddha ma.	Śaḍsruti ma.	Pancama.	Suddha dha	Suddha ni.	Pancasruti dha.	Kaisiki ni	(Śaḍsruti dha)	Kakali ni	Śaḍja.
1. Natta	sa		ri	ga	ma		pa				dha		ni	sa
2. Gūrjari	sa			ga	ma		pa	dha					ni	sa
3. Varāli	sa		ri			ma	pa	dha					ni	sa
4. Śrī	sa	ga	ri		ma		pa		dha		ni			sa
5. Bhairavi	sa	ri	ri		ma		pa	dha			ni			sa
6. Śankarābharāṇa	sa	ri	ri	ga	ma		pa	dha	dha				ni	sa
7. Ahari	sa	ri			ma		pa	dha					ni	sa
8. Vāsanta-bhairavi	sa	ri		ga	ma		pa	dha			ni			sa
9. Sāmanta	sa		ri	ga	ma		pa	dha			dha		ni	sa
10. Kāmbōdi	sa			ga	ma		pa			dha	ni			sa
11. Mukhāri	sa	ri	ri	ga	ma		pa	dha	ni					sa
12. Śuddharāmakriyā	sa	ri	ga		ma	ma	pa	dha					ni	sa
13. Kedāra-gouḍa	sa	ri	ri	ga	ma		pa	dha	dha		ni			sa
14. Hījuji	sa	ri		ga	ma		pa	dha						sa
15. Dēsākṣi	sa		ri	ga	ma		pa		dha				ni	sa

Besides possessing other merits the work of Govinda Dikṣita is of special value owing to the fact that it transmits to posterity the system of Mēlas as arranged by Vidyāraṇya, the soul of the Vijayanagara Empire, and these mēlas are intimately connected with the present system of Karnatic Music.

The contribution of Vijayanagar to the lakṣya of Karnatic Music was so great and precious that it is as significant as the empire's influence on the lakṣaṇa of the art. The composers of Vijayanagar were worthy of its august fame, and their works are cherished in South India even today. The compositions of Śrī Aruṇagirinātha, Śrī Purandara Dāsa, Tālapākkam Cinnayya and others form an integral part of Karnatic Music. A critical estimate of these songs as well as of the art of dance as developed in the Vijayanagar Empire is given elsewhere.

APPENDIX A.

The Śrutis used in the Music of Vijayanagar.
Svaras.

No. of Śrutis.	Kallinatha and Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa.	Rāmāmātya.	Govinda Dikṣita.
1.	Kaiśiki ni	Kaiśiki ni : Ṣaṭśruti dha	Kaiśiki ni : Ṣaṭśruti dha
2.	Kākalī ni	Kākalī ni	
3.	Cyuta sa	Cyuta Ṣadja ni	Cyuta Ṣadja ni
4.	Acyuta sa (Śuddha)	Śuddha sa	Śuddha sa
5.			
6.			
7.	Vikṛta ri : Śuddha ri	Śuddha ri	Śuddha ri
8.			
9.	Śuddha ga	Śuddha ga : Pañcaśruti ri	Śuddha ga : Pañcaśruti ri
10.	Sādhārana ga	Sādhārana ga Ṣaṭśruti ri	Sādhārana ga :
11.	Antara ga	Antara ga	
12.	Cyuta ma	Cyuta madhyama ga	Cyuta madhyama ga
13.	Acyuta ma (Śuddha ma)	Śuddha ma	Śuddha ma
14.			
15.			
16.	Vikṛta pa : Trīśruti pa	Cyuta pañcama ma	Cyuta pañcama ma
17.	Śuddha pa	Śuddha pa	Śuddha pa
18.			
19.			
20.	Vikṛta dha : Śuddha dha	Śuddha dha	Śuddha dha
21.			
22.	Śuddha ni	Śuddha ni : Pañcaśruti dha	Śuddha ni : Pañcaśruti dha

(Govinda Dikṣita adopts the above-mentioned svaras in his description of the Vīṇa. In his definitions of Vidyāraṇya's mēlas he uses Antara-gāndhāra, Kākalī-niṣāda, and 'Ṣaṭsruti'-madhyama. This last name for the prati-madhyama is to be noted.)

APPENDIX B.

Rāmāmātya's Mēlas.

No.	Names of Mēlas.	Lakṣana of Mēlas.
1.	Mukhārī	Śuddha svaras
2.	Mālavagaula	C.M ga, C.S ni
3.	Śrī	P.S ri, Sādhāraṇa ga, P.S dha, Kaiśiki ni
4.	Sārṅganāṭa	P.S ri, C.M ga, P.S dha, C.S ni
5.	Hindola	P.S ri, Sādhāraṇa ga, Kaiśiki ni
6.	Sudhārāmakriya	C.M ga, C.P ma, C.S ni
7.	Deśakṣī	S.S ri, C.M ga, P.S dha, C.S ni
8.	Kannadagaula	S.S ri, C.M ga, P.S dha, Kaiśiki ni
9.	Śuddhanāṭa	S.S ri, C.M ga, S.S dha, C.S ni
10.	Ahiri	P.S ri, Sādhāraṇa ga, C.S ni
11.	Nādanamakriya	Sādhāraṇa ga, C.S ni
12.	Śuddhavarālī	C.P ma, C.S ni
13.	Ritigaula	P.S dha, Kaiśiki ni
14.	Vasantabhairavī	C.M ga, Kaiśiki ni
15.	Kedāragaula	P.S ri, C.M ga, P.S dha, C.S ni
16.	Hejujji	Antara ga, Kākalī ni
17.	Sāmavarālī	Kākalī ni
18.	Revagupti	Antara ga
19.	Sāmanta	S.S ri, Antara ga, S.S dha, Kākalī ni
20.	Kāmbhoji	P.S ri, Antara ga, P.S dha, Kākalī ni

[Note.—Among the above mēlas Rāmāmātya considers Hejujji to be merged in Vasantabhairavi ; Sāmavarālī in Śuddhavarālī ; Revagupti in Bauli ; Sāmanta in Kannadagauḷa : and Kāmbhoji in Sārṅganāṭa. Only the vikṛta svaras of the mēlas are given in defining their lakṣaṇa ; the svaras not mentioned are to be taken as śuddha. The following abbreviations of the names of svaras are used : p.s for pañcaśruti, s.s for ṣaṭśruti, c.m for cyuta-madhyama, c.p for cyuta-pāñcama, and c.s for cyuta-ṣaḍja.]

A Gurjara king on Sangita

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THE development of music and dance and the science of dramaturgy (Nāṭya) always went hand in hand in Hindu India. Their combined treatment in works dealing with those arts reveals its inseparability. They underwent phenomenal development in almost every important state, but Gujerat, Rājāputana, Chedi, Surāshṭra and Karnāṭa formed the chief centres of their evolution. Between 800 and 1200 A.D. they flourished in great glory particularly in the kingdoms of Central India and Rājputāna. The Chandēlla kingdom in the former, for example, had such great writers on music as Rāhula, Paramardi, Sōmēśa, etc. There were two Rāhulas. One was Śākyācārya,¹ the head of a Buddhist monastery at Tāmralipti and a contemporary of the Chinese traveller Hieuntsiang, and whose work is restricted in dramaturgy to the description of the hero and heroine in a drama. But the king Rāhula of the Chandēlla dynasty of the early 9th century appears to be a Vārtikakāra on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra. Paramardi of the same dynasty of about 1160 A.D. is mentioned by Śārṅgadeva of 1230 A.D.²; and Pārśvadeva in his compilation of Sangīta-samayāsāra has borrowed a number of verses from Paramardi's work.³ Bhōja, the celebrated king of Dhāra, was also a very great writer who contributed much to these two sciences. He lived between 1000 and 1050. About 1120 Somēśvara or Bhūlōkamalla of the Western Chalukyan line advanced his bold theories in both the arts in about 1600 ślōkas.⁴ His son Jagadēkamalla II, made a valuable contribution to the two arts in his *Sangīta-chūdāmaṇi*, a work in five

1. “शाक्याचार्यराहुलादयस्तु मौढ्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीनप्यलंकारानाचक्षते”

(Hema : Kavyā. Page 316).

राजा तथा राहुलः (Sangīta Muktaavali of Devana I.)

2. परमर्दी च सोमेशो जगदेकमहीपतिः । Sañ. Ratna, I.
3. आभोगः कथितस्तेन परमर्दिमहीभुजा । Sañ. Sam. V. 6.
4. Abhilashitārtha-chintāmaṇi, Sect. IV.

sections. He was called also Pratāpachakravarti.⁵ Pārśvadeva, the great compiler, has borrowed 50 verses of Jagadēkamalla forming the definitions of Rāgas in his *Rāgādhyāya*.⁶ Śārṅgadeva mentions him with regard. Śārṅgadeva was a protigee of Siṅgana's court in Deogiri. After him, in Rājaputana and Malwa, a number of writers on music flourished. The most prominent among them was Kumbhakarna who completed his work in 1449 A.D.⁷ The whole of the 14th century presents a blank in Northwest India for the reason that the eruption and settlement of the Mahomedan invaders had rooted out the older Kingdoms.

With this preliminary note we shall devote our attention to Sangita-sudhākara of Haripāla. Haripāla of Guzarat seems to have lived about 1170 which was a very critical period in the history of India especially of the North-Western tracts. Bhoja is said to have warded off the eruption of Gazini hordes on more than two occasions. And Mahamad Ghori was repulsed several times by the powerful attacks or heroic defences of the great kings of North-western India. Besides the trouble from alien races, countries in Central India, Gujarat and Rajaputana had always contended against the unhappy dangers of internecine warfare. Haripāla, his ancestors and his successors lived between the fires of internecine and alien attacks.

Sangitasudhākara reads in its colophon⁸ as the work of Haripāla who bore the title Vichārachaturmukha (equal to Brahma in inquiry). This

5. The end of the 5th chapter runs thus :—

दृष्टिर्दुर्गतिहारिणी प्रणयिनां नम्रं शिरः श्रीपतौ
पाणिर्यस्य रणे विनम्रशिरसां रक्षाकृते क्षमाभुजाम् ।
दर्पाध्मातनरेन्द्रमस्तकतले पादश्च येनार्पितः
प्राज्ञोऽसौ जगति प्रतापनृपतिः सन्नृत्यलक्ष्म व्यधात् ॥
इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमत्प्रतापचक्रवर्तिजगदेकमल्लविरचिते
सङ्गीतचूडामणौ नृत्याधिकरणं नाम पञ्चमोऽध्यायः

6. Verses 5-73, chap. V (MS.) and ch. IV (printed work).

7. श्रीमद्विक्रमकालतः परिगते नादाभ्रभूतक्षितौ
वर्षे क्षमाद्यनलेन्दु शाकसमये संवत्सरे च ध्रुवे ।
ऊर्जे मासि तिथौ हरे रविदिने हस्तर्क्षयोगे तथा
योगे चाभिजिति स्फुटोऽयमभवत् सङ्गीतराजाभिधः
8. इति विचारचतुर्मुखहरिपालविरचिते संगीतसुधाकरे ।

same title was borne by a Guhilet king before him. The chief verses in *Sangītasudhākara* which reveal anything of its author are as follows.⁹ These verses show that Haripāla was a Chaulukyan king the son of Sāmantasimha and grandson of Bhimadeva. He was the king of the Gurjaras; and his capital was Abhinavapura which may be a scribal error for Anihilapura. He wrote his work to instruct the singers and dancers at Sriranga on the banks of the Cauvery in South India. What made the author to enlighten the South Indian pupils in the two arts passes our comprehension. It is a bold conjecture to say that he was ousted from his throne by a powerful member of his family. Now coming to his dynasty we have to assign him to Chaulukyan family of Anhilwad. For the Gujarats and the Chandals do not trace their descent to a Chaulukyan ancestor. There are two Bhimadevas both of them powerful sovereigns in the Anhilwad dynasty of kings. But neither of them was succeeded by a king called Sāmantasimha. After Bhimadeva I, Kumārapāla was an important member. He was succeeded by Ajayapāla who had a short reign and was followed by Haripāla. There was one Sāmantasimha in the Guhilet dynasty who lived about 1220, but he was not a Chaulukyan. His father was not Bhimadeva; nor history grants him a son in the name of Haripāla. From the disturbed condition of Gujarat politics it may be conjectured that soon after the death of Kumārapāla a relative of his called Ajayapāla came to the throne. Probably he had to fight against Sāmantasimha. After the death of the both Ajayapāla and Sāmantasimha Haripāla the son of the latter appears to have ascended the throne. Dr. Fleet refers to an inscription wherein Ajayapāla is said to have been succeeded by Haripāla (*Epigraphia Indica* Volume 1).¹⁰ Bhimadeva II was a very powerful ruler and had a long reign too. History does not show any evidence that he was succeeded by any Sāmantasimha or Haripāla. Hence Haripāla being a Chaulukyan king and a Gūrjara, and a grandson of Bhīma the possibilities are that he succeeded Ajayapāla. There is one Harapāla in the declining days of the Yādava empire of Deogiri. But he was a Yādava and not a Chaulukya. Bhalāla king Someswara defeated one Haripāla. We are not sure who the person was. He might have been an offshoot of the Yādava dynasty that ruled over Deogiri. Haripāla of our identity succeeded Ajayapāla in 1179, and probably ruled for a short time. A question may arise why Sārṅgadeva has not mentioned him among various authors on music, especially when he names Paramardi and Jegadekamalla who lived about between 1150 to 1170. From the quotations given by various authors it may be stated that they follow the school of Bharata, while

9. See appendix.

10. Also *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 275.

Haripāla slavishly follows the school of Nandikeśvara. Jagadekamalla's work is now available. He shows his good grasp of what Abhinavagupta and Kirtidhara had said about Bharata and rules out where Nandin differs from Bharata, following only the latter, that is in the development of *Desi* in music, dance, in flute and lute and in the instruments of percussion. Bharata's commentators have recognised certain phases of *Desi* along with the *Mārga*. The *Mārga* means the system followed in the Vedic rituals or sacrifices by the great Rishis. *Desi* is an aesthetic development according to the progress of civilisation in various parts of India ¹¹ After Kasyapa and Narada Bharata is the earliest writer on music and dance. Nandin and Matanga have introduced aesthetic combination in every phase of the two arts. Matanga enlarged Bharata, while Nandin alters, rejects and supplements the Bharata's details. Abhinavagupta rejects the views of the previous commentators on Bharata, and upholds the conservative but sufficiently elastic system of Bharata. Kirtidhara in several places made a wide departure mostly allied to Nandikesvara. Haripāla gives greater prominence to Nandin, while Śārṅgadeva strictly follows Abhinavagupta in as much as he freely translates the comments of Abhinava into slokas and passes them as his own. Nowhere has Śārṅgadeva swerved from the opinions of Abhinava. Kallinātha had probably no access to the complete copy of Abhinava's commentary and therefore he has failed to interpret Śārṅgadeva correctly in several places. Hence it is no wonder that Śārṅgadeva has not mentioned Haripāla. However from the available evidence he may be placed in 1179 A.D. as a king of the Gurjaras who ruled over Anhilwad.

We shall see if there are any objections to this supposition. Haripāla mentions Bhoja¹² and he lived between 1000 and 1050 A.D. It does not affect our theory, Bhoja's literary career seems to have extended before 1030. A close study of Abhinavagupta's criticism on various writers creates a doubt whether he reviews some of the views of Bhoja and dis-

11. *Mārga* and *Dēsi* are thus defined by Mātanga and Jagadeka :—

स्वरा ग्रामास्तथा जातिर्वर्धमानादिगीतकम् ।

आवापादिक्रियाबद्धं स तु मार्ग इति स्मृतः ॥

अबलाबलयोगेण लक्ष्येति पालैर्निजेच्छया ।

गीयते सानुरागेण स्वदेशे देशिरुच्यते ।

देशेषु देशेषु श्रुतिस्वराणां रुच्या जनानामपि वर्तते यत्

गीतं च वाद्यं च तथैव नृत्तं देशीति नाम्ना परिवर्तते तत्

भोजराजेन दशमो वत्सलस्य उदीरितः

poses of them somewhat adversely. It is true that Bhoja follows Dhananjaya and Kīrtidhara in many of his theories. Whenever he differs from them he makes honourable mention of their views. Haripāla who is later by a century is expected to quote such a prolific writer as Bhoja. Haripāla mentions one Laṭakamelāpaka as a species of dramatic composition. Bharata accepts only ten kinds of the drama while Kohala enumerates twenty and a few writers like Mahendravikrama and the author of Vishnu-dharmottara have given twelve as of the principal kinds. Haripāla also names twelve,¹³ but departs from their theory ; for authors of Vishnudharmottara and Bhagavaddajjuka have said that the ten kinds of dramatic compositions took their origin from two broad divisions of Nāṭaka and Prakarana ; and the difference being based on the choice of Vṛtti and the organisation of the plot. But Haripāla does not follow the same classification. He names altogether 12 kinds, one of them being Laṭakamelāpaka. He defines the species as follows.¹⁴ According to him the plot should run into three acts. He has not named as examples any works in any of the twelve kinds of dramatic composition. There is a work called Laṭakamelaka written by the poet Śankhadhara who flourished in the court of Govindaraja of Kanauj. From Epigraphical evidence that sovereign seems to have lived in the first half of the 12th century. Haripala's time of 1179 may not be affected by this species of composition recognised by him and exemplified by Śankadhara.

Haripāla seems to have written a number of works. He calls himself a poet.¹⁵ Many of his contemporaries as Prahlādana and Yaśah-

13. ज्ञानावतरणं पूर्वं द्वितीयं नाटकं भवेत्
तृतीयं तु प्रकरणमङ्को व्यायोग एव च
बाणः समवकारश्च वीथी प्रहसनं डिमः
ईहामृगः स्याल्लटकमेलोपकमितीरितः
इति द्वादश नाट्यस्य भेदानाह हरीश्वर.
14. मुखं गर्भो निर्वहणमिति सन्धित्रयं भवेत्
अङ्गास्त्रयो भारती स्याद्वृत्तिरारभटी तथा
कथा हास्यानृतप्राया धूर्तादिचरिताश्रया
15. सङ्गीते कुशलः कवित्वचतुरः कन्दर्पकेलीकला-
दक्षो वाजिविनोदविद्वजवरव्यापारनिष्णातधीः ।
शस्त्राभ्यासविशारदोऽर्थिजनतापर्यायचिन्तामणिः
तुयं श्रीहरिभूपतिः प्रकरणं नाट्याश्रयं व्याकरोत् ॥

pāla have contributed much to the dramatic literature. Besides the *Sangītasudhākara* there is another work in the name of Haripāla called the *Sangīta-chūḍamaṇi*. It is different from that of Jagadēkamalla though it is a contemporaneous work, and a copy is available in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Mysore. His other works have probably perished. There are some books in music written by Haribhaṭṭa which are productions of a later period; but Haripāla is also known as Hariśvara,¹⁶ Harindra, and so on. Quotations given under Harināyaka in the *Sangītanārāyaṇa* are all found in Haripāla's work. Hence Harināyaka means Haripāla. Devendra quotes his verses under Harivallabha.

The *Sangītasudhākara* consists of five sections, first dealing with *Āṅgābhinaya* and the second *Tāla*. The third section deals with the construction of musical instruments; the fourth treats of the requisites of *Nāṭya*. The fifth chapter gives details on *Gīta* and the *Gītaprabandhas*.

Its importance lies in its support of the *Nandikēśvara* school and system. As it is earlier than the *Saṅgitaratnākara*, it enables us to trace the evolution of music and dance. Bharata deals with music and dance only in relation to the stage. He did not aim at all the details in *gīta* or *Nrīta*. *Nandikēśvara*, on the other hand, attached great importance to these arts. He included *Dēśi* sections without distinguishing them from *Mārga*. He thus carries the reader much further than Bharata; for one cared for the drama alone, and the other regarded music and dance in their æsthetic form.

As regards instruments Haripāla names the following *Vīṇas* and gives their construction.¹⁷ His favourite instrument seems to have been the *Kinnarī* or *Pinākinī*. Like every writer on music and dance Haripāla invented some tunes and poses of his own. The later *Śārngadēva* altered the old *Kinnarī-vīṇa* and called it by his family name *Niśśanka-vīṇā*. *Pināki*, which had the shape of a bow and was the favourite instrument in *Amarāvati* sculpture, lost its charms by the 13th century. *Vēma* (1420) denounces it in fact as an instrument of beggars.¹⁸ The

16. अस्पष्टार्थमगोचरं कृतधियां गम्भीरमम्भोधिव-
द्विस्तीर्णं भरतो मुनिर्विधिगिरा यन्नाटघवेदं व्यधात् ।
तत्संक्षिप्तमतिस्फुटं कलियुगे सत्त्वादिकं प्राणिना-
मल्पं वीक्ष्य हरीश्वरो व्यरचयद्विश्वोपकारोद्यतः ॥

17. (1) *Brahmavīṇā* or *Ekatantṛī*, (2) *Ālāpinī* (*Ālāvāṇī*), (3) *Sāraṅgavīṇā* or *Kinnarī*, (4) *Kailāsavīṇā*, (5) *Pināki* and (6) *Ākāśa-vīṇā*.

18. पिनाकीप्रमुखा अन्या देशीवीणा भवन्ति च ।
ताः पामरप्रसिद्धत्वादस्माभिर्नात्र लक्षिताः ॥

modern Viṇā was brought into use by Achyutarāya of Vijayanagar the author of the Tālasamudra, a good critical work of first-rate importance as the basis of all subsequent developments. His Viṇā still holds the day, as the new instrument of Veṅkaṭamakhi was never received well by the musical world. Haripāla's Kinnari consisted of 18 frets the measurement of which is given by Kumbhakarna in his *Vādyaratnakōśa* in these lines :

सारीमस्तकमध्यानां यदिहान्तरमिष्यते ।
 मेरुमूर्धन्युपक्रम्य यथावत् प्रतिपाद्यते ॥
 तत्रायमवरं पञ्चाङ्गुलं सयवमीरितम् ।
 तद्वितीयं च चतुरङ्गुलकं तत्तृतीयकम् ॥
 तुर्यं चैव यवन्यूनं पञ्चमं त्र्यङ्गुलं तथा ।
 यवाधिकं ततः षष्ठं यवोनं द्व्यङ्गुलं पुनः ॥
 सयवं व्यङ्गुलं ज्ञेयमन्तरालं तु सप्तमम् ।
 वसुसंख्यं पुनर्ज्ञेयं सार्धव्यङ्गुलमन्तरम् ॥
 नवमं तु यवार्धोऽनं दशमं पुनरन्तरम् ।
 सार्धाङ्गुलमितं ज्ञेयं यवोनं द्व्यङ्गुलं ततः ॥
 एकादशं द्वादशं तु तत्तृतीयांशवर्जितम् ।
 त्रयोदशं ततो ज्ञेयं यत्तृतीयांशमंगुलम् ।
 अङ्गुलं मानमाख्यातमन्तरे च चतुर्दश ॥
 द्वितीयमन्तराले तु न्यस्यं तुम्बमधोमुखम्

 मुक्ततन्त्रीभवस्तत्र जायते प्रथमस्वरः ॥

 सप्तकद्वयमेवं स्यात् सतारस्वरमत्र तु ।
 श्रुतीरपि विचित्वन्ति तदज्ञास्तद्देशभागतः ॥
 सप्तकद्वयपूर्वार्थं सार्यः स्युरधिका यथा ।

 स्वराविर्भावमाज्ञाय स्थप्याः स्युः सारिका बुधैः ॥

Haripāla's instrument had four main wires and three subordinate strings for Śruti. He identifies the Brahma-viṇā with the Ēkatantrī which had been popular for centuries before him. Bharata's Mattakokilā had 21 strings and no frets. It is said that such an instrument could not have

been handled with ease when the difficulty of mastering an instrument with four strings is great. But this is not an insuperable objection. The absence of frets might have been a source of ease rather than difficulty. In the case of Kinnarī there were three kinds, Br̥hat, Madhyama and Laghu sorts, which had movable frets from 14 to 18, unlike the fixed frets of the present Vinā and which could easily be adjusted to different Rāgas.

Haripāla's description of the flute does not exhaust its varieties as that of Śārṅgadēva. He describes only a few choice flutes capable of producing notes in Tri-sthāyī. He mentions four kinds of flutes, but gives no instructions regarding the method of playing the Rāgas in them. His measurements for the four kinds fit the Vasu (8 inches), Nāthēndra (9 inches), Mahānanda (10 inches), and Manu (14 inches), given by others as the interval between the Tāra and Phūtkāra holes.

In the case of Mr̥danga Haripāla gives only one kind unlike Bharata who has three yielding notes of greater variety and longer intervals of varying length. Modern Mr̥daṅga has all the three sorts of Bharata combined in one. It is handy, but its variety and the interval between notes are limited. Haripāla treats of the mārga-tālas and the 101 Dēśi tālas given by Nandikēśvara. He added four to the latter calling them by his name, Haripriya, etc. Later writers never used these tālas, with the exception of one anonymous writer who raised them to 120. •

In regard to the Karaṇas,¹⁹ Haripāla took 101 out of Bharata's 108 as understood by Nandikēśvara, but added 19 more, making it 120. A still later writer Dēvanabhaṭṭa has given 130 Karaṇas and the extra 22 are not common with those of Haripāla. Any number of Karaṇas can be created by the artist, but Bharata's choice (ch. iv) of 108 exhausts the most aesthetic forms. The additions of Haripāla are Śaivam, Māhēśvaram, Nārāyaṇam, Mānmatham, Vāruṇam, Aindram, Saudarśanam, Gāndharam, Śaṅkham, Saundaram, Simham, Lilā, Herambam, Skāndam, Vichārachaturānanam, Adbhutam, Jayantam, Pinākam and Samīraṇam. Seven out of Bharata's 108 were rejected. Lakshmīnārāyaṇa, in his *Saṅgītasuryōdaya*, has given a Karaṇa called Krishṇāvatarāṇa in place of an old one of a different name to perpetuate the name of his patron Krishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar. Bhoja has immortalised in naming his new tālas as Rajamārtāṇḍa, Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa, Rājamṛgāṅka, etc. Haripāla simply follows the footsteps of the greater people who erred to eternise the ephemeral fame.

19. Poses of the hand and foot in dance (Ref.: *Nāṭyaśāstra*: Ch.: IV).

In the third chapter which treats of Dramaturgy or Nāṭya, we have said, he has named 12 rūpakas (kinds of dramas). One of them he has called Laṭakamēlāpaka. Another species peculiar to Haripāla alone is Jnānāvataranam which he defines in the following words.²⁰ Bharata gives only four vṛttis on which ten kinds of dramatic composition are based. Haripāla gives five vṛttis, the fifth being Brāhmī.

अधिष्ठाय रसानेतान् पञ्चाजायन्त वृत्तयः ।

कौशिक्यारभटी ब्राह्मी सात्त्वती भारती तथा ॥

ब्राह्मी नाम भवेद्वृत्तिब्राह्मशान्ताद्भुताश्रया ।

ब्राह्मी ब्रह्मोद्भवा तत्र शेषा नारायणोद्भवाः ।

Haripāla defines Brāhmī thus, and distributes it among brahma śānta and adbhuta rasas. Brāhmī was born of Brahma. Udbhata has a fifth vṛtti called Artha-vṛtti which is a sort of combination of the well-known four vṛttis, namely, Kaiśiki, Arabhaṭī, Sāttvati and Bhāratī. Arthavṛtti was developed into Miśravṛtti by the author of the *Kalpataru*, which was followed by Bhōja. There are differences of opinion as to whether these rose from Brahmā, or from the five faces of Śiva. Haripāla's fifth vṛtti had never any supporters except Dēvanabhatta, the author of the *Sangīta-muktāvali*.²¹ For the remaining ten kinds of rūpakas he follows older definitions with slight differences. Among the rasas he adds besides śānta two rasas calling them *brahmarasa* and *vātsalyarasa*,²² and supports his conception by mentioning Bhōja as the authority for the last one. Bhōja had nowhere acknowledged Vātsalya as a *rasa*. He says that certain writers have acknowledged ten *rasas* including Vātsalya. For practical purposes he enumerates nine. In

20. चतुर्वर्गफला तत्र कथा दिव्याश्रया भवेत् ।

वृत्तयः पञ्च कर्तव्याः तावन्तः सन्धयस्तथा

अङ्का दश प्रयोक्तव्या ।

21. केचिद् ब्राह्मी च वृत्तिं तु शान्ताद्भुतरसोदयाम् ॥

22. शृङ्गारो हास्यनामा च बीभत्सः करुणस्तथा ।

वीरो भयानकाह्वानो रौद्राख्योऽद्भुतसंज्ञकः ॥

शान्तो ब्रह्माभिधः पश्चाद्वात्सल्याख्यमतः परम् ।

संभोगो विप्रलम्भः स्याद्रसास्त्वेते त्रयोदश ॥

This classification may be ridiculous after the great thinkers like Lollaṭa, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta of Kashmir and, Kirtidhara and Bhoja of Malwa have psychologically determined the nature of *rasas*.

the *Śringāraprakāśa* he says that Śringāra alone is *rasa*.²³ Other *rasas* are really *bhāvas*.

In the fifth or the Gita chapter Haripāla treats of *Svaras*, *grāmas*, *jātis* and *rāgas*. He mentions Gāndhāragrāma and names a few *rāgas* based upon it. Even Nānyadēva of 1080 A.D. recognises Gāndhāragrāma as then in vogue in Kashmir, and names a dozen *rāgas* peculiar to that *grāma*.²⁴ Lakshminarāyaṇa and Vēṅkaṭamakhi (A.D. 1650) give

23. शृङ्गारवीरकरुणाद्भुतरौद्रहास्य वीभत्सवत्सलभयानकशान्तनामः ।

आम्नासिषुर्दश रसान् सुधियो वयं तु शृङ्गारमेव रसनाद्रसमामनामः ॥

Rudraṭa reads *preyān* in place of *vatsalarasa*.

24. गान्धारग्रामिका रागा शुद्धभिन्नाश्रितास्त्रयः ।

कौशला रुद्रहासश्च गन्धर्वामोदनस्तथा ॥

भिन्नायां वीरहासश्च जीमूतो वाक्यपाडवः ।

पञ्जरी रतिचन्द्रश्च गौडरीत्यां प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

वेसरायां तु गान्धारपाडवस्तुम्बुरुप्रियः ।

साधारणभिदायां तु सारदो वेगमध्यमः ॥

... ..
क्रियाङ्गान्येवमादीनि गान्धारग्रामजानि च ।

A Western writer believes that Śārṅgadeva originated the Gāndhāra Grāma and discards the theory that Nārada did so Nāradyasikshā speaks of this grāma and that work is older than Bharata, for the latter quotes a verse from it in chapter 34. Even commentaries on that Śikshā were quoted by Abhinava (1050 A.D.) and Nānyadeva (1080). A reference to its practical use may be found in Budhaśvamin's *Brihatkathā-śloka-saṅgraha* (about 600 A.D.) in the following words:—

गान्धारग्रामसंबद्धं क गान्धारः क मानुषाः ।

स्वर्गान् नान्यत्र गान्धार इत्याहुर्नारदादयः ॥

... ..
मनाक्संसृष्टमात्राश्च करशाखामुखैः स्वयम् ।

तन्त्रीबन्धा यथास्थानमसरन्धैवतादिकम् ॥

ततस्तन्त्रीषु गान्धरे जृम्भमाणालु मन्थरम् ।

गन्धर्वदत्तामवदं भीरु संगीयतामिति

सा प्रगल्भापि गान्धारमाकर्ण्यामरगोचरम् ।

तथा च धृष्टमादिष्टा बाला शालीनतां गता ॥

This grāma fell into disuse because it involves *atimantāra* and *atitāra* notes in its *murchhanās*. Bharata rejected it because it did not serve him in expressing *rasa* in a drama where feelings by *pāṭhya* and *anga* are exhibited.

the practical use of Gāndhārāgrāma in various tunes adopted in South India. The division of *rāgas* into *grāmas*, *rāgas*, the *bhāshā*, and *vibhāshā* was based on Yāstika's analysis of *Dēśi ragas*. Haripāla, like most writers on music, defines them in this ordinary way. The intensity of each *svara* alone in each *rāga* is given, but *śruti*-sthāna is not given. Paramardi describes the *rāgas* giving the *śruti* value of each *svara* in every *rāga*. This is clearly an advance on the older methods of defining *rāgas* which require supplementing by the teacher. The following afford examples of it :

- (a) सर्वसहा मालिनी च विस्तारी च विकल्पिनी ।
हादिनी सुप्रभा चैव मध्यमादेरिहांशकाः ॥

The meaning is for the Madhyamādi *rāga*, the *śruti* adjustment of the frets in seven *svaras* of 22 *śrutis* is—

ma—sarvamsahā (11th *śruti*), *pa*—mālinī 14th, *ni*-vistariṇī 21st, *dha*—hridayonmūlisū 20th, *ga*—hradini 8th, *sa*—suprabha 4th.

- (b) शान्ताचोप्रा च निर्हादी विभूतिः सर्वपूर्विका ।
रत्ना प्रभावती चैव हृदयोन्मूलिनी तथा ।
प्रसन्ना चैव संप्रोक्ता श्रुत्यंशास्तु वराटके ॥

In *varāṭikā* *rāga*, *dha* 18, *ri* 7, *ga* 8, *ma* 18, *pa* 17, *sa* 2, *dha* 20, *ni* 22.

- (c) विस्तारिणी हृदुन्मूली सुप्रभा सर्वपूर्विका ।
सहा च हादिनी च स्याद्गौडरागे तथांशकाः ॥
In *gaṇḍa* *rāga*—*ni* 21, *dha* 20, *sa* 4, *ma* 11, *ga* 8.

- (d) प्रभावती हादिनी च सर्वपूर्वसहा पुनः ।
लोला विस्तरिणी पश्चाद् धन्नास्यंशास्तथौडुवः ॥

In *Dhannāsi*—*sa* 2, *ga* 8, *ma* 11, *pa* 16, *ni* 21.

The Kuṇḍimiyāmala inscription professes to give the details of *svaras* in all stages of singing any *rāga*. But its author gives examples only for seven *grāma-ragas*. It is in reality a chart for practitioners according to the conception and definition of Matanga as exhibited in his Brihad-deśī. The signs adopted by the author of the inscription as *sa*, *si*, *su*, *se*, *sam* are for *sthāyī*, *saṅchāri*, *Avaroha*, *Āroha* and *Mandra* tunes. The first four forming what is called Chatur-danḍī in Viṇā. Thus the chart is a practical guide where to begin, how to conduct and where to end

each *rāga* are given in details. It is not possible for the writers of large works to deal with every *rāga* in such a practical manner. When the form of *Viṇā* was changed and *svaras* were reduced to the *śuddha* and *vikṛiti* divisions, both the kinds had to be distributed among 12 frets plus *ādharma* *śaḍja*. To group all the facilities in one handy instrument to denote both the *śuddha* and *vikṛiti* *svaras* entailed a lot of complication and it was perfected by Achyutarāya in the production of modern *Viṇā*. The *rāgas* have undergone change in their *śruti* notes and as *Deśi* forms developed more when *Vikṛiti* *svaras* were used. So the whole structure of the ancient *Rāga* system was given up along with the old *Viṇās* and a new mnemonic scale of 72 *Mēlakartās* was introduced by some writer, to assist the feeble brains of indolent pupils.

The rest of the fifth chapter of the *Saṅgita-Sudhākara* deals with *Gitaprabandhas*. A *Prabandha* is strictly a combination of two or more items, *viṭ*, *gita*, *nṛita* and *vādyā*. Besides the *gitaprabandhas*, there are also *Vādyaprabandhas*, and *tālaprabandhas*. *Haripāla* enumerates only *gitaprabandhas* of 76 kinds. He differs from his predecessors. *Matanga* names 50 which were copied by *Pārśvadeva*. *Jagadekamalla* names 100 *prabandhas* in his *Saṅgita-chūḍāmaṇi*. *Someśvara* (1120 A.D.) enumerates only 50 ; but he has given examples along with their definitions. Those examples are very valuable to a modern researcher. *Nānyadeva* (1080 A.D.) gives all the 50 *Deśiprabandhas* with examples in *Prākṛit* in most cases. Early writers have simply defined many of them. But the definitions of the later writers vary a good deal. *Bharata* gives four kinds of *Gītas* and seven kinds of compositions (chap. 31) which may be regarded as *Gitaprabandhas*. *Nandikēśvara* combined these with *Nṛita*-*prabandhas* and *Vādyaprabandhas*, and called them *Prabandhamēlana*. Recent writers like *Dēvēndra* (author of the *Saṅgītamuktāvali*) and *Veda* (the author of the *Saṅgītamakaranda* who flourished in the court of *Shāji*) have combined *prabandhas* to produce variety as ordained by *Nandin*. But in the conceptions and models of *Devendra* and *Veda* many of the dance compositions that were in vogue in *Tamil* country and *Ceylon* were borrowed in tact and were introduced into the daily practice. A detailed examination of their works with the scanty remnants available in *Tamil* and *Singhalese* literature may furnish us sufficient data for the formulation of a theory. South Indian forms of dances were incorporated into the Sanskrit system by the *Mahrattas* and the *Gurjaras*. The *Dravidian* influence on Sanskrit music or dance requires a separate attempt in research.

His work forms a main link in the chain of music works and gives us an easy grasp of its progress within the last 30 centuries. It will not be out of place to say a word about *Nāṭyaprabandhas* as given by *Haripāla*. It is said that *Viśvā-*

vasu first enumerated seven kinds of feminine dance. Mythology gives their origin in the well-known verses. Nandin names only seven. These dances were used according to Nandin in Nāṭya also (drama) in the Pūrvaranga, that is, a course of dancing and singing introduced for the pleasure of the audience before the commencement of a drama. Bharata elaborates various items of Pūrvaranga as in vogue in the Vedic performance of a drama. But the later writers supplemented it by introducing more æsthetic forms of dance and pleasant tunes. Long after Nandin Kuṇḍali Dance was considered to yield greatest pleasure to the audience. It was played behind three screens, transparent and translucent, in eight successive modes each contributing to the mathematical progression of time (tāla) along with Mridanga and Skandāvaja as chief instruments of percussion. About 1120 A.D. Chaulukyan king Someswara has slightly altered Kuṇḍali into Chitrakuṇḍali. Haripāla describes Kuṇḍali. Greater details are given in a modern work called Kuṇḍali Maṇidarpana, a special treatise upon the subject probably of the 17th century.

Haripāla was a great poet. He claims to have written a hundred works. His style shows his mastery. It is clear and vigorous, though not so florid as that of some others like Paramardi and Somēśa. He is not fond of tropes, but quite grammatical. He resembles his contemporaries like Yaśahpāla, Hemachandra, etc., in the literary capacity. But in matter he is not always full. His meagreness fails to satisfy the curious mind even though he is an important link in the historical evolution of music. Many of his definitions are found in the work called *Bharatārṇava*. It is a dialogue between Sumati and Nandin, and claims to be an epitome of a bigger work in 4,000 verses. Under the chapter on the *Saptalāsya* (or the seven forms of dance) in the *Bharatārṇava* there are expressions like Vichāraparamēśthi, Haribhūbhujā which seem to indicate Haripāla's authorship of the work.²⁵ The negative evidence of the lack of Nandin's quotations and thoughts in *Bharatārṇava* seems to indicate the same. Regarding Haripāla's *Saṅgītachūdamāni*, nothing is known as the manuscript is yet to be examined. His *Saṅgīta-sudhākara* was once a text-book for beginners.

25. वक्षसः पार्श्वभागे च हस्तस्तु खटकामुखः
 रेचितत्वादद्रुतस्त्वन्यः पादाग्रतलसञ्चरः
 इयंतु जामिता प्रोक्ता विचारपरमेष्ठिना XIV 674.
 वामदक्षिणयोः शीघ्रं देहं तदनुगं भवेत्
 एतद्वैरम्बकरणं प्रोक्तं हरिमहीमुजा । 685.

APPENDIX

भूपालश्चलुकोदके समुदभूदेवस्य धातुः पुरा
तस्मादेव चुलुक्य इत्यभिहितः प्राची पृथुस्तेजसा ।
स्थित्वास्मिन् प्रशशास विस्तृतयशास्त्रस्यान्ववाये नृपाः
चौलुक्या इति सर्वलोकविदितोद्दामा वदान्याः परे ॥

आसीन्नासीर

भूजानिर्भीमदेवः सुरभिभुजयशोर्गर्भसौराष्ट्रनारी-
सङ्गीताकृष्टपाणिप्रणयिभृगचमत्कारवत्सोमनाथः ॥

तस्माज्जज्ञे गिरीशाद्बुह इव कुशली प्राज्यसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मी-
निस्सामान्यानुरागव्यतिकरितभुजो वीरगोष्ठीगरिष्ठः ।
देवः सामन्तसिंहः प्रचुरनिजयशश्चन्द्रलाभाय नृनं
तन्वन्दानाम्बुपूरैः प्रतिदिनमपरं मुक्तमुद्रं समुद्रम् ॥

भूपः श्रीहरिपाल इत्यभिहितस्तस्याभवन्नन्दन-
स्त्यागी सत्यगिराः पराक्रमकथाविस्रब्धविश्वम्भरः ।
यस्य स्फूर्जितगर्जितस्मरमुधाव्याजं च मित्रायशः?
शम्भोः सोमपतेर्विनेतुमिव तां कण्ठस्थितां कालिकाम् ॥

अभिनवपुरनाथं हारिसङ्गीतविधं
प्रशमितकविखेदं स्पर्शनैः काञ्चनानाम् ।
यमनिशमभिनन्दन्यादवीनेत्रचन्द्रो
मुदमयति सवेणुद्वारवत्यां मुकुन्दः ॥

षड्भाषारचितास्पदा रसगुणालङ्कारिणी निस्तुषा
वक्त्रे यस्य परं विहाररसिका जाता गिरां देवता ॥
वीणातन्त्रविशारदेन विविधैरङ्गैरभङ्गोज्ज्वलै-
रन्वीतं रसनिर्भरं विदधिरे येन प्रबन्धाः शतम् ।

स सर्वविद्याश्रमवेदिनीनां गोपायिता गूर्जरचक्रवर्ती ।
व्यधत्त सङ्गीतमुधाकराख्यं प्रबन्धमालोडितपूर्वशास्त्रः ॥

कदाचिद्रङ्गनाथस्य भोगिपर्यङ्कशायिनः ।
 चरणाम्बुरुहद्वन्द्ववन्दनोत्सुकमानसः ॥
 चोलानलङ्करोति स्म हरिपालः सुरोपमः ।
 श्रारङ्गे विहितावासं शृङ्गारैकनिकेतनम् ॥
 एनमभ्यर्थयामासुर्नटनर्तकगायकाः ।
 नृत्तं धर्मार्थिकामानामाकरं सागरोपमम् ॥

 एवमभ्यर्थितस्तैस्तैर्हरिपालमहीपतिः
 प्रबन्धमात्मविहितं स संगीतमुधाकरम्
 सर्वलक्षणसंपन्नमशिक्षयदनुक्रमात् ॥

Melody and Harmony

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It has become more or less a fashion in India that any big person, whenever called upon to speak a few words on music, makes it a point to begin or end, and sometimes to begin and end, his observations with a platitude that Indian Music *wants* the European Harmony, and fancies that he has thereby done a very useful service to the music-world. One of such persons was an ex-Governor of Bombay, Lord Sydenham. Once he happened to address the students of the Bombay Gandharva Mahalaya (now defunct) thus: "In the direction of Harmony, the West has gone much further than the East, and is still moving. India *cannot* adequately realise the exaltation of spirit, the excitement, and the vivid impressions which are created by the noble choruses of a Handel's Oratorio, by the symphonies of the European masters, and even by the choral singing of a regiment on the march or of a gathering of Welsh holiday makers. I confess to my mind this seems to be a want in the music of India."

Melody consists of a succession of single and agreeable notes ; while Harmony consists of a simultaneous sounding of a multiple of agreeable (or even disagreeable) notes. Melody encourages individualistic music, and asserts the superiority of voice over the instrument ; while Harmony leads to concerted music and drowns the voice in the ocean of instruments.

Jean Jacques Rousseau remarked on the point: "Music is not really improved by the use of Harmony which is used with a view to compensate for its poorness and divert the attention of the hearers from perceiving the barrenness of genius." Long after, Captain Willard added: "Our boasted Harmony with all its fine accords and numerous parts, paints nothing, expresses nothing, says nothing to the heart, but gives more or less pleasure only to the senses. No reasonable man will seriously prefer a transitory pleasure which must soon end in satiety or even in disgust, to a delight of the soul."

While, thus, the Europeans arraign themselves in opposite camps with regard to the subject of *Melody* vs. *Harmony*, to which of the two should India give the palm ?

In answering this question we should remember that Indian *Melody* is a sad want in the music of Europe. Why was Lord Sydenham more anxious to thrust his harmony into India than to take in our melody into his country? Did his Lordship ever adequately realise the exaltation of spirit, the excitement, and the vivid impression created by a Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar's *Rāga-Ālāpana* or a Kunrakkudi Kṛṣṇa Aiyar's *Pallavi Niraval*, or Paṭṇam Subramaniya Aiyar's *Kṛti-singing*, or Gōpāla Kṛṣṇa Bhārati's *Kīrtana-singing*? The truth is, the ex-Satrap quite forgot that the Indians had intuitively perfected their natural melody, while the Europeans have disregarded the melodic system, clean jumped over it, and developed a foreign structure of harmony, and that the Indian system remains fully true to Nature, while the European system leans more and more to artifices. An ex-Judge of the Madras High Court, Sir T. Muthusvāmi Aiyar, diluted the ex-Satrap's one-sided dictum in his own way: "By mutual contact, both systems may gain from a scientific point of view." With this half-hearted method of meek submission, Mr. A. M. Chinnaswami Mudaliar was displeased; and hence he opposed the ex-Judge and observed: "The laws of modern European Harmony, which recognise no *Rāgas* at all and permit the interpolation of accidentals foreign to the melody-moulds, are quite ill-suited for oriental music." A host of other musical scholars, both Indian and European, have agreed to the views of Mr. Mudaliar, not inconsiderably. A few striking instances will, I think, do. Sir Rabindranath Tagore observes: "Indian music is like the night, pure, deep, and tender; while the European music is like the day, a flowing concourse of vast harmony, composed of concord and discord and many disconnected fragments. They both stir us. Yet the two are contrary in spirit. But that cannot be helped. For, at the root, nature itself is divided into day and night, unity and variety, finite and infinite." Elsewhere he observes: "Hindu music, is not devoid of Harmony even in its limited sense; for, the first note, when sounded, ever blends really with successive notes into a harmonious relation so as to create pleasure." But the idea of harmony in Europe is the practice of singing by different persons with different instruments, and even in different registers, mixed up with a thunder here and a motor-crash there.

Do we want that kind of harmony in our music? That is the question.

Mr. A. M. Chinnaswami Mudaliar furnished us with an adequate answer: "Considerably greater attention has been paid to the development of modes in Indian music, to the construction of characteristic melody-moulds, and to the merciless multiplication of mixed measurements, so much so that no two men could be expected to possess the

same degree of proficiency in every branch of the science. Considering the solo character of the music itself, the prominence necessarily given to particular notes in a Rāga and the emphasis laid on them to bring out its peculiar features; the simultaneous vociferation of other notes by a number of other singers could not but be regarded as intrinsically incoherent and wholly inconsistent with the spirit of the system itself. In the majority of entertainments, greater importance would be attached to the extemporaneous *ālāpana* than to the rendering of definitely fixed melodies. This practice (which alone keeps the Indian music alive) would render every kind of harmony and accompaniment on such occasions absolutely impossible."

In fact, from the point of language and climate, Indian music is destined to be mainly metrical rather than rhythmic, vocal rather than instrumental, individualistic rather than concerted, and *melodic rather than harmonic*. Hence to complain that there is no harmony in Indian Music is tantamount to complaining that there is no Sun in the night; and, as between melody and harmony, to glorify the one and vilify the other must be attributed to ignorance or arrogance.

Much of the vexed nature of the question will disappear, if we but understand that the word 'Melody' means one thing in Europe, and another in India, and that the cry of the superiority of harmony to melody applies more to the European than to the Indian music.

Melody as such has never been developed in Europe; and hence it lies buried there underground in the same raw state as it was even centuries ago. Instead of working it up, developing and polishing it into a gem, the whole of Europe has chosen to cover it with a foreign structure, and suffocate the real charm and soul of music amidst a mass of complicated foreign structure which is brimful of disharmony and which, strange to say, goes by the opposite name of harmony. As Mr. D. K. Roy of Calcutta spoke to the very face of his Switzerland audience in 1922: "The Indian *melodic* music is as distinct from the European *melodic* music as the cheese is from the chalk. So the mere fact of the harmonic music of Europe being superior to her own melodic music does not make the former equally superior in evolution to the melodic music of India."

It is thus clear that the European harmony is superior, if at all, to the European melody but surely not to the Indian melody for the simple reason that the word 'melody' in both the systems means two different things which are as poles asunder. And it is equally clear that, while the Indians perfected their melody, Europeans have disregarded it and buried it under a foreign system of soul-less harmony.

It is this soul-less harmony that Lord Sydenham desired to thrust into our country. His Lordship was obviously ignorant of the *Doctrine of Lakshya* which, as Mr. P. C. Buck pithily states, means that "the progress of music, or, for that matter, of any art, is never due to the inventions of the learned few imposed on the unlearned many; but it is ever due to a summing up and organisation by the learned of those practices and usages at which the unlearned had arrived by instinct."

It is this doctrine that has been condensed into the maxim, *Lakṣya-pradhānam-khalu-Sāstram*. If we interpret the question now before us in terms of the doctrine enunciated above, the learned few of India could not, even if they would, impose the European harmony on the unlearned many; but they might well organise it, if only the unlearned many had instinctively practised it sufficiently long.

But, will the Indian instinct induce the masses of our country to practise the European harmony, unless there is an element therein congenial to the Indian aspiration? While, again, a competent European authority himself blackmarks European harmonic music as "a bye-product of architecture, the structure of which is symmetrical, well-balanced, and even well-proportioned, but only *not alive*," will an Indian take to it with pleasure?

A History of the Indian Opera

By

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OPERA is a musical drama. It is a play of any description set to music. In a drama there is ordinarily no music ; and even if there is music it is merely incidental. But in the opera the Music plays an important part and serves as a powerful commentary on the action. Music is an indivisible element in the Opera. It is unfortunate that, both in the Sanskrit and in the South Indian Vernaculars, there is not a word to correctly convey the idea of 'Opera.' *Nāṭakam* is only pure drama. The term *sangīta-nāṭakam* might perhaps be popularised as the equivalent of the 'Opera' in the English Language. In German, we have the words. *Schauspiel* and *Oper* corresponding to the drama and opera. Opera is a form of Applied Music.

In the Opera, we find the happy consummation of all the fine arts. It requires special genius on the part of a composer to write operas. He must possess the genius of a playwright, insight into human nature, technical ability to compose successfully in the different musical forms, powers at effective characterisation, plenty of imagination, a fine gift of melody, sure dramatic instinct, talent at *Sāhitya*, high proficiency in music, a natural gift to choose the appropriate *Rāgas* for expressing the various shades of feeling, and finally the *mind's ear* and the *mind's eye* to see how the whole thing will look like when performed on the stage.

In the history of every country we find that the opera comes later than the drama. Since the former is an advance over the latter, it is but natural that it should be so.

The European opera had its origin about three centuries ago. It had its beginnings in Italy and since then has had a continuous development.

In India, operas in Sanskrit are older than the Vernacular operas. The idea that it was more *dignified* to write in the classical language in preference to the Vernaculars was perhaps responsible for this result. This again accounts for the fact that Musical compositions in Sanskrit are older than the musical compositions in the Vernaculars. The operatic forms of composition found favour with many Indian composers.

The germ or nucleus of the Indian opera is to be seen in the “*Gīta-Gōvinda*” of Jayadēva (12th century), a śrīṅgāra Mahā-Kāvya in Sanskrit. The work consists of twenty-four songs in 12 sargas. The characters figuring in the work are Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and Sakhi. There are also many ślokaś and prose passages here and there. Each song is called an aṣṭapadi, since it contains eight stanzas or *caranās*. There are a few songs in the work with fewer than eight *caranās*, and some with more than eight *caranās* also. The *kīrtana* form, with the divisions : *pallavi*, *anupallavi* and *caranās* had not yet developed and the aṣṭapadi hymns may be considered to be the precursor of the later Kīrtana. In the aṣṭapadi hymns we have the *caranās* and something corresponding to the *pallavi*. The several songs are sung by one or other of the characters mentioned above. The *Gīta-gōvinda* of Jayadēva became so popular that many composers who came after him wrote similar works choosing parallel themes. Śrī Chandraśekharaēdra Sarasvatī's *Śivaṣṭapadi*, Rāmākavi's *Rāmāṣṭapadi*, the *Skandāṣṭapadi*, the *Gaṇeśāṣṭapadi* and Vēnkaṭa-makhi's *Tyāgarājāṣṭapadi* are examples.

The best opera in Sanskrit is the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā-taraṅgiṇī* of Śrī Tīrtha Nārāyaṇaswami (16th Century). It is a long opera divided into 12 sections (Dvādaśa-taraṅgas), and each section consists of several *kīrtanas* interspersed with ślokaś and short prose passages. The theme of the opera is the Līlas of Kṛṣṇa and ends with the marriage of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī. Many Paurāṇic characters figure in this work. We come across *Jatis*¹ (tāla-solfa syllables) in some *kīrtanas*. There are also beautiful musical dialogues. The Aṣṭapadis and Taraṅgas have been grouped under sacred music and one can hear them sung with great devotional fervour in every Bhajana Party in South India.

TELUGU OPERAS

The vernacular operas date from the 18th century in South India. Tyāgarāja (1767-1847), the greatest of South Indian composers, has written three beautiful operas in Telugu : *Prahlāda-bhakti-vijayam*, *Nowka-caritram* and *Sītā-rāma-vijayam*. The sterling devotion of Prahlāda amongst the group of great *bhaktas*, had a great appeal to the father of the *Kṛiti* composition and he immortalised that Bhakti in his own characteristic style in his opera. *Prahlāda-bhakti-vijayam* does

1. *Jati*, the name given to the solfa syllables : *taka tari kita naka jonu, dimi ta tin gi na tom*, etc., used in musical time. The art of drumming is peculiar to Indian music and takes at least four years for a person to attain a fair degree of proficiency in the same. There are set graduated exercises involving the use of these tāla-solfa syllables. It should be noted that in an Indian concert, the drummer provides a regular cross-rhythmical accompaniment and plays right through the concert.

not deal with the story of Prahāda as such, but, as the title itself indicates, deals with the several aspects of his Bhakti. The opera consists of five acts, and in all 45 songs figure in them. In many songs, Prahāda addresses his prayers to Śrī Rāma. This may sound an anachronism, but it should be remembered that to Tyāgarāja, Śrī Rāma was *Parābrahman* itself, and whenever Prahāda addresses Śrī Rāma, the reference must be taken to be to the *Parābrahman*. The musical dialogues between Hari and Lakṣmī and the soliloquies of Prahāda afford interesting reading. The well-known *Cūrṇika* in which Nārada describes the greatness of Vaiṣṇava belongs to this Opera.

The *Nowka-Caritam* consists of 21 songs interspersed with *padyas* and prose passages. It narrates the story of an excursion in a pleasure-boat on the Jumna. Kṛṣṇa and the Gōpīs set out for the excursion, and this is aptly described in a beautiful *Kīrtana* in the *Surāṭi-rāga*. For sometime everything goes on well during the boat journey, but soon a storm appears and gradually increases in intensity. The boat is tossed furiously, and the distressed Gōpīs appeal to Kṛṣṇa for help. To add to their misfortune, the boat springs a leak, and the water rushes in. The Gōpīs are made to remove their garments and patch up the holes. Suddenly by some *māya* the storm vanishes, and the gōpīs find themselves back again safely on the banks of the Jumna. The story itself has no basis in the *Bhāgavatam*, and is a pure creation of Tyāgarāja's fertile imagination. Apart from the musical value of this opera, it is worth studying as a piece of literature. Tyāgarāja has rendered signal service to Indian Music by immortalising many folk-tunes in his operas.

TAMIL OPERAS

Coming to the operas in the Tamil Language, the earliest example is the *Rāma-nāṭakam* of Aruṇācala Kavirāyar (1711-1778). This opera furnishes an instance of a composition wherein the *libretto* (*sāhi-tyam*) is by one person and the music (*dhatu*) is by another. Kavirāyar wrote the songs while they were set to music by two of his disciples: Kōṇḍarāmayyar and Venkaṭarāmayyar. The theme chosen proved a handicap to the author in as much as it did not afford him much scope for the display of his creative and imaginative skill. The work opens with the usual invocation and gives the story of the Rāmāyaṇa in the form of *Kīrtanas* and *Viruttams*. There are also a few musical dialogues. The *kīrtanas* are very long, consisting of not less than three *caraṇas* and the songs are typical *darus*. Words are too many in his songs, and many Tamil Proverbs and ethical sayings figure in them. The choice of Rāgas which are in perfect consonance with the sentiments expressed by the several songs is the outstanding merit of this work. The work was given formal publicity for the first time in the

Śrīraṅgam temple and soon became popular. The author was honoured with *Kanakābhīṣēkam* by Maṇali Muttukrishna Mudaliyar, a distinguished patron of arts and learning in those days. Anantabhārati followed Kavirāyar, and wrote the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa on the same model.

The finest opera in the Tamil language is the *Nandanār-caritram* of Gōpālakṛṣṇa Bhārati. As a composition it is a masterpiece. Bhārati's genius as a playwright, his imaginative skill, his gifts for original melody-making, the ease with which he composed in several musical forms, his remarkable powers of characterisation, and the vigour of his Sāhityam are all striking. The sterling devotion of Nandanār had a great appeal to him in much the same way as Tyāgarāja was fascinated by the ideal *bhakti* of Prahlāda. From the meagre account given of Nandanār in Śēkkiḷār's *Periya-purāṇam*, Bhārati developed a story full of interest with the introduction of fictitious characters like the orthodox, obdurate, tyrannical landlord (the Vēdiyar), the venerable old man, etc. Gōpālakṛṣṇa Bhārati, like Tyāgarāja, immortalised many folk-tunes in his works. He also gave new life to some of the forgotten musical forms like the "*Irusollalankāram*", *Nonḍichindu*, etc. His other operatic works are the *Iyarpagai-nāyanār-caritram*, *Tirunīlakaṇṭha-nāyanār-caritram*, and *Kāraikāl-ammaiṇār-caritram*. Kavi Kuñjara Bhārati's (1810-1896) *Skanda-purāṇam* is another important Tamil opera, of the 19th century.

There are many things in common between the European opera and the Indian opera, like the arias, recitatives, duets, etc. But the fullest advantage has been taken of the orchestra in Europe, and the orchestral music provides a powerful commentary upon the action. Here in India, orchestral music is just coming into existence, and it should be possible hereafter to perform Indian operas to the accompaniment of regular Indian orchestral music, and thereby open the way for fresh possibilities in this direction. Indian operas might also be enriched by the introduction of *overtures*² and *leit-motifs*.³

Since the beginnings of this century, no contribution of outstanding merit has been made in Southern India in the field of opera. Now and then a few dramas have appeared but their claims to posterity are doubtful. There are many more purāṇical themes with which splendid operas could be written. It is hoped that composers in future will exert their genius in this direction and produce operatic works of merit.

2. *Overture* is an instrumental introduction to an operatic composition. It is a beautiful example of absolute music and is a purely orchestral art-form.

3. *Leit-motif* is a musical theme associated with dramatic ideas or persons.

Art Tit-Bits from Ratnakara's Haravijaya

By

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INTRODUCTORY

KASHMIR, the land of beauty and of love, with its lakes and lotuses, erotic poets and charming women, with the snow-clad peaks of lofty mountains surrounding it on all sides, and with its atmosphere filled with the fragrance of the all-too-rare *kunkum* flowers, is indeed a heavenly spot, a haven of æsthetics, the right place and the fittest for the Muses to create for themselves an arbour to run races and gambol or to lounge and take rest. Such a beauty spot, a veritable Indian Helicon, has necessarily the potent power of influencing the veriest 'sluggard into realising and appreciating Nature's charms. In the case of poets endowed with a natural gift of insight into the beauties and truths of nature, the influence is all the greater. Thus we have the charming poets of Kashmir revealing in their works their æsthetic sense in a general way. But Ratnākara goes a step further, and gives us some technical tit-bits of art in his memorable and immortal work *Haravijaya*. Apart from lots of references to the technicalities of Nāṭya, Saṅgīta, Alāṃkāra and the like, we have his observations on paintings as well; and these form an interesting study.

BHŪLĀBHA

There have been enumerated in the *Viṣṇudharmōttara*, in the list of *Citraguṇas* as opposed to *Citradoṣas*, the factors of Sthāna, Pramāṇa, Bhūlamba, and the rest. *Bhūlamba* is generally translated as background. This translation need not be questioned since there can be no figure in a picture without a proper background, or to put it simply, 'ground'; and there is no word to connote the idea barring this one, in which the word 'bhū' (which is sometimes used even separately) corresponds exactly to the word *ground*. Whether the word *Bhūlamba* is itself correct may be another subject of genuine doubt. Ratnākara calls it Bhūlābha, and actually uses it as an essential in a picture, in his verse.¹

1. *Kavyamālā*, Edn. p. 166.

सभूमिलाभं शुभवर्तिरेखया मनोरमं मण्डलकार्यमस्वलत् ।
 अशेषमुन्मीलयति क्षमाभृतां विचित्ररूपा ननु नीतितूलिका ॥
 (XII. 30).

The commentator Rājānaka Alaka, an excellent expounder who enlightens us on many points, has unfortunately nothing to say on this; and we are no wiser regarding the meaning of the word except for the difference in the latter part of the word as used by Ratnākara.

UNMILANA

This is one of the most important points that engages the attention of the artist in the production of a picture. In fact, there is no picture complete without having undergone the process of Unmīlana. A delicate *varṭikā* is used finally by the painter to animate the picture by laying strokes that breathe life into it. The process of this work is so important in the production of a picture that there is scarcely a classical work in literature but generally mentions it when referring to Citra.

Apart from the verse of Kālidāsa

उन्मीलितं तूलिकयेव चित्रं सूर्याशुभिर्भिन्नमिवारविन्दम् ।
 बभूव तस्याश्चतुरश्रशोभि वपुर्विभक्तं नवयौवनेन ॥

[Ku. I. 32.]

and the line of Bāna प्रातश्च तदुन्मीलितं चित्रमिव चन्द्रापीडशरीरमवलोक्य²

we have references to it in other poets. Prominent among these can be mentioned Mayūra, who makes use of the idea most beautifully in this verse of his *Sūryaśataka* :

ज्योत्स्नांशाकर्षपाण्डुद्युति तिमिरमषीशेषकल्माषमीष-
 ज्जृम्भोद्धूतेन पिङ्गं सरसिजरजसा सन्ध्यया शोणशोचिः ।
 प्रातः प्रारम्भकाले सकलमपि जगच्चित्रमुन्मीलयन्ती
 कान्तिस्तीक्ष्णत्विषोऽक्ष्णां मुदमुपनयतातूलिकेवातुलां वः³⁻⁴ ॥

[Sl. 26.]

Abhinanda, who similarly mentions it in his *Rāmacarita*,

2. Kādambārī. Kādambārī, Nirayasagar Press Edition, p. 548.

3-4. Kāvya-mālā.

कैः शिक्षिता वर्तयितुं तदासीदुन्मीलितं तूलिकयेव चित्रम् ।
तरङ्गवत्तुङ्गशरद्वनालीबिसंस्थुले व्योमनि बालसन्ध्या ॥

[III. 73.]

Haricandra who suggests it in his *Dharmaśarmābhyaṅgī*⁵

अहो समुन्मीलति धातुरेषा शिल्पक्रियायाः परिणामरेखा ।
जगद्धयं मन्मथवैजयन्त्या यया जयत्येष मनुष्यलोकः ॥

[XVII. 18.]

and Vāgbhaṭa who introduces it in one of the verses of his *Neminirvāṇa*⁶

रेजे दलच्छंपकचारुभासां यत्राङ्गनानां तनुरोमराजिः ।
शलाकयोन्मीलयतो विधातुर्मुखाच्च्युतेवाङ्गनवारिरेखा ॥

[I. 49.]

That Unmilana comes last is also pointed out by the order in which the various stages in painting a picture are stated. In the verse on *Bhūl-amba* or *Bhūlābha* quoted above (p. 424) we have the *Bhūlābha* coming first. The arrangement of the background finished, we turn to the figures composing the picture. Here the *Subhavaritirēkhā* is mentioned. That preliminary sketching is done with the *Vartikā* is well known to us from a perusal of the contents of the *Silpa* works giving directions for work to artists. The verse

पूर्वं तिन्दुकलेख्यं स्याद्यद्वा वर्तिकया बुधैः ।
आकारमात्रिकां रेखां विना वर्णं लिखेत्पुनः ॥

of the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* and the dictum of the *Silparatna*

आलिखेत्किट्टलेखिन्या सुमुहूर्ते सुलग्ने ।
स्वस्थचित्तः सुखासीनः स्मृत्वा स्मृत्वा पुनः पुनः ॥

(*Kitṭalēkhini* is the same as *Vartikā*, and its preparation is given in the text) are of the same purport. The *Maṇḍalakārya* (drawing of curvatures), characterised as *manōrama* (charming) and *askhalat* (unerring),

5. *Kāvya-mālā* Edn.

6. *Ibid.*

is the next work. The sketches that are merely blocked are now rounded off at their edges, and a new grace is added to the figure by a more definite work. And lastly comes the *Unmilana*. The best explanation of the term *Unmilana* is given in the verse

यस्याभियातिभवनेष्वसमाप्तचित्र-
मम्भारभित्तिपुरुषा मलिनीभवन्तः ।
उन्मीलनावसरशून्यदृशः समिद्धां
दध्युर्दिवानिशमिव श्रियमव्यवस्थाम् ॥
[XVI. 65.]

wherein Ratnākara shows that it is the final opening of the eyes, putting in the pupils, etc. with paint so as to give an animated expression to the figure.

ANGAVARTANA

The question of *Vartanā* seems to be as puzzling as *Bhūlamba*. Whether it is shading or mere position of limbs—the adjusting of the limbs in *Karaṇas* for postures and so forth—is a real food for thought. *Vartanā*, the *Viṣṇudharmōttara* says, is shading. Though there is no specific meaning given that *Vartanā* is shading, the explanation of the divisions and types of *Vartanā* leaves no doubt as to what it is and the text makes itself intelligible that way. But Ratnākara's use of the word does not thiswise make the meaning clear. In the verse

श्लक्ष्णत्वं विरलविलेपनश्रियस्ता विभ्रात्यो रुचिरतराङ्गवर्तनाभिः ।
सद्रूपाः सललितनाट्यचित्रभितीरालोक्ष्याभिमतजनः पुपोष तोषम् ॥
[XVII. 96.]

wherein he talks of both dance and picture the first quarter refers to a distinct merit in painting—that of using the least quantity of paint, a thin coating of colour to make the picture look bright and lustrous as opposed to loading with paint, the hall mark of vulgarity,—and this application of colours makes us suppose that the *Sadrūpa* or beauty of form is brought out or set off, so to say, only by *Āṅgavartanā*, i.e., modelling of the form by means of shading. But again in the verse

विचित्रस्थानकोपेताः सुकुमाराङ्गवर्तनाः ।
नृत्ते चित्रे च दधतीमक्षिसहृदयाः स्त्रियः ॥

[XXXII. 3.]

the word *Āṅgavartanā* is explained by the commentator *Rājānaka Alaka* as *Angavalanā* :

स्थानकमालीढादि वपुषः संनिवेशविशेषः,

चित्रेपि पृष्ठागताद्यङ्गानां वर्तना तद्वेष्टिता या बलना⁷ आसूत्रणानि च

So *Āṅgavartanā* is taken to be a process helping *Sthānakas*—the *Āṅgasannivēṣa* or happy position of limbs adding to the grace of the *Sthānaka* or pose. A careful examination of both the verses would reveal to the reader that the poet might have had both the meanings in his mind and the *Ślēṣa* (pun) might be further split up and strained.

STHĀNAKA

The importance of pose in picture and dance is too well known to need reiteration. It is this important factor of pose value that connects *Citra* with *Nāṭya*, and gives rise to such notions as embodied in the *Viṣṇudharmōttara* verses :

यथा नृत्ते तथा चित्रे त्रैलोक्यानुकृतिः स्मृता ॥

दृष्टयश्च तथा भावा अङ्गोपाङ्गानि सर्वशः ।

कराश्च ये महा (या ?) नृत्ते पूर्वोक्ता नृपसत्तम ॥

त एव चित्रे विज्ञेया नृतं चित्रं परं मतम् ।

It is the realisation of this fact that makes *Ratnākara* associate *Citra* and *Nāṭya* wherever possible, specially mentioning *Sthānaka* as a common point. What the *Sthānakas* are is given by *Rājānaka Alaka* is the commentary quoted above. The importance of *Sthānaka* in *Citra* is clearly given out by the very significant passage in *Trivikrama's Nalacampu* referring to *Sthānaka*, etc., as indispensable elements in a picture. *Citra-vidyāmivānēkakāṇṭakapatralatāsthānakaviṣamām rjvāgatātāpasām ca* (p. 164).

In this case the commentator, *Caṇḍapāla*, enumerates all the *sthānas*, and thus supplies us with very useful information.

RĒKHA

That beautifully drawn elegant lines form a distinct charm of any picture cannot be gainsaid. And in India the greatest importance has

7. In the *Kav. Edn.* (p. 414) there is a query mark after *valana* in the commentary, but it seems to be the correct reading. [V. R.]

been attached to fine line work. The *Viṣṇudharmōttara* specially praises line work in the verse :

रेखां प्रशंसन्त्याचार्या वर्तनां च विचक्षणाः ।
स्त्रयो भूषणमिच्छन्ति वर्णाढ्यमितरे जनाः ॥

Vulgar and coarse lines or lines of an uneven and overlapping nature have been always deprecated. Thin, continuous and even lines without any overlapping seem to have been drawn by the womenfolk ; and we have this evidenced by the Ślōka in the *Viddhasālābhañjikā* (Act I) :

अहो वपुश्रीलिखितुर्जनस्य स्वाकारमवादि यदत्र चित्रम् ।
इदं च पौरन्ध्रमवैमि कर्म रेखानिवेशोऽत्र यदेकधारः ॥

Line work such a great forte of the Indian artists and so popular with them, has thus been praised everywhere in literature, and poets have expressed an overfondness to comparing a good picture drawn in delicate and pure lines to an excellent composition couched in mellifluous chiselled language.

Ratnākara, in his verse,

कल्याणीं गिरमुत्सृष्टुं विरला एव जानते ।
सत्यां रेखां विलिखितुं चित्रकर्मविदो यथा ॥

[XXXII. 70]

which embodies this idea, deplores the paucity of experts in both cases—literature and art—capable writers of elegant composition and adept painters of figures in line. That this idea has been common amongst the Sanskrit litterateurs is well borne out by the line of Vāmana in the *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti*,

एतासु तिसृषु रीतिषु रेखास्विव चित्र काव्यं प्रतिष्ठितमिति
[Adhik. I. Adhy. 13.]

wherein he makes an exactly similar comparison.

CONCLUSION

Ratnākara's keen observation of pictures is well borne out in his verse

सिंदूरराजिषु घनं स्फुरदन्यवर्णभेदेष्वलक्ष्यमधिमन्दिरभित्तिचित्रम् ।
भातिस्म निर्जितजरच्छुक्कघोणशोणरागोस्वणच्छवि रवेः कुरचक्रवालम् ॥
[XIX. 17.]

wherein he shows how vermilion predominates in its lustre in a picture, wherein all the colours have been used mixed with *Niryāsakalka* or *Vaj-ralepa*, especially when the evening crimson-glow of the setting sun falls on it. The verse further shows us how Bhatti-citras (mural paintings) were executed in well-ventilated, open halls or halls provided with at least a number of windows and the like, to allow free play of sunlight on the figures, and not in recesses, dens and caves of monks. Lettering is a special capacity given to a limited few among artists. Certain forms of creepers, animals, limbs, etc., are also sometimes so drawn as to form letters. Śrī Harṣa has referred to some such letter-forms in his *Naiṣa-dhīyacarita*. The component parts of the letter ॐ he compares, for instance, to the eyebrows, the tilaka, and the Vinākoṇa of Damayanti.* Ratnākara discloses a similar skill of lettering by comparing the same letter to the elephant's trunk

प्रतिहारभिः करिकरैरसकृत्परिपिण्डितैः समरभूमिभरात् ।

लिपिसंहतेः मुभटनामजुषः प्रणवैरिव प्रथममालिखितैः ॥

[XLII. 10.]

This comparison is so popular that the famous South Indian composer Dikṣita speaks of Gaṇapati as *Pranavasvarūpavakratuṇḍa*. The proficiency of the author of the *Haravijaya* in the science of iconography is also evidenced in his work. Though a devout Hindu and a Śivabhakta, he has shown himself to be an adept in Buddhist iconography as well, and traces the origins of Buddhist Mūrtis (images). There is no gainsaying the fact that the Buddhists and Jains who originally lacked independent Murtis for worship copied these forms from the Hindus. In Canto XLVII Ratnākara has some verses wherein he extolls Pārvatī as the goddess that Buddhists worship though in a different name. She is the mother (goddess) of the Jainas (sl. 49), the main cause of Jina's enlightenment (Sl. 50), the enlightenment itself, i.e., wisdom personified (Sl. 51), the director of the path of Aṣṭāṅga-parinirvṛti, the path of Sugata (Sl. 53). It is only Pārvatī, says Ratnākara, who is worshipped by the Buddhists in the Murti (form) of Prajñāpāramitā. In XLVII 52, he says :

अक्षुण्णमार्गयुगभङ्गदशान्यतीत-

विस्पष्टमार्गगतिवर्त्मरथाधिरूढैः ।

त्वं कीर्तिताभयनिरात्मकतावलम्ब-

रूपा भवानि मतिपारमितेति बौद्धैः ॥

Similarly Tārā is another Buddhist form of the Hindu goddess, the spouse of Śiva (Pārvatī). Says Ratnākara in XLVII, 54 ;

गर्भाकृतावधुतसंतमसानुबन्धसंवित्प्रकाशविषमोक्तयानमार्गैः ।

आर्यावलोकभुवि लोकितसंभवा च तारा त्वमम्ब कथिताब्जकुलप्रसूतिः ॥

In this connection the great mass of talk about Buddhist, Jain and Hindu arts as separate watertight compartments, dissociating the one from the other, and placing the first two over the last as the fountain-heads of all art in India, is most misleading, and lacks sufficient justification. Regarding the borrowal of Brāhmanical icon concepts by the Buddhists, we have the candid remarks of the eminent iconographer, Benoytosh Bhattacharya : " As Buddhism was originally a religion of tolerance it incorporated many of the Hindu deities in the first stage " (Introduction, XX, Buddhist Iconography). " The Jainas and the Buddhists alike borrowed Hindu gods in their earlier stages, but in the Tantric age, the Buddhist gods were commonly exploited " (Foreword I, Buddhist Iconography). It may here be remarked incidentally that the frescoes at Ajanta which are titled Buddhist need not necessarily be the work of the Buddhist monks. Some of the rabid Buddhists went even to the extent of condemning painting, as seen in the verse of Haricandra in *Dharmaśarmābhyaṅga*, XXI 148 :

वनकेलिर्जलक्रीडा चित्रलेप्यादि कर्म वा ।

एवमन्येऽपि बहवोऽनर्थदण्डाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

Great impetus to art was given, as is very well known, by the Hindu monarchs of the Śūṅga, Gupta, Āndhra, Vākāṭaka and Chālukya dynasties.

The Melakarta—An Enquiry

By

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HISTORY.

BEFORE the time of the great Tyāgarāja, the musicians in the court of Tanjore used only the *rāgas* that were called *Rakti* and *Ghana*,—which is supported by the several compositions that we have inherited from them. It was left to the Great Tyāgarāja—it is said, through the grace of Śrī Rāmāchandra—to extend the scope of music by composing his immortal songs in *rāgas* that generally go under the name of *Apūrva*, but are actually included in the list of *rāgas* that are contained in the index of *janya* and *janaka rāgas* (viz., the seventy-two *Mēlas* beginning with *Kanakāṅgi* and ending with *Rasikapriyā* as well as the *janya-rāgas*). The time of the Tanjore Mahārāja, Chhatrapati Shivaji, formed the age of Tyāgayya. He died in the reign of that Rājā; and he has left compositions in more than a dozen of *new Mēlakarta-rāgas*, and several *janya-rāgas*, showing thereby his originality in the field of music. Shivaji had a son-in-law, by name Rājaśrī Sakhārām Sāhib, who had in his employ a celebrated composer, Lavani Venkata Row, by name. This composer it was, that has written in Mahratti strains beginning with “Śrī” and containing the names of the seventy-two *Mēlas* (*Kanakāṅgi* to *Rasikapriya*) in honour of Sakhārām Sāhib. It was the fortune of the late Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar that he was directed by Sakhārām Sāhib, in 1883, to set the strains to their appropriate music. It was ordered to be performed before an assembly of Vidvāns, and was tested and found to be correct. This *Mēlarāgamālīka*, which was a further extension of the field of music beyond what had been achieved by the Great Tyāgayya (who composed only in some of the *Mēlakartas* and not all), was transformed latterly into the Sanskrit *Rāgamālīka*, and taught by Mahā Vaidyanātha Aiyar to the pupils of his. The musicians in and around Tanjore used to be directly treated by this exquisite music of the seventy-two *Mēlas*. In 1901, in the pages of *The Hindu*, a controversy arose between Mr. A. M. Chinnaswami Mudaliyar and Mr. Subbarama Dikshitar of Ettayapuram, regarding the scientific origin of South Indian Music; and it was concluded that the music system advocated by Subbarāma Dikshitar belonged to a school different from the one that was in common use among the musicians of the South, the Great Tyāgayyar included.

CONTENTIONS.

The *Pradarśini* says that the Chaturdaṇḍiprakāśika and Rāgaprakaraṇa, the two well-known works of Vēṅkaṭamakṣin, declare that the Kanakāmbari nomenclature was in use in the south as against the Kanakāṅgi one. The State Vidvān, Mr. Nazir-ud-din Khan of Indore, sang four *drutpads* of Baij Nāyak of Allāuddin's time containing the very names Kanakāmbari etc., at the 1934 Madras Music Conference; and it has to be concluded that this nomenclature was borrowed by Vēṅkaṭamakṣin, perhaps, to introduce the same in the south as a novelty. Mention has already been made about the difference existing between his system and the system generally accepted by the musicians of the South.

Some experts in the South (e.g., the late Ponnuswāmi Pillai of Madura and others) have proposed a reduction in the number of seventy-two Mēḷakartas to thirty-two. Their argument is based upon the objection that there is a double naming of the same half-note in the seventy-two-system. It has to be said, that this argument is also pressed by the northern musicians against the Mēḷakartā system.

In reply to the above objection, it is contended, this defect has been practically conquered by the musicians of the South with their Avadhāna-Śakti e.g. their skill in using the Shaṭ-śruti-ṛshabha and Sādhāraṇa-Gāndhāra promiscuously, even in Svara-singing. It is needless to state that the late Mahāvaidyanātha Aiyar achieved a more difficult task, viz. singing the seventy-two Mēḷas.

Mr. Nazir-ud-din questioned the propriety of giving two names to the same half-note—Of course, he was in concurrence with the late Ponnuswāmi Pillai. But Simha Bhūpāla, the commentator of the Saṅgītaratnākara, has, on page 63, dwelt at length on Avadhāna or the practice of calling a particular note by a different name for Mūrcana purposes. Further, the "Sādhāraṇa-Prakaraṇam" in the Ratnākara has laid down that between two notes there could be an interval which has to be given two names according as occasions require it.

CONCLUSION.

From the above facts, it has to be concluded first that Kanakāṅgi nomenclature was peculiar to the South as against Kanakāmbari; and secondly it is no sin to use two names for the same half-note.

Muthuswami Dikshita's Art

By

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THE recent widespread musical revival in this country has focussed attention on our musical forms and our musical system, and given birth to several institutions for promoting Indian Music. Though this movement has given a powerful impetus to our musical art, it has not been directed by a critical discrimination of values or a clear formulation of aesthetic standards, so that it has not resolved the confusion between conflicting musical tendencies and the contradictory and absurd views freely expressed both by experienced musicians and musical critics. The movement, therefore is still in the stage of naive appreciation which precedes the critical and analytical stage wherein are formulated the fundamental principles on which musical criticism must rest in the last instance. Any detailed and penetrating criticism of Dikshita is therefore impossible at this stage, on account of the lack of accepted standards of reference or agreed principles of valuation. On the other hand, the careful study of Dikshitar itself supplies the much-sought lead in laying the foundation of the basic values in musical art; for, a genuine creative work of art is never constructed by rule of thumb to suit some previously formulated abstract system of values; but being itself inspired, it explicates the values that it reveals, and these revealed values are at once seen to be primordial and eternal, and independent of the accident of their formulation.

But in trying to reach the fundamental musical values guided by the beacon-light of Dikshitar's work, we have first to clear the ground by cutting through the rank undergrowth of confusion that has sprouted up in the mind of the Indian of today. In seeking for the guiding principles of musical criticism, the instinct of the educated Indian during recent years has led him to look for help and elucidation from Western thought. Unfortunately, the musical values that have been evolved in this country are so unique and individual, that the uninstructed West could offer no real insight relating to them, but could only pass on some of its own slogans—like 'Art for Art's Sake', 'Art is the pursuit of Beauty',—for whatever they may be worth. It is indeed notorious that foreign goods of the cheaper variety find ready consumption in this country. These catchwords have accordingly been taken up seriously by naive Indians, and reacting on the indigenous intellectual atmosphere, have produced a mischievous brood of wrong ideas and confusion.

I shall therefore begin clearing the ground by saying that there are both Dēvas and Daityas operating in the world of musical value to-day. The Dēvas are beings of light born of Aditi—the Universal which holds its particulars as unsevered manifestations of itself; the worshipper of the Dēvas is led on by them through a broadening path to the regions of light, and to the enjoyment of the divine nectar whose womb is the Light. The Daityas are the sons of Diti—the deity of Separatism and Evil—and their worshippers are led by easy and gradual stages on the downward path of degeneration. In the world of mind, the Dēvas and Daityas take the form of certain mental and intellectual tendencies which clothe themselves in the form of a proposition or a principle. The principles which correspond to the Dēvas uphold the world of values and ideals manifested in social consciousness, and deepen and enrich it and raise it godward; the Daitya principles, on the other hand, are aimed at the disintegration of value-structure. The war between the Dēvas and Daityas spoken of in the Vēdas and Purāṇas is not a myth, but a fact of everyday experience, and today the Daityas have lost not a whit of their ancient cunning and their strength. The real form of the Daitya is horrible, and so he habitually clothes himself in a half-true proposition which appears unobjectionable and quite harmless; in this form he gets accepted, and obtains a place in the mind-structure, where, like the worm in the bud, he works out in secret his nefarious purpose of degeneration. As the Purāṇas teach us, the Daitya can also deliberately clothe himself in a Daiva principle and appear in the guise of a Dēva, and it would then require a keen eye to ferret him out. Any institution whose object is to uphold and enrich a particular realm of values must be always on the alert and watchful against the Daityas, and deal with them drastically whenever they appear, whether in proper person or in disguise.

The Daityas who are operating in the world of music have a large and influential following in South India, and it is easy to meet them any day. In describing these Daityas, it will be convenient to divide them into two groups; the first group, though operating in the world of Art, is part of a larger confederation of Daityas whose objective is to subvert the Indian culture by attacking it on all fronts and uprooting its unique and integral standpoint. The second group is operating solely to the detriment of musical values.

The Daityas of the first group are of European extraction and prestige, and generally assume the form of certain affirmations about Art with the insidious purpose of undermining the foundations of Indian culture. They were all born long ago in Greece, when the Greeks cut into little bits the one Divine Mother, the Vākdēvī, who is the creating-

manifesting movement of consciousness, and out of the debris fashioned the Nine Muses. Since then, they have grown and waxed fat and strong, and flourished in full-blown glory in the West, where one has not only a separate Sunday suit for Church service, but also separate pockets in one's working suit to accommodate Art, Science, Politics, etc. The first Daitya of this group is of an intellectual temperament, and under the form of the affirmation that Art exists for its own sake, pleads with the modern Indian that Art is surely an autonomous realm of values existing in its own right, and that the mystical, religious or other relations of a work of Art are merely incidental and have nothing to do with its aesthetic value as such. The second Daitya has the form of the definition 'Art is the expression of the Beautiful', and with a smirk and a wink whispers in the Indian's ear "What do you care for the technicalities of Art? A piece of music or a work of Art must in the first instance give you *pleasure*. If it fails even to please, what value can it have? If it pleases, is it not because it is beautiful and therefore Art?" A third Daitya who is even more insidious, says: "Aesthetic value obviously does not relate to the content or the subject matter of the work of Art, but purely to its form. There is nothing transcendent or mysterious in æsthetic value, as the form can be analysed even to the point of indicating those elements which convey the impression of the exaltation, the *élan* or the special feeling embodied in the work." In answer to these special pleadings we must firmly invoke the Bhārata-Mātā, and reassert the one Supreme Value which she has built up through the centuries, and say: 'These definitions of Art may be true in other countries, but not here, in India. Here there is only one Supreme Value, negatively indicated by the term Mukti, whose positive content is the grand surge of Divine Caitanya which appears as inanimate and animate Nature, and which, self-conscious in Man, creates and aspires. This value which is the Universal Mother and is known by innumerable other names as well, is the source and repository of all other values; She is both the content and the form of knowledge, both the subject-matter and the Beauty of Art. Art does not exist for its own sake, and is not an autonomous value; because like all other human values it subsists in Her who is the one autonomous Value, and exists for Her sake. If the subject-matter of Art were the isolated particular, it would not be relevant to aesthetic value; but it is never the particular as such, it is always the Universal manifested in the particular, so that the subject-matter of Art is no other than the Supremely Beautiful, the Ineffable One in one of her innumerable masquerades. Enjoyment is certainly produced by the work of Art, but such enjoyment is not the pleasure of the senses; essentially, however, Art is a form of knowledge, because *Art not only reveals value, but is an expression of the aspiration towards the Value which it reveals.*'

The veteran Daityas of the first group have cross-bred with the beings of the Indian thought-world, and begotten two virile sons who have been deputed to work havoc in the world of indigenous music. The first of these is the Foe of Sarasvatī, who, urged by an instinct of hereditary hatred, has sworn to cripple her form by severing the hand which holds the Veeṇa from the rest of Her. This Daitya stresses on the distinction between Saṅgeeta and Sāhitya, and suggests that, just as the Paṇḍit need not be proficient in Music, so the musician need not bother about the Sāhitya. A rose when called by any other name would smell as sweet, and a Kīrtana with the Sāhitya replaced by any other Sāhitya with the same arrangement of long and short syllables, would be essentially the same as before; for, the *bhāva* and the aesthetic quality of a musical piece reside in the succession of musical sounds, and not in the Sāhitya which is a dummy. This Daitya can also quote Scripture and point to the deformation of Sāhitya due to the exigencies of Sāmagāna. The brother of this valiant one is the Daitya of Musical Atomism whose efforts are directed against the unique musical value evolved in India, called the Rāga. This Daitya says in effect: 'There is nothing very wonderful or mysterious in your Rāga. Here are the twelve notes, or if you are inclined to be *very* scientific, you can take the twenty-two Śrutis. You just put them in a box, close the lid, and shake thoroughly. Open, and you see before you—a Rāga! Close the lid, shake again, and open—and *hey presto!* You have another Rāga!' It is this Daitya who advocates absolute faith in the Avarōhaṇārōhaṇa of the Rāga. While it is easy for the conscious intellect to disparage these Daityas and disclaim them, it is very difficult to dislodge them from the sub-conscious mind; entrenched there, they raise barriers against the musical Sādhaka ever reaching the stage of inspiration.

Against the Foe of Sarasvatī, we have to invoke the Vākdēvī Herself, and contemplate Her resplendent Form as *Viṇā-pustaka-dhārinī*, which hints at the true relation between the spoken word and the musical sound. The musical sound and the Word are related to each other as Nāda and Bindu which, indissolubly united, constitute the true form of the Vākdēvī, and therefore also the true form of the Creative Process. The vocal mechanism which is our instrument of expression seems to function in two separate levels—the *logical* and the *alogical*—corresponding to the Word and the Musical sound. But this is a pure illusion; for not only does the Nāda of a state of feeling invariably tend to consummate itself by achieving a Bindu of more or less logical self-expression, but the spoken word itself never exists apart from an aura of affective and emotive atmosphere which surrounds it. It is precisely through this aura that states of feeling are transmitted by the spoken word. In a piece of music it is the atmosphere of feeling which is the aura of the

logical part or Sāhitya, that inspires and supports the musical expression—which indeed has no existence apart from such support. Where the Sāhitya is rich and has powerful and universal associations, an impetus is given to the music to soar to undreamt-of heights of revelation of expressive Form. In substance, then, we may say that the Bhāva in a piece of music has its seed and support in the Sāhitya, but is moulded and shaped by the Rāga which acts as the environment.

The answer to Musical Atomism must lie in the true concept of the Rāga which will be indicated below. It suffices to say here that the Ārōhaṇāvarōhaṇa of the Rāga is *not* its *Svarūpalakṣhaṇa*, but only its *Upalakṣhaṇa* or *Taṭasthalakṣhaṇa*; it indicates merely the direction in which the Rāga may be sought. The actual finding of the Rāga in the direction indicated depends entirely on the sensitiveness and aspiration of the Seeker.

Muthusvāmi Dikshita is the declared and uncompromising enemy of all the Daityas we have mentioned, and his work is a standing monument to the true and the eternal musical values. Indeed, the only way that I know of, to destroy and shatter utterly the arch-enemies of True Value, is to soak one's self in Dikshita's Kṛtis, and allow one's mind and inner instruments to be moulded and shaped by influences emanating therefrom. More precisely, it is our thesis that *Dikshita's work is classic in the sense, that it furnishes the fullest and the most integral manifestation and exemplar that we know of, of the values specific to Karnatic Music.* Before we can adumbrate this thesis, it is necessary to elicit the nature of Karnatic Music, and its relations to Western and Hindustan Music.

Western Music in its origin seems to have been inspired by the pleasantness of the pure or the musical note, and very much impressed by the mysterious phenomenon of resonance in which two or more notes 'unite to form a star.' It often aims at large-scale effects by increasing the volume of sound and by the concerted action of a variety of instruments. It seems to have conceived of music only in terms of musical instruments, and to have had no suspicion whatever that the source and the contours of musical value must be sought in the utterance of the human organism, in reference to which alone 'expressivity' has its primary significance. It has consequently no *Śruti*, as it does not see that the expressive value of a musical note is not determined intrinsically, but by its relation to the fundamental note or the normal pulse of utterance. It is needless to add that it is quite innocent of anything approaching the Rāga. It seems as if the human vocal instrument in Western Music has surrendered its unique prerogative, and consented to follow the lead of Matter by reproducing its vibrations and taking on its rhythm.

Hindustan and Karnatic Music are based on the same Śāstras, and accept the fundamental implications of the expressive character of the Musical art, in so far as they are based on the Śruti and aspire to the Rāga. But Hindustan music is only a half-way house, as it makes considerable mental reservations in accepting the lead of human utterance as the unique repository and the revealer of musical value. In the first place, it is unduly attached to the pure note, and admits only that class of *gamakas* which do not do too much violence to the pure note. The whole class of oscillatory *gamakas* which are not only natural to the human larynx, but are highly significant in point of expressive value, are therefore shut out from Hindustan music. Hindustan music is further unduly attached to the vowel sound and, in particular, to the open sound of the *Akāra*, and does not appear to have exploited the consonantal *gamakas*. The result is that the Rāga does not attain its full expressive possibilities, or reach its full stature. Such splendid Bhāva-types as have been achieved in some of our ordinary Rāgas like Mōhanam, Śaṅkarābharaṇam or Kambōji are beyond the reach of Hindustan music, even though it may have corresponding Rāgas with identical *Ārōhaṇavarōhana*. The second point in which it has failed to follow the lead of the vocal organ is the sense of rhythm. It has failed to intuit the extraordinarily refined and complicated stress-and-rhythm structure which supports the cadences of human utterance. Its sense of rhythm remains more or less as crude as that of Western music.

Karnatic music distinguishes itself from all its compeers in its utter surrender to the lead of the human larynx, and in taking all its values straight from their source in the precious instrument created by the Vākdēvī herself for her manifestation. It is not unduly attached to the pure note, because the pure note is resorted to by the human voice only in certain well-defined situations—such as, when it expresses peace or calm, or as basis of movements of display, or occasionally in rapid movements analogous to fireworks. In every other case the human voice utters only *Gamakas* whose complete or even satisfactory translation in terms of pure notes is a sheer impossibility. These *gamakas* have an interjectional or ejaculatory quality, and are the elementary innate expressions of the human mind of its feelings and emotions of aspiration towards the supreme values. Karnatic music treasures up all these *gamakas* or crude units of expression, and builds them into the Rāgas to which they belong. Each Rāga is a well-defined universe of expression-feeling and expression-movement, which has been manifested through long musical evolution. Each Rāga probably started as a definite musical phrase with a definite movement of *gamakas*, and continued itself in the manner *described by me elsewhere.* The Rāga connotes

*See the author's contribution 'The Genetic Theory of the Rāga'.

a supreme value, because it marks a creation in the world of alogical expression, which is parallel to, and of co-ordinate status with, the concept or the word in logical expression. Both the Rāga and the word have arrived by diverse routes from the crude unit of gamaka or interjectional speech. What the syllable or root is to the word, that the gamaka is to the Rāga. The Rāga has as much objective status, and is as much a unit of social currency, as the Word. Karnatic music has also isolated the value of *Laya* in the stress-and-rhythm structure of human utterance, and recognising in it the paramount principle of structural form in musical composition, has evolved many rhythmic patterns. The *Laya* is, as it were, the pulse of the musical movement, and exerts a secret inner compulsion which the form does not transgress, analogous to the secret compulsion which the Lord as Kūṭastha, or Antaryāmi exerts on the apparently free world-movement. The æsthetic element expressed in *Laya* is the element of self-possessed calm and mastery, of a foundation of being which, unshaken by the musical movement, holds and possesses it with ease. This Īśvara element of mastery, possession and enjoyment is, of course, behind all expression, logical, as well as alogical. To sum up, then, Karnatic music attempts to realise the form of the Vāk-dēvī in all its integrality, and to exploit without exception all the values manifested through her instrument. This system of values is best expressed as a harmonious blend in the Kṛti form of composition, as there is a sacrifice of one or more of the individual values in other forms.

These specific values of Karnatic music are manifested in their starkest form, both severally and in their synthesis, in the Kṛtis of Dikshitar. It is indeed from the study of his Kṛtis that these values have been recognised and elicited, so that, though I have been apparently talking of Karnatic music and æsthetic values in general, I have really been talking of Dikshita. Dikshita indeed is the darling son of the Bhārata-mātā. He has a warm and abiding place in her heart ; for it is of her inmost soul he has sung, of the passion of her aspiration, of her quest after the Divine through untold millenniums, of the paths she has followed, of the divine forms and values she found and established. His Kṛtis are in truth a condensed epitome of the spiritual record of India. His phrases and epithets have far-flung associations ; and on hearing them, the veil of Time often falls away, and opens to the imagination vistas of spiritual effort and conquest. In his songs one feels the atmosphere of the heights, and senses the vast cosmic spaces. One can easily infer that it is because Dikshita established himself in the One Universal Divine, because he had reached the Divine Vision and realised the world of sense and all forms and paths as the One, the Supremely Beautiful and the Ineffable, that the musical setting of his Kṛtis is so flawless and finished. If the subject-matter of his songs had not been the One, if there had been a

falling away from the Divine and the Universal in his mental outlook, if there had been in the logical part of his mind wrong ideas leading to passions, Vikāras or wrong emotional movements, then this would have been paralleled by an answering impurity in the musical movement as well ; for, Sarasvati is one, and holds the book in her right hand and the Vīna in her left.

To an artist who has established himself in the Divine Vision and the Divine Ananda, musical Bhāva and Rasa well up from within in an inexhaustible stream. Whatever Rāga Dikshita takes up, his treatment is always revealing, and has a considerable number of surprises in store for the listener. In his Kṛtis the Sāhitya is never surrendered to the music by undue prolongation of vowels, by stop-gap musical intercalations, by wrong *padachchēda*, etc. On the other hand, the Rāga in the form of the appropriate *gamakas* is worked into the spoken word, till it glistens like a pearl with the Rāgabhāva ; and the musical movement follows the natural lines of the utterance of the Sāhitya. Nor is the music sacrificed to the Sāhitya, for the Rāga-movement and the gamakas constitute the perfect consummation and expression of the emotive atmosphere of the Sāhitya. There is no slipshod workmanship or slurring over in his Rāga-presentation ; on the contrary he is quite at home, and squeezes the Rasa of the Rāga from every part of the musical scale. It is a curious fact that it is easier to learn a new Rāga from a Kṛti of Dikshita than from any other composition. The reasons for this appear to be : (1) He traverses over the whole scale, not rapidly but giving full value to each note and the gamakas associated therewith ; (2) He goes straight at the *marmasthānas* or the characteristic gamakas of the Rāga and in a few broad and sweeping movements is able to display its general contour. Dikshita is, as may be expected, specially magnificent in handling the Rāgas, which express power, majesty, grandeur, sublimity.

But to wield a rich and prolific Sāhitya with universal and cosmic associations, and to utter it easily and naturally, inwrought with the graces and the bhāvas, and instinct with the atmosphere of the Rāga, implies a supreme power and mastery over the mental instruments. This power cannot escape expression. How is it expressed ? It is expressed in the *laya*—the stress-and-rhythm structure of the kṛti. The only power that can support and hold the creative movement without flinching or being pulled out of poise is the power of calm, peaceful, self-subsistent Chaitanya, which, though outside the movement, is yet somehow in its heart as its secret guide and control. It is precisely this inward rhythmic control of the creative movement which is figured forth in the Dancing Nāṭarāja. Laya thus expresses the calm and peace on

which the musical movement is founded and established. The rapid tempo expresses the restlessness of Samsāra, the slow tempo expresses the peace of Mukti. The laya-structure of Dikshitar's kṛtis is compact and finished without loose or weak parts. The external Tāla corresponds exactly to the inner pulse of the expressive movement. The detailed working out of this correspondence would be a good subject for study and research.

The leading question for us to ask ourselves now is 'What is the state of mind which can put forth a work of the type of Dikshita's Kṛtis?' The mind at its ordinary level functions through Vikalpa and Saṅkalpa, that is, through the cycle of doubt, experimentation and certainty. This cycle recurs eternally, because the certainty reached is only relative, and therefore, is itself subject to doubt. The mental functions are in a general sense creative—because as Dikshita says, it is the Mother herself who has taken the form of the net of mind; *Saṅkalpāvikalpātmakāchittavṛtījālā*. To be precise, mind is only creative in the second degree, because it has been itself created as the instrument of Sarasvatī, and carries some of her Chaitanya. Now, the mind constructs by putting together bit by bit. If it is to construct the kṛtis of Dikshita, it would, by its cycle of Vikalpasāṅkalpa, first determine the Sāhityam, then the Rāga, then the successive musical movements for each word and phrase, and then the details of the Tāla structure, all by the recurring cyclic process of Vikalpasāṅkalpa. However clever the mind might be, there would be innumerable cracks and misfits in such production, which would betray that the whole had been put together laboriously. One has only to hear the kṛtis of Dikshita to be sure that they have *not* been produced thus, because each kṛti is a single, easy, natural rhythmic movement, and there are no cracks or artificialities even though the Sāhitya is prolific and full. This would be specially clear in the Madhyamakāla portions, when the surge of feeling reaches white heat, and piles surprise on surprise, and scatters pearls in quick profusion on the overwhelmed listener. It follows that the work could not have been produced by the mind at the ordinary level, but only in *the state of inspiration*, when Sarasvatī herself enters the mind, and takes over the creative task from her deputies and, by a single integral movement of mind, herself manifests the whole work at one stroke. All artists have moments of inspiration which are responsible for their best work. But Dikshita appears to have stabilised the power of inspiration in himself in such a way, that any access of intense aspiration brought on the condition of inspiration. His Upāsana, his other worldliness, his God-centred outlook,—all indicate that he sought and cultivated the power of inspired creation deliberately.

Every musician and every student of the musical Art is, whether he knows it or not, an Upāsaka of Sarasvatī. Therefore, his objective

avowed or unavowed is the vision of Sarasvati in her proper form—in other words, the experience of the inspired state. To achieve this consummation, he must order his mind and life properly. He must meditate on the form of Sarasvati as comprising in unsevered union the logical and alogical expressive movements of the mind. He must practice discrimination, and establish in himself right ideas and right conduct. He must strive ceaselessly after the true and eternal musical values, and enter into no compromise with the Daityas. He must purge his mind of low desires, passions and all vikāras, for Sarasvati will not enter an unclean house. Finally, he must sing continually the inspired creations, for the grace of Sarasvati is transmitted through the utterance of her handiwork.

Hindu Law in Java and Bali

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THE legal system of Java was mainly of Hindu origin though modified by local conditions. There were written law-codes in Java and Bali, and these resembled, both in form and substance, the Indian Law-books, —Dharmaśāstras or Śrutis,—to a large extent. How far these Law-books were promulgated by constituted authorities or represented the actual conditions of society, is a common problem both for India and her colonies. But the general picture afforded by these books may be taken, in either case, as a safe guide for obtaining a broad view of the state and society in the past. The variations of rules and principles noticed in the different law-books must be attributed, as in the case of India, to varying indigenous customs in different localities and in different ages. To this we may, perhaps, add the influence of the different Indian law books introduced, perhaps at different times, in Java.

Among the more important Law-books of Java and Bali which are known to exist at the present time, the following deserve special mention.¹

1. Śārasamuccaya²—It consists mostly of Sanskrit verses, followed by an old Javanese translation. It begins with an account of Viṣṇu who came to Mdang, ruled there as *rahyang tavkan dyāvan* and had four sons.

2. Svava Jambu (probably corrupted from Svayambhu³ is mostly the translation of the eighth book of Mānavadharmasāstra. Only the last part, written in later dialect, deviates from this source.

3. The Śivaśāsana, written in pure old Javanese, is referred to in an inscription of 991 A.D. and is associated with king Dharmavaṃśa teguh Ananta Vikramōttuṅgadēva.⁴

1. The list is given on the authority of Juynboll (B. K. I. 1 Vol. 71, pp. 568-569) It differs from that in Friederich-Bali pp. 93 ff. See further fn. (4a) and (5).

2. This is different from a Tutar work of the same name, though Friederich (op. cit.) took the two to be identical.

3. Jonker—Wetboek, p. 3.

4. For Nos. 3-5 cf. also Krom-Geschiedenis pp. 230-231.

4. The work generally known as *Pūrvādhigama*, and designated at the end as 'Śivaśāsana-sārōddhṛta' may be regarded as a later reduction of No. 3.

5. The Balinese work *Pūrva-āgama* is perhaps the modern form of No. 4.

6. The *Devāgama*, also known as *Kṛtopapati*, quotes many rules from *Mānavadharmaśāstra*.

7. The *Kuṭāra-mānava* is also largely influenced by *Mānavadharmaśāstra*.

8. *Gajah Mada*—a law-book attributed to Gajah Mada, the famous prime minister of Majapahit. The existing text is undoubtedly more modern, but as Gajah Mada is credited with a knowledge of law in *Nāgara Kṛtāgama* (12 : 4), it is not impossible that he was the author of the original work.^{4-a}

9. *Ādigama*—This is one of the law-books now regarded as authentic in Buleleng (Bali). Like the preceding work, it is attributed to Kanaka, the prime minister of Majapahit, from A.D. 1413—1430. The date given in the Manuscript is 1401 A.D.

10—11. *Kerta Sima* and *Kerta Sima Subak* showing strong Balinese influence.

12. *Pasvara*—a comparatively recent Balinese law-book⁵ in the form of a collection of royal edicts.

There are many collections of this kind.

4-a. For Nos. 8 and 9 cf. Krom,—op. cit. pp. 421-2, 445. No. 8 is not mentioned by Juynboll.

5. To this list we may add *Agama*, *Dustakalabaya*, *Devadaṇḍa* and *Yajña Sadma* by Friederich (op. cit. pp. 93-4) *Darma Upapati* (*Dharmopapatti*) and *Uttara Mānava* mentioned by Van Eck, and *Śāstra Pasobaya* cited by Jonker. (Wetboek p. 3.)

Among these *Devadaṇḍa* is described by Juynboll (Catalogue, pp. 182-154) and others and there is a Dutch translation of it by Blokzil (T.B.G. Vol. 18, pp 295-309). But although the older writers describe it as written in very old language, it is not borne out by the manuscripts catalogued by Juynboll. Of the other books, I am not able to say much, nor even whether they are all really different books from those mentioned above; e.g. the '*Uttara Mānava* may be the same as *Kuṭāra-Mānava*.

Among the texts mentioned above, the *Kuṭāra-mānava*⁶ (No. 7) which is now held authentic in Bali may form the basis of a detailed study of the Indo-Javanese law. This book was regarded as of the highest authority in the flourishing period of the Majapahit empire. This is indisputably proved by the Bendasari inscription⁷ dating from the middle of the fourteenth century A. D. This is a record of a judgment in a civil case (dispute over the possession of land) and describes the way in which the judges came to a decision. There were six of them, referred to as '*Dharmapravakta Vyavahāra-Vicchedaka*'. They heard the statement of both the parties and, in accordance with established practice, interrogated some impartial local people about it. Then they took into consideration the law, as enunciated in legal texts, the local usages and customs, the precedents, the opinion of religious teachers and old men, and ultimately they decided according to the principles enunciated in *Kuṭāra-mānava*'.

That the *Kuṭāra-mānava* was regarded as of the highest authority also follows from another inscription, dated 1358 A.D.,⁸ in which the judges, seven in number, are described as '*Kuṭāra-mānavādi-śāstra-Vivecana-tatpara*', i.e., persons skilled in the knowledge of '*Kuṭāra-mānava* and other law-books.'

The antiquity of the law-book also follows from the total absence of firearms in the list of weapons, enumerated in section 59⁹ by which a wound could be caused. The language of the existing text of the *Kuṭāra-mānava*, however, shows that it is a later redaction of that work, though it is not easy to determine the nature and extent of the modifications introduced in later times. That the book underwent some amount of Balinese influence is also clear from a study of the existing text.¹⁰

The text, as we have it now, is a compilation from various sources, some of which are named in the book itself, and others are referred to in general terms, 'so say the wise people', etc. The arrangement is also somewhat irregular, the same topics, even the same rules, recurring in different parts of the work, and sometimes even different rules about the same topics. This is more particularly the case with regard to rules about slaves, pledge, marriage-price, and adultery. The legal principles

6. Edited with a scholarly introduction and Dutch translation by J. B. G. Jonker (Leiden, 1885).

7. O. J. O. No. 85. Krom-op. cit. pp. 421-2.

8. O.V. 1919, pp. 108-112, Krom,—op. cit. p. 422.

9. Jonker—Wetboek, p. 34.

10. Ibid, pp. 34-35.

and detailed rules are mostly based on Hindu law-books, but slight modifications of these and the addition of new rules betray clearly the influence of indigenous laws and customs. The influence of indigenous law and variations from or modifications of Indian law are clearly much greater in the earlier than in the latter part, and this has given rise to the question whether the whole of the present text formed part of the original work. The unity of the language is in favour of the latter view.¹¹ But Brandes thinks that it really consists of two parts, the *Kuṭāra*, inspired by Bhṛgu, and the *Mānava* inspired by Manu. Brandes also refers to a Malay chronicle according to which it was composed under Surya Alam, king of Demak.^{11-a}

About the indebtedness of the *Kuṭāra-mānava-śāstra* to different Indian law-books we find the following interesting passage in the book itself.

“A buffalo or a cow, given in pledge, is forfeited to the creditor, if it is not redeemed within three years. Thus says *Kuṭārāgama*. According to *Mānavāgama*, the period is five years. One of these two must be followed. It is wrong to suppose, however, that one of these law-books is better than the other, both being authoritative. The *Mānavaśāstra* is communicated by Mahārāja Manu who was like god Viṣṇu. The *Kuṭāraśāstra* was thus communicated by Bhṛgu in the *Tretāyuga*: he was (also) like Viṣṇu; the *Kuṭāra-śāstra* is followed by *Paraśurāma* and by the whole world, it is not a product of the present time, but (121).”¹²

In many other sections (cf. art. 137, 143.) also, the different rules of *Mānava-śāstra* and *Kuṭāraśāstra* are placed side by side. There is no doubt that this circumstance explains the title of the law-book. References to Manu or *Mānavaśāstra* are, however, more frequent.

What Indian law-book is meant by *Kuṭāraśāstra*, we do not know. The reference to *Paraśurāma* makes it plausible enough to derive *Kuṭāra* from *Kuṭhāra*,¹³ but that does not help us much in tracing the original work.

As regards *Mānavaśāstra* there cannot, of course, be any doubt, that it refers to the famous Indian law-book *Mānavadharmaśāstra* or *Manu-*

11. Ibid, pp. 1-35.

11a. Catalogue, S. V. *Kuṭāra-Mānava*.

12. The figures within bracket on this and the following pages indicate the section or paragraph of *Kuṭāra-Mānava Śāstra*.

13. Jonker—Wetboek, p. 15.

saṁhitā. An analysis of the contents of the Javanese law-book shows that this work formed its chief course. Not only numerous isolated verses but sometimes a whole series of them are reproduced, with slight variations and modifications in many cases. These variations are sometimes the results of the misunderstanding of the original text, but are also in some cases undoubtedly due to an effort to bring the law into line with Javanese conditions. But the parentage is unmistakable.

In the passages quoted from Manu-Saṁhitā, the order of topics, and also, generally speaking, of the individual rules, closely follows that of the original. It is, therefore, exceedingly probable that there was an old Javanese translation of Manu-Saṁhitā or parts of it (notably chaps. VIII-IX) as e.g., Svara Jambu from which our author largely borrowed. The high authority enjoyed by this Indian law-book is proved by other evidences also. It is mentioned in Bhomakāvya,¹⁵ and an old Javanese inscription refers to it in such a way as to leave no doubt of its authoritative character. The *Carita Parahyangan* says of King Niskalavastu Kañcana that he did many good deeds for the holy persons, was dear unto the gods and strictly followed the law code of Manu." The R̥ṣiśāsana also refers to Manu as law-giver^{15-a} while Pratasti-Bhuvana and Puruṣadasanta refer to Manuśāsana.^{15-b} All these references indicate the high honour in which Manu's law-book was held in Java, and it is, therefore, quite natural that the Javanese law book should take it as the chief guide. At the same time a close analysis of the Javanese text makes it abundantly clear that the Indian law books, other than Manu Samhita, were consulted by the Javanese author¹⁶ For, in some cases, more than one Hindu legal principle is given, while in others, such as the use of 'documentary evidence', 'Sāhasa', (assault), 'Sulka', (Marriage-price), etc., the rules given differ from those of Manu. It is not always easy to trace the origin of these rules, but a strong presumption arises in certain cases. The rule, for example, that rights over land are barred by limitation after 20 years (268) is now to be found in Yājñavalkya, Vyāsa and Kauṭīliya alone while the classification of interest for money (262) is given only in Br̥haspati Saṁhitā. It is probable, therefore, that some of these law books were known in Java, though the possibility is not excluded that the same rules occurred in other Indian law books, or different versions of existing law books, not known to us

14. K.O. No. 16.

15. Cf. Bk. III. Chs. 1, VIII.

15a. Pigeaud—Tanttu Panggelaran—p. 300.

15b. Ibid, p. 294, Juynboll 1, 211.

16. Jonker—Wetboek, pp. 17 ff.

at present. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that the Javanese law book contains several Sanskrit terms which cannot be traced in existing Indian law books (e.g., *Pañcasādhāraṇa*, *Jivadāna*, *Devāgama* (for *divya*), etc.

While the Javanese law book clearly shows that not only were Indian law books known in general, but the Indian legal system was also transplanted in Java, it is equally clear at the same time that the latter underwent important modifications by indigenous laws and customs. This is quite natural and inevitable, specially in view of the fact that in the *Manu-Saṃhitā* the local manners and customs are recognised as possessing legal authority. These modifications are met with in other law books of Java such as *Devadaṇḍa* or *Sāra-Samudaya*, and it is probable that legal texts like these served, in this respect, as the source of *Kuṭara-Mānava Sāstra*. These modifications will be noticed in the course of explaining the detailed contents of the book, to which we may now turn; these detailed rules may be broadly divided into two classes, Civil and Criminal, and each is dealt with under several sub-heads or titles of law.

The very first section deals with murder. Eight classes of murderers are defined: (1) he who kills an innocent man; (2) he who incites another to kill an innocent man; (3) he who wounds an innocent man; (4) he who eats with a murderer; (5) he who keeps company with a murderer; (6) he who is on friendly terms with a murderer; (7) he who gives shelter to a murderer and (8) he who renders any help to a murderer. The first three classes are liable to capital punishment, which, however, may be changed by the king to a fine of 40,000.¹⁷ The last five are liable to a fine of 20,000.

Similarly thieves are divided into eight classes (21-28) on the above principle so as to include, in addition to actual thieves, those who instigate, help or befriend him. The man who actually steals is not only liable to capital punishment, but his wives (women) and children, together with all his possessions, become the property of the king. But a thief may purchase life by paying 40,000 to the king, and a compensation to the owner equivalent to double the value of the stolen goods. He who instigates another to commit theft is also liable to capital punishment. His wives and children may escape with a heavy fine, but if they are also guilty of joining him in instigating the crime, they are liable to

17. While giving the amount of fines, the law-book never states the unit coin it has in view. As for reasons explained below the value of this unit may be regarded as one-twentieth of that (*paṇa*) used in *Manusamhitā*.

capital punishment. Other abettors of the crime are fined according to the nature and gravity of the offence.

The next important headings of criminal law are defamation and assault described in the Indian technical terms *Vākpārūṣya* and *Daṇḍapārūṣya*. Here for the first time we meet with that discrimination of law according to the caste of persons, which is a characteristic feature of Hindu law. In order to give an adequate idea of this, we may give in full the penalties for abuse or defamation. If the offender and the offended belong to the same class, the fine is only 250. The following table shows the amount of fines when the two parties belong to different castes.

<i>Offender.</i>	<i>Jended.</i>	<i>Amount of fine. Figures denote Penalty.</i>
Brāhmaṇa	Kṣatriya	1,000
Do.	Vaiśya	500
Do.	Śūdra	250
Kṣatriya	Brāhmaṇa	2,000
Do.	Vaiśya	1,000
Vaiśya	Brāhmaṇa	5,000
Do.	Kṣatriya	2,000
Do.	Śūdra	1,000
Śūdra	Brāhmaṇa	<i>Death</i>
Do.	Kṣatriya	5,000
Do.	Vaiśya	2,000

The regulations exactly follow Manu-Saṁhita (VIII. 267-269), if we regard the unit to which the amount of fine refers, as one-twentieth of that used in Manu. The Javanese law book, however, gives a complete statement, and further adds that a Caṇḍāla who defames a Brāhmaṇa should be put to death.

Similarly, the rules about assault closely follow those of Manu. The famous dictum of Manu that "with whatever limb a man of a low caste does hurt to (a man of the three) highest (castes), even that limb shall be cut off," (VIII. 279) is reproduced with the specification of the limbs. As a matter of fact many of the penal laws about assault, hurt, theft, robbery, plunder, cattle-lifting, damage or destruction of property, and adultery, are taken directly from Manu; and the following passages from this law book are reproduced with little or no modification.

Manu Smṛiti—Bk. VIII. Verses 279-284, 286-288, 295-300, 320-23, 325, 328-330, 337, 350, 352, 356, 357, 361, and also probably 365 and 366.

All these penal laws provide a discrimination in punishment, according to castes, as in the case of defamation, and need not be described in detail. There are, of course, additional rules or illustrations in many cases, too numerous to be mentioned in detail.

Penalties are also provided for miscellaneous offences such as witchery (27, 173, 174, 178-182), quackery (274), etc.

Although the system of criminal law is evidently based on Hindu law and follows it closely, we may notice some striking differences which are presumably to be attributed to indigenous influence.

In the first place, the rules of murder and theft are more comprehensive than what we find in the Hindu law. They also introduce two new principles, viz.: (1) that the crime is shared by the abettors and friends of the criminals and (2) even the family members of the criminal (in case of theft) and one who instigates the crime are liable to punishment.

Secondly, the penal law in Java shows that the old idea that offences were torts rather than crimes had not altogether died out. Although offences were usually regarded as crimes and punished by the king with fine and corporal punishment, the idea of paying compensation to the injured is more marked in the Javanese law than in the Hindu law books. For example, in *Manu* VIII, 295-296, the death caused by rash driving is considered purely as a crime, but the corresponding rule in Javanese law book (232) adds that a compensation should be paid to the blood-relations of the deceased, if he is a free man, and to his owner, if he is a slave. The same conclusions follow from the laws of adultery (134-8), in which the fine was chiefly a compensation to the injured husband, and the latter had the right to put the criminal to death if he were caught red-handed.

Again, the penalties imposed by *Manu* for theft include only in two specific cases (VIII—319-20) a compensation to the owner, equivalent to the value of the stolen goods. But the general rule in Java was to add to the fine, a compensation equivalent to double the value of the goods stolen.

Thirdly, while both Javanese and Hindu laws make discrimination according to castes in awarding punishments for various offences, murder and theft form an exception in the case of the former (cf. sections 1—2, 21—28). In other words all criminals in Java, accused of these two offences, were dealt in the same way, irrespective of the castes to which they belonged, while in India the consideration of caste prevailed even in these two classes of crimes.

The civil law throws a great deal of light on the social conditions in Java and, in particular, deals in great detail with two classes of persons, viz. : (1) Women and (2) slaves.

The marriage of a woman was preceded by the payment of *Sulka* or marriage-price by the bridegroom. The acceptance of this price by the bride's party created the legal obligation to marry the girl to the bridegroom. If the father marries the girl to another or connives at the girl's marrying another, he has not only to return to the original suitor twice the amount given by him, but is also fined 40,000 by the king. The girl and her husband also are each fined the same amount (18,111). If the bridegroom, after the payment of the price refuses, or fails to marry the bride within five months, the price remains with the bride as her own property (213-14). On the other hand if he violates the girl before the fixed date, he not only loses the price but is also fined 40,000 (192). If a bride dies after the payment of the price, the bridegroom cannot claim it back. On the other hand, if the bridegroom dies after paying the price, his younger brother (*devara*), if any, may if he so desire, claim the bride as his own. (215)

But a girl was legally entitled to refuse to marry any one suffering from physical deformities or disabilities, bad diseases in hidden parts of the body, insanity, impotence, or epilepsy. In these cases she had simply to refund the marriage-price. The law lays down no restriction regarding the prohibited degrees of marriage except that one should be punished if he marries his step-daughter (149).¹⁸ As regards legal formalities, a sort of registration by the village headman seems to be regarded as essential (191).

The grounds, stated above, on which a maid could refuse to marry a man, also entitled her to seek divorce even after the marriage was consummated. A woman could also seek divorce from her husband simply on the ground that she disliked him (19), and so could the father of the girl dissolve the marriage if he disliked his son-in-law (125); but in either case twice the marriage-price had to be refunded to him, and certain prescribed ceremonials had to be gone through before the marriage was legally dissolved. The relevant law runs as follows: "For a divorce four things are necessary: (1) Pronouncement of the divorce; (2) the breaking of a coin while the husband makes the pronouncement; (3) the giving of water to wash the face; (4) the giving of rice. These serve as the evidences of the divorce. After all these four are performed, the marriage is legally dissolved, but not otherwise.

18. According to *Vratīśāsana*, certain relatives could not be married (Pigeaud—*Tanttu Panggelaran*—p. 296).

If a woman remarries without going through these formalities, the new husband will be fined 40,000 " (5).

This is clearly an indigenous custom which is not only without any parallel in Indian law books but directly contrary to the spirit and provisions of Hindu law. But the influence of the latter is clearly visible in another set of regulations. These prescribe heavy penalties for the man who takes to wife a married woman with husband living (17). The former husband can either put the new pair to death, or accept a fine of 40,000. Those who were witnesses of such a marriage were also liable to heavy fines.

Further, a woman could divorce her husband, before the marriage was consummated, simply by repaying double the marriage-price, and evidently without any other formality (126). But in certain contingencies even a married woman, with husband alive, could take another husband after waiting for a prescribed period. These are described in a tabular form below (143, 254—256).

<i>Condition of the husband.</i>	<i>Period of waiting.</i>
1. Going abroad for performing sacred or religious duty, penance or some other good work	8 years.
2. Going abroad to learn the śāstras.	6 "
3. Going abroad for commerce, sea-voyage or acquisition of wealth.	10 "
4. Going abroad to marry a second wife.	3 "
5. Making journey to distant lands.	4 "
6. If the husband is absent but not on any ground mentioned in 2, 3 and 5 above.	4 "
7. If the husband is mad, epileptic, impotent or destitute of manly strength.	3 "
8. If the husband is lost (i.e., missing), dies in course of journey, becomes a monk, or is impotent.	Nil.

Nearly the whole of these regulations is based on Hindu legal principles as enunciated in Manu (IX. 76-78) and Nārada (XII—9766), and follow them closely. These are followed immediately by the single regulation which authorises a husband to discard a wife.

"If a wife dislikes her husband, she must wait for one year. After that, if the dislike still continues, she should return double the marriage-price. This is named 'rejection of sexual intercourse'" (257).

This is obviously based on Manu IX. 77. But it is to be noted that, while this and other Indian law books authorise the husband to discard his wife on this and sundry other grounds (cf. Manu IX—80-81), the Javanese law book ignores them altogether, save and except this one, i.e., on ground of dislike. But, then, it is to be remembered that the Javanese law book gives the same right to the wife, viz., to divorce the husband if she dislikes her. Again the Javanese law that a wife could marry again, if the husband was mad, epileptic, or destitute of manly strength, or that a Javanese maid could refuse to marry, or seek divorce from a husband suffering from diseases, physical deformities or disabilities, etc. finds no parallel in Indian law books. Rather, according to Manu (IX. 78) "She who shows disrespect to a husband who is addicted to (some evil) passion, is a drunkard, or diseased, shall be deserted for three months (and be) deprived of her ornaments and furniture." Further, Manu permits a diseased wife to be superseded at any time by another wife" (IX—80). When we remember that Javanese law book so closely followed the Manu-Samhitā, the additions and the omissions leave no doubt that a woman enjoyed a far higher status in Java than in India in the age of Manu. In support of this view we may quote a curious provision of the law, that a man should be fined 20,000 if he quarrelled with a woman, the amount accruing to her husband if the woman were married. (142)

But while the Javanese law gives means to a wife to regain her independence, the husband seems to have complete domination over her so long as she remains in his family. The head of the family is to keep a strict vigilance on women, slaves and children, and even chastise them for doing wrong, by a cane or a wooden stick. But he must not strike them on the head, otherwise he should be fined by the king (131). This is obviously a leaf taken out of Manu's book (VIII—299,300). The dominance of the husband is also manifest from the following :

"Father alone has the control of children, not the mother. If a mother arranges the marriage of her daughter without the consent of the father, the father may dissolve the match, and the marriage-price has to be returned to the rejected suitor by the mother and the girl" (193).

Law permitted a husband to sell his wife to another (171). But even here it is noticeable that a man was liable to punishment if he purchased a woman without the permission of her husband and kept her as a slave. But if he purchased her from the husband and married her himself he was free from any guilt.

The higher regard for women and the dominance of a husband over the wife are both reflected in the laws of adultery which indicate some

peculiarity in Javanese conception. As stated before, many of these laws are taken from Manu, and on the whole the Javanese law resembles the Indian in regarding the offence of adultery as a serious one and penalising not only the perpetrators and abettors of the crime, but also actions which might ultimately lead to adultery, eg., speaking to a woman in loneliness, offering her presents, tempting her with money, etc. It recognises that human passions are difficult to control and, therefore, forbids all actions and movements which inevitably tend towards an illicit connection (139) ; but the penalties prescribed are less severe. The extreme penalty of death, or mutilation of hands, accompanied by branding and banishment, is reserved only for the male offender. Manu's direction that the king shall cause the female offender to be devoured by dogs in a public place, (VIII—371) has no parallel in Javanese law. The Javanese law mostly imposes fines, the amount of which varies with the gravity of the offence. But this fine is to be paid to the husband of the violated woman, and not to the king (134-138). In other words, the offence is regarded more as a private wrong done to the husband, than a crime against the State. A further illustration of this principle is furnished by the fact that the husband had also the right to put the criminal to death if he were caught red-handed (134).

Before leaving the topic of women, it is necessary to point out that, although the laws regarding re-marriage of women, and payment of *śulka* or marriage-price are based on Indian law books, the latter also contain regulations of exactly opposite character forbidding both. These are, however, entirely absent from the Javanese law book, showing thereby the strong hold of the customs which formerly prevailed but later fell into disfavour or disuse in India. Again, the right of a wife to divorce her husband is unknown to Manu and foreign to the spirit of Indian law and practice, though Nārada (XII—16, 96) permits it in the case of certain physical disabilities of the husband. Lastly, to the general rule that pledged property vests in the holder of the pledge after a lapse of fixed period of time, there are some notable exceptions, viz., those belonging to married or unmarried girl, to the king and to a Paṇḍita (206). These exceptions not only give a preferential treatment to women over men, but also supply another evidence that women could own real property. (206) In all these cases the divergence from Hindu law may be explained by a higher conception of the status of women among the indigenous people in Java.

Second only to the regulations regarding women, the Javanese law book contains elaborate regulations about the slaves. The following causes are enumerated as grounds for reducing a man to the status of a slave. (169,270)

1. Imprisonment in war (called *Dhvaja-hṛta*).
2. Born of parents who are themselves slaves. (Called *Gṛhaja*).
3. Non-payment of debt or fine (called *Daṇḍadāsa*).
4. Willingly accepting the status of a slave for food and shelter (called *Bhakta-dāsa*).

A slave might change his master, by purchase or sale, gift and inheritance.

Now, the above closely follows Manu (VIII—415) but differs from Nārada who enumerates fifteen kinds of slaves, including the above (V. 26-28). According to the Javanese law, all these slaves might obtain their freedom by payment of a requisite fee to their master (270, 166, 167). Manu is silent on this point, but Nārada states definitely 'that slaves by birth or those obtained by purchase, gift and inheritance cannot be released from bondage, except by the favour of their owners.' In this respect, therefore, the Javanese law seems to be more liberal; but except in the case of slaves belonging to class 1 (166) and 4 (167), it does not lay down detailed regulations about the mode of obtaining freedom. These two classes of slaves could free themselves by paying a sum of 8,000. Heavy penalties were provided for forcing a freed slave to work for his old master. (160, 162, 172)

The slave was regarded as the absolute property of the master. Not only were they to live and work according to his bidding, but he was also entitled to the property (128) and even the issues of his male and female slaves. If a male slave of one married the female slave of another, then their children, if any, were divided among the two owners, the male children going to the owner of the male slave and the female children to the other owner (10, 152, 153). Runaway slaves and those who helped them were severely punished (3). The murderer of a slave had to recompense the owner for his loss. (7) The slave could be given as a pledge, (101, 120) and such a slave was liable to capital punishment if he stole goods worth more than 100 from the owner of the pledge (118). A slave was, however, protected by law in many respects. He could be chastised, and even bound, by the master, but the latter was not permitted to strike him on the head; (31; cf. Manu VIII. 299-300). If a master made an attempt to outrage the modesty of a female slave, she could run away and become automatically free. (165) So were the slaves of a thief automatically set free. (24) Any one who abducted a slave was liable to capital punishment. (157) A master could marry a slave, and in such a case their children inherited the property of the father if the latter had no children by wives of equal birth. (155) If one married the slave of another, the children would inherit one-

fourth of his property if he had other children, and the whole of it, if he had none by any wife of free birth. (158)

In addition to regulations about women and slaves, the *Kuṭāra-Mānava-Śāstra* deals with many other important topics of civil law such as debt, pledge, property, inheritance, etc.

The rules of debt are very comprehensive and follow closely those of Nārada and Yājñavalkya. Six kinds of interest are mentioned as in *Brhaspati* (XI. 5). Detailed directions are given for preparing the necessary document (72), and three kinds of witnesses are laid down as sufficient to prove the transaction—viz., documents, witness, and enjoyment of interest (74). Failing satisfactory evidences, trial by ordeal is prescribed though no details are given. The debts are classified according as they are repayable or not by the debtor's children (79, 80), and judicial procedure for the recovery of debt is also laid down (81-84).

According to Nārada, "The guarantee to be offered to a creditor may be two-fold: a surety and a pledge." Both these are referred to in the Indo-Javanese law book. It is interesting to note in this connection that only two kinds of surety are recognised, viz., that for the appearance of the debtor (88), and that for payment (89). In this and other respects it agrees with *Manu-Samhita*, but not with Nārada and other law books which recognise a third surety, viz.: that for honesty.

The rules about pledge are also laid down in great detail and are based generally on the Hindu law. The use of a pledge without the permission of the owner is regarded as a grave offence as in *Manu* (VIII. 144, 150) and Nārada (1, 127-128), but the punishment is more severe. He has not only to give to the pledge-giver twice the value of the pledge, but is also fined 20,000 as a thief (102). In connection with the laws about pledge we come across one important principle which has been the subject of serious discussion in this country. After saying that certain pledges (e.g., clothes, etc.), are forfeited after five years (99), it proceeds: "If some one pledges landed property, it is never forfeited, for the land is the property of the king, it only remains in possession of the creditor" (100). Thus it is clearly laid down that the ownership of the soil vests in the king, and no one else. Whether this rule is derived from an Indian law book, or whether it is an Indonesian modification, it is difficult to say. It may be added that a later section of the book lays down that a man loses his right over landed property, if another is in possession of it for twenty years, with his knowledge (268).

The rules of property (including prescription) and those of sale and purchase follow the principles of Indian law books, but the illustrations

given are mostly new. The rules of inheritance offer some striking novelty. If a man dies, leaving more than one child from the same wife, then the eldest son gets an additional share (*Uddhāra*), which varies according to the value of the property left. In the most extreme case, the eldest takes four-fifths of the property while the remaining fifth part is divided among his younger brothers (197). Now, some of the the Indian law books recognise the claim of the eldest son to an additional share deducted from the estate, also known technically as *Uddhāra*, but both *Manu* and *Viṣṇu-Smṛiti* reckon it as one-twentieth, and *Baudhāyana* as one-tenth. There is no Indian authority, known to us, for such a heavy share as four-fifths. It may be due to indigenious custom or misunderstanding of the original text.

The rules of inheritance vary, if a man leaves children from wives of different caste. The children in that case obtain preferential treatment according to the caste of their mothers. A specific rule lays down that the property of a *Brāhmaṇa* with wives of four different castes should be divided into eleven shares (258). The idea probably is that the children should share in the proportion of 4, 3, 2, 1 according as their mothers belong to the *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra* castes, as laid down in *Manu* (IX. 153). But then the property is to be divided into ten, and not eleven shares. The extra share may belong, however, to the eldest.

A man may, however, formally discard a son (78), and then the latter cannot inherit the property of his father.

In these rules of inheritance it is not quite clear whether both sons and daughters, or only the former, are to be regarded as heirs; for with a single exception quoted above the word used denoted children of both the sexes. Another remarkable point is that the children inherit the property of both the father and the mother, which is different from the Hindu laws. Another deviation from the latter is the total absence of all references to collateral descendants as heirs. Further, the word used for 'property' in these rules denotes always, at least if we take it in a literal sense, only movable property. As regards landed property, no rules of inheritance are clearly laid down; but there are two sections which run as follow:

1. If any one puts forward a claim over a land, and this claim proves unfounded, then he is fined by the king 160,000. It is called "Falsely pretending to be a blood-relation." (132)

2. If any one does not permit his blood-relations to use the land, he is fined by the king 160,000, and is named "repelling his blood-relations." (133)

These two rules seem to indicate that land was regarded as the joint property of the family, and did not admit of divided ownership; but there are no clear statements on this point.

There are no definite rules about the inheritance by wife. But there is one rule, unfortunately fragmentary, which may be quoted in this connection. It runs as follows: 'If a married couple have no children, and one of them dies, then by the death of the wife the whole household property.....' (195). Jonker thinks that the missing portions referred to the right of the husband, but it might also include the corresponding right of the wife in case of the death of the husband. This view is strengthened by the regulation that immediately follows. It states that five years after marriage, but not before that, the household property of the husband and wife, together with what each of them had obtained at the time of the marriage, shall be mixed up and regarded as common property inheritable by each in the case of the death of the other (196). The same rule is laid down in another section where the period of interval is set down as 12 years, but it is distinctly laid down that the marriage-gift of the pair after that period shall be the property of the survivor, in case of the death of either the husband or the wife (123). It may be noted here that this merging of the property of the husband and wife is altogether foreign to Hindu law and must be regarded as an indigenous custom.

The right of the king to inherit the property of one who has no legitimate heir, with the exception of a Paṇḍita, whose property belongs to God (202-3) also closely follows the Indian legal principle, but the expression 'Deva-dravyātmaka' used in the Javanese book cannot be traced to any existing Indian law book.

In connection with the inheritance we get a list of twelve classes of sons (lit. children). The list is expressly referred to Manu, and indeed closely, though not fully, agrees with that given in Manu-Saṁhitā (IX. 158—160).

The twelve classes are (259).

(1) The child of a wife, who was engaged with a man from her infancy and was afterwards given in marriage to him by the parents.

(2) The child of a re-married woman if her character is pure, and if the marriage had taken place with the permission of the parents.

(3) A child given by kinsmen.

(4) A child obtained from another.

(5) A child begotten on one's wife by another with his permission.

- (6) A child cast off by his father.
- (7) The child of an unmarried girl and whose father is unknown.
- (8) The child of a woman pregnant at the time of her marriage.
- (9) The child of a woman who divorced her husband, re-married another husband who died shortly, and then returned to her first husband.
- (10) The child who is bought.
- (11) The child who offered himself as such.
- (12) The child of a slave-woman of low birth, accepted as such.

Of these the first six alone are entitled to inherit the property of their father, but the last six are not regarded as heirs (cf. *Manu* IX. 158).

The Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa

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ONE of the most obscure and confusing problems of Indian historical geography concerns the Suvarṇabhūmi or 'the Gold Country' and the Suvarṇadvīpa or 'the Gold Island'. The Rāmāyaṇa¹ refers to the Suvarṇadvīpa as well as the Yavadvīpa in the course of the description of the islands and cities beyond the seas which the monkeys had to visit in order to search for Sita. The salt ocean is first referred to, and beyond it, the Yava, Suvarṇa and Rūpaka Dvīpas, and beyond them in succession on the Śīsira mount, the Lohita or Red Ocean, the land of Kūṭasālmālī or silk cotton tree, the Milk Ocean, the 'Rishabha Mount', and the Fresh-water Ocean with the submarine fire, the Udayagiri Mountain, the Sudarśana-lōka and the Dēvalōka. It is believed that Yavadvīpa refers to Sumātra or Java, the Suvarṇadvīpa to Burma and Malaya, and the other lands to the volcanic regions in Malacca and the Archipelago. The Jātaka literature² also refers to the Suvarṇadvīpa occasionally. The Sassondi Jātaka refers to the voyage from Barukaccha to the Golden Land. The Śāṅkha Jātaka says that a Brāhman, of Benares, who exhausted his wealth on account of charities set sail in the high seas for the Suvarṇabhūmi. The Kathāsaritsāgara has several passages indicating Indian acquaintance with it. In one of these,³ caravans are said to have proceeded to it by sea as well as land, and the town of Kāñchanapura was an emporium in it. In another⁴ it is described as a place lying on the sea-route from Kaṭaha, an island market for jewels, to Tāmralipta (in Bengal). In a third passage,⁵ Suvarṇadvīpa is mentioned in an itinerary which names Jalapura (in Eastern coast of India?),

1. The Kishkindhā-kāṇḍa, Chapter 50. It may be pointed out that the Kōśakāra land referred to in the passage has been identified by some with China. The Janadvīpa and Jaladvīpa referred to in some readings are apparently misreadings for Javadvīpa. See Gorrosio's edition.

2. Jātaka Nos. 360 and 442 in Cambridge edition, Vol. VI. There are also several passages of a general character in the Jātaka tales referring to sea-voyages.

3. Chap. 57 in Tawney's Trans., Calcutta, 1884, Vol. II, pp. 5 et seqq.

4. Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 87, 92, etc.; and Vol. II, pp. 44 and 598.

5. Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 551-2.

Nārikēla Island (Nikobārs), Kaṭaha Island,⁶ Karpūr Island,⁷ Suvarṇadvīpa and Simhaḷa.⁸ Again, the king of Suvarṇadvīpa is said to have been the brother-in-law of the king of Kaṭaha, indicating them to be chiefs near each other.⁹ Further, a city of Suvarṇadvīpa is said to have been Kalaśapura¹⁰ identified with Kēlāsa near Bilin in the Shwēgyin district on the Peguan coast, near which is a temple called Kelaśa (*Kēlāsabha-pabbata-chētiya*) of the Kalyāṇi inscriptions¹¹ of Dhammacheti (A.D. 1476). The capital Gōḷamattikanagara was to the north-west of the temple, and it has been suggested that it *might* be the same place or another a little farther than the Kēlāsa Peak.

These and other references of later times indicate that Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa were lands with which the ancient Indians were closely acquainted. Some scholars have identified 'the gold country' with the *Ophir* of the Hebrew Texts, and taken it to be, in consequence of its figuring in connection with the acknowledged products of India, 'at first sight somewhere on the Indian coast.'¹² None denies that India was from time immemorial a gold-producing country and that gold could have been an article of traffic. But then India has always imported this precious metal, and never exported it. It is quite possible to imagine, however, that the abundance of the metal in India gave her that name. It is in consequence of this that scholars identified the Hebrew *Ophir* with some place or other in India. Lassen,¹³ for example, identified it with the *Abhūra* country, and T. Benfey¹⁴ with *Suppāra*, *Sopāra*, *Śūrparaka* (or *Surat*), in the same region. Some bring it further down to the Malabar coast¹⁵ on the ground that in *Wynaad* and other

6. Kaṭaha has been identified with various regions,—Burma, Sumātra, Malaya, etc. The question is discussed elsewhere.

7. Either the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, or West Sumatra, or West Borneo.

8. Ceylon. See Rawlinson's 'India and the Western World,' pp. 147-51 for a summary of the notices of the island by Western writers.

9. Tawney, II, p. 599.

10. Ibid, I, 530. Gerini's *Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia* (1909), pp. 568 ff.

11. Ibid, p. 569. In the *Ind. Antiquary*, 1893, pp. 29, 85, etc., the Kalyāṇi inscriptions are noticed by Taw Sein-Ko. A Nepalesē Ms. of the 11th century to which Foucher refers in his *Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* (Paris, 1900) mentions Kalaśavarapura.

12. Rawlinson: 'India and the Western World' (1916), p. 11. *Sophr* is a term applied in Coptic to Southern India.

13. *Indische Altharthumskunde*, I, 538.

14. In the article *Indien* in Ersch and Grüber's *Encyclopaedia*, cited by Rawlinson.

15. Sewell: 'Antiquities' (1882), p. 240.

places in South India gold has always been available. But the argument that India has always received gold in return for her goods is really strong, and the view that the gold country was outside India and that voyages or journeys to it were common is found in all periods of Indian literature.

But as amongst the scholars who locate the gold country outside India there is considerable difference of opinion. These views can be divided into two broad types, those that place it in the West, that is, beyond the Arabian Sea, and those that place it either in the Eastern Sea (that is, the Bay of Bengal) or beyond it. Among the former some locate it in the East coast of Africa, at some place or other from Madagascar to Somaliland.¹⁶ Others identify it with some place in the coast of Arabia or the Persian Gulf. Rawlinson, for example, observes that "it is much more probable that Ophir was an *entrepot* on the shores of Arabia, where Indian and Phenecian alike brought their wares and bartered them. . . . Ophir was probably at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, on the coast Oman. Hither came for export the gold from the rich fields of southern Arabia which has made Ophir famous."¹⁷

Whatever might have been the case with regard to the Hebrew Ophir, it is certain that from the time of Alexander onward the gold country known as either Khrysē or the Khersonese, was taken to lie to the east of India and not the west. Classical writers, Indian traditionists, Chinese and Malayan writers, Burmese chroniclers, and Muslim travellers and recorders, have all been practically unanimous in representing it as an eastern land or island, though owing to their indefiniteness a veritable mass of conflicting and perplexing literature of controversy has arisen in connection with its exact identity. It is not possible to enter into the pros and cons of every theory which has been advanced on the subject; but it is necessary to make a brief mention of each in order to understand the significance of the subject.

First of these is the identification of 'the gold country' with the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Yule, for example, observes: "It would be difficult to define where Ptolemy's Chryse (Chryse Chora aut Chryse Chersonnesus) terminated eastward, though he appears to give the names a special application to what we call Burma and Pegu. . . . Chryse

16. Later writers like Edrisi refer to the trade between Zabej (Sumātra) and Zanjibār (Zanzibar or Ariguya) and Sufala. Madagascar has been ethnically and linguistically also connected with the East Indies and Malaya. See Gerini, pp. 570-1.

17. Rawlinson: 'India and the Western World,' p. 12.

then, in the vague apprehension of the ancients.....was the region coasted between India and China. It is most correctly rendered by *Indo-China*."¹⁸ This identification is nowadays believed to be too vague.

A second view has been to take it as Burma, the *Rāmañña-dēśa* and the *Suvarṇabhūmi* of Buddhist traditions.¹⁹ We shall see presently that there is ample justification for this, though the exact relation between Burma and the Malay Peninsula in regard to the question was not properly understood till recently.

A third view is in favour of its identification with *Sumātra*, the historical geography of which is a bugbear to the historian of Greater India. No part of the ancient world in the East has given rise to greater speculation than *Sumātra*. It is not denied that the Island was rich in gold. It is also certain that the *Śrī Bhōja* empire which existed in it in the early middle ages and which was opulent, is distinctly described as rich in gold. But one objection there is against the identification of the island proper with the Golden Khersonese. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*²⁰ records the traditions of caravans reaching the *Suvarṇadvīpa* both by land and sea, which would seem to indicate that it was a peninsula rather than an island. The Arab writers do indeed speak of *Zabj* (*Śrī Bhōja*) or *Sumātra* as *Serendīb* (*Suvarṇadvīpa*), but this was due to a shady knowledge of the exact topography of the island. In any case, *Sumātra* under the *Śrī Bhōjas* included the Malay Peninsula as well, and the early Arab writers did not often distinguish the two.

Another identification of the Island of Gold is with the *Andāmāns*²¹ which were not distinguished by the early writers from the *Nicobārs*. The Arab and Chinese writers of the 13th century and the early European writers (like *Nicolo Conti* and *Dr. Gerini*) have made this mistake. They refer to the search for this island of *El Dorado* even by the men of the king of Malabar in the 13th century. This only indicates the mystery which came to surround the island even in those days.

The most commonly accepted view at present is that the *Suvarṇabhūmi* and *Suvarṇadvīpa* were entirely different regions and that the former is Pegu or the hinterland of Lower Burma and the latter the Malay Peninsula. By the time of *Ptolemy* (A.D. 150) this distinctness

18. Quoted in *Gerini*, p. 65, footnote.

19. *Ibid. Antiq.*, 1893, pp. 13 and 16; *Beal's Bud. Rec. of the W. World*, Index, p. 362.

20. See note 3 above.

21. All evidences in connection with the historical geography of the *Andamans* and *Nikobars* are given and elaboratively reviewed in *Gerini*, pp. 379-427; *ibid.*, pp. 29, 38, 72, 640 and 700.

is patent in the two forms of the Gold Khryse Khora and the Gold Khersonese. We do not exactly know whether Megasthenes knew and mentioned Khryse, but as Pliny mentions it in the passages he has taken from the *Indica*, it is probable that the ambassador of the Mauryan court was aware of it, and made mention of it (for the first time). In any case Eratosthenes,²² Dionysius, Perigetes, and Pomponius Mela (about A.D. 42) refer to the Khryse or Gold Land as well as Argyre the Silver Country. Pomponius Mela says that the Khryse Island was near Tabis Promontorium which has been suggested to be the southern headland of the Malay Peninsula. Pliny (A.D. 77) gives a fuller account of the two islands. He says that that they were beyond the mouth of the Indus (*sic*) and rich in metals though he could not believe what was asserted by some writers, namely, that their soil was impregnated with gold and silver. The author of the *Periplus* (A.D. 89) speaks of Khryse and not of Argyrē, but he refers to the former in a double form both as the Indo-Chinese mainland and as an island. He says that, for voyages from the West coast of India and further to the Ganges and Khryse, large vessels were employed, and that then they reached the Ganges and the extremity of the continent towards the east called Khryse. He then observes that it was an island of the ocean near the Ganges and lay directly under the rising sun and at the extremity of the world towards the east. He adds that the finest tortoise-shell was found there in all the Erythraean Sea. Then comes Marinus of Tyre and Ptolemy who speak of the Golden Khersonese as distinct from Khryse.

The identity of Suvarṇabhūmi with Lower Burma is universally accepted as the evidences are quite clear on the point.

We understand from some of the later records²³ of Pegu that Suvarṇabhūmi or Rāmannadēśa comprised the three provinces of (1) Kusuma-maṇḍala by which name Bassein or the hinterland of Lower Burma was

22. A reliable Alexandrian writer who lived in the time of Selucus Nicator (B.C. 300, *circa*) and on whom Strabo depended in the main later on. For a summary of Eratosthenes, based on Strabo, see Rawlinson, p. 93. Dionysius was the ambassador of Ptolemy Philadelphus to Bindusāra. His geographical account was written a little earlier than that of Eratosthenes. It was considered by Strabo to be superior to that of Megasthenes. Pomponius Mela, a contemporary of Emperor Claudius and the author of the *De situ orbis libri III*, was the only noteworthy classical geographer before Pliny. His work was first translated from Latin by Arthur Golding in 1585. The latest authoritative translation is by Philipp (1912). Marinus of Tyre wrote a little before Ptolemy on the basis of a traveller named Alexander, and Ptolemy was much indebted to him.

23. Kalyāṇi Inscrns. of King Dhammacheti, Pegu, A.D. 1476. See Tawn Sein Ko's paper in the *Ind. Antiq.* 1893.

known ; (2) the Hamsavati-maṇḍala or Pegu proper ; and (3) Muttima maṇḍala or Martaban, the maritime region between Cape Negrais and the mouth of the Salwīn. Gerini identifies the Suvarṇabhūmi Khryse with the first of these regions alone.²⁴ He points out that it was the land of gold where the Rāmāyaṇa locates the city of Timira, the Śoṇa-parānta of literature being the area between the Lower Irāvati and the Chindwīn. Both the hinterland (Khryśē Khōra) and the country of the Zamīrai or Dabasai in Upper Burma were in those days rich in gold mines.

According to the Burmese chronicles, the history of Burma is divisible into four periods,²⁵ the two earlier periods (down to B.C. 483) when Tagaung and old Pagān on the Upper Irāvati were the capitals, and the later two periods (483 B.C.—84 A.D. and from 84 A.D. to 1279 A.D.) when Prome or Śrī Kshētra and New Pagān were respectively the capitals. The chronicles are inaccurate in their chronology and their ethnology. They ignore, for example, the part played by the Mongolian and Mon-Khmēr races ; but they are quite correct in tracing all Burmese culture, religion and creed to India. It is clear from them that there were two types of Indian culture introduced into Burma. While the Burmese and the Shāns of the Upper Irāvati received their culture from North India, the land of the Āryas, and by land, the Mon Talaings (and the Arakanese) got it from South India, the land of the Aryo-Dravidians, and by the sea. "In the former case a ruler came with followers to establish a dominion ; the aborigines were subjected and a name for the united tribes adopted, which included the conquerors, and in time became permanent and national. In the south the original settlers were traders. Though they probably came to the coast with no other object, yet gradually they converted and civilized the savage tribes around them. They became rulers ; but there was an absence of original purpose of consolidation, and the native name of the race they found or some designation other than their own, has been continued in the language of the people . . . In the north the physical difficulty of the intervening country prevented continuous communication with the fatherland, and the fall of Buddhism in Gangetic India severed religious connection between the

24. 'Ptolemy's Geography,' p. 65.

25. Phayre's 'Hist. of Burma.' See also G. E. Harvey's 'Hist. of Burma' (1925), chap. I, pp. 3ff. He divides the races of Burma in the 7th century A.D. into (a) the Talaings of the south, (b) the Arakanese, (c) the Pyu and allied tribes of the centre, and (d) the Shāns surrounding the above three. See Map on p. 20. The former two belonged to the Indonesian Mōn-Khmer stock, and the latter two to the Mongolian stock from Eastern Tibet. The Pyu are now extinct, and believed to be the chief ingredient in 'what afterwards became the Burmese.'

two regions. With Southern India and Pegu, on the other hand, constant intercourse was maintained by sea." For this reason the history of Burma is essentially the history of the struggle between the Tibeto-Burmese of the Higher Irāvati and the Monkhmēr or the Talaings of the Lower Irāvati, the latter of which, unlike the former, was primarily subject to colonisation on a large scale from South India.

It is certain that Ptolemy's Khryśē was the same as Old Prome or Sri Kshētra,²⁶ founded according to Burmese traditions about B.C. 483. The dynasty ruling over it lasted till about A.D. 95 when the last king fled to the bends of the Ma-h-tun (Mathura ?) River and founded a city called Meng-dūn or Bhūmavati which he subsequently gave up for Lower Pagān about A.D. 108. The city of Marēūra Metropolis which Ptolemy mentions in this region is apparently either Old Prome or Meng-dūn (Bhumavati). The apparent discrepancies in the names "disappear as soon as it can be demonstrated that Marēūra Metropolis means the Maurya's or Mayura's capital." The dynasty which reigned at Old Pagān claimed descent from the Maurya or Mayūra monarchy of Magadha. It "settled first at a place east of the Irāvati, which it named Maurya, situated in about long, 96° 35', lat. 23° 55', between Tagōng and Bhamo. The northern part of the Kubo valley, in the Upper Chindwin district, which is the direct route from Manipur towards Burma by which the founders of that dynasty must have arrived, is likewise, according to Sir A. Phayre, called Maurya; and is referred to as a district under the name of Mweyin, its Burmese equivalent, in the Po-U-Daung 'Inscriptions.' Every subsequent dynasty that reigned in Burma claimed descent from the Mauryas or Mayuras through the princes who founded Tagong and Old Pagān; hence the Burmese kings placed the peacock (Mayūra) on their coat of arms, and this bird became the national emblem of the country Burma. It appears, therefore, natural that Old Prome, being founded by a scion of those princes who, only some fifty years before, had settled at and given their name to Maurya, should be called the Mauryas' or Mayuras' capital, which Ptolemy recorded as *Mareura*." (Ptolemy's *Geography*, pp. 66-7). Gerini concedes that the objection may be raised against this identification of Mareura with Old Prome, the capital of 'the Mayura kings' of Burma, on the ground that it was given up in 95 A.D. and superseded by Mengdun or Lower Pagan in A.D. 100 and 108 respectively; but he points out that, on account of the difficulty of obtaining information in those days of difficult communication, the change to the other two places might not have been known to Ptolemy.

26. See Sirikhēttarāma. For the topographical history of the place in early times see Ind. Antiq. 1893, p. 6.

The latter might, he says, "at best have received intelligence of the removal of the capital to the neighbouring Mengdun on the Mahtun River, which would explain the alternative name *Malthura* (Mathura?), which Ptolemy gives as a later addition." Gerini also suggests that Mareura was connected with Maranma²⁷ or Mranmā, the name of Burma and its people. He dismisses Phayre's derivation of Burma from *Brahma* as untenable, and believes that *Mra* must have been the original name of the Burmese race indicating a Mon-Khm̄r affinity. The Mon or Talaing country of Rāmanna or Suvarṇabhūmi extended along the coast from Cape Temala (or Negrais) to the Mergui Peninsula, the Bērabāi²⁸ of Ptolemy. This maritime region, says Ptolemy, was inhabited by the cannibalic 'Bēsyngēitai' and the dog-eating people of 'the Sarabaric, Gulf of Martaban. The name *Sarabaric* has been traced to *Saravāri*, *Sarvāri*, and *Sarasvati* as the Salwīn to *Saravārin* and *Sallavārin*. The inhabitants were called dog-eaters because they were 'Rākshasas'. The chronicles of Martaban show that, before it was founded in A.D. 576, it had been the seat of forests. The head-hunters who now live up the Salwīn might have been Negritos like the present Andamanese.

Another interesting name of a place given by Ptolemy in this region is the mart of Sabara.²⁹ This place has been located a little to the westward of the Rangun River. Here was situated the ancient city and State of Utkalāpa (Pāli Ukkalaba), the capital of a Talaing kingdom which included the delta of the Irāvati. Sabara was apparently on the site of the modern Twante, which is very near the site of ancient Utkalāpa. Near Twante is a place called Khabeng which has been traced to 'Kappunga-nagara', and the king of which built, according to tradition, the well-known Shwe-tshandaw pagoda on the neighbouring Meruda Hill. Sabara probably came to be so called, surmises Gerini, because of the early settlement in this region by 'the Sabaras' or wild tribes of the Kolarian stock from the opposite shores of Utkala (Orissa), a circumstance which would have also led to the formation of an Utkalāpa in this region besides the well-known linguistic affinities between Kolarian and Mon (Talaing). The *Chu-po*- or *Shu-po* of the Chinese writers

27. The old belief that *Burma* was derived from *Brahma* or Rāmanna and therefore of Indian origin is not nowadays so popular. The word has been derived from the Mon *Marammā* or *Mranmā*. A Chām insern. of 1207 calls the Burmese *Marai* or *Marai Mañ*. The Lāo Shāns call them even now Māns or Māras. The Burmese pronunciation of *Mranmā* is *Myanmā*, *Byanmā*, and *Bammā*. A variety of it was *Mien*. See Gerini, pp. 68-9; Harvey, p. 3, footnote 1.

28. Gerini, pp. 70ff.

29. Ibid, pp. 72ff.

evidently referred to the same kingdom or people, and it was further corrupted into *Piao kuo* or kingdom of the P'iao (Pyū), from which the name *Pegu* was eventually evolved. "Even admitting with Mr. E. H. Parker that *P'iao* designates the *Phyū*, a tribe said by the local tradition to have settled since 484 B.C. in the country of which Old Prome was the capital and elsewhere identified by me with the *Prū*, *Brū* or *Brao* branch of the Mon Khmer race, the term *Paio-kuo* would still apply to Lower Burma, the region which, from its having formed part of the ancient Trikalinga empire, early became known as the Talaing (Tri-linga, Telinga), changed afterwards into Pegu kingdom, while its people, Mon Khmēr by blood, were thereby designated *Talaings* and *Peguans* as they were called *Mōñ* or *Māñ*, and *Rāmañ* (*Rāmañña desa*) from Ramanna-dēśa, the name applied later on to their country or the part of it which skirted the Gulf of Martaban." Again: "Once the fact established that *P'iao* embraced in the early days the region at present known as Lower Burma, it is not illogical to infer that the whole or part of this region was originally occupied by a people probably of Kolarian race, identical or nearly so, with the Śabarās or Savarās of Orissa, and whose name was rendered by the Chinese... either *Chu-po* or *Shu-po*. This people, driven towards the Gulf in about 484 B.C. by the *Phyū* advancing from Kalē and Prome, may have founded near its shores a settlement named after them, which is very likely the one recorded by Ptolemy as Sabara."³⁰ Harvey, again it may be pointed out, observes that "Ussa the old name for Pegu, is the same word as Orissa, and Pegu was colonised from Orissa." (*Hist. of Burma*, p. 6).

The P'iao (Pegu) kingdom had dealings with China as early as the 3rd century A.D. It was conquered by Nan-chao (Yunnan) in 755-7, and once again in 832, or 781 according to the Talaing chronicles. The country was divided into petty principalities often subject to the Shān (Thai) rule till it was conquered by the Burmese king Anavrata in 1057. During the period of the Shan supremacy, which extended over most part of North Indo-China, the king of Piao occasionally sent embassies to the Chinese emperor apparently with the approval of his suzerains. From 1057 to 1281, the country remained under Burmese power, when Warēru, king of Martaban, declared independence. His descendants, however, eventually succumbed to the Thai race which overwhelmed the whole of Burma, Upper and Lower.³¹

Another place of commercial importance in this region (referred to by Ptolemy) is the town of Bēsynga on the Besynga³² River. The latter

30. Ptolemy's *Geography*, p. 75.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 75-7.

has been identified with the Rangun River (Irāvati) or its eastern branch known as the Hlaing. The name *Bēsynga* has been connected by some scholars with Bassein;³³ but it is traced by Gerini to Śrīṅga or Śiriguttara Hill of Rangun though it is often difficult to distinguish the topography of the Salwīn region from that of the Irāvati in the accounts of the early writers. The ancient *Singuttaracheti* of Rangoon, which has eventually developed into the Shwe Dagon pagoda, and other places in Rangun owe their importance to the domination of the hill; and the latter was, for this reason, probably known by such name as *Vara-Śrīṅga*, the splendid peak, from which Ptolemy's *Bēsynga* apparently derived its name.

One of the most interesting places in the *Suvarṇabhūmi* was *Gōḷa-mattikanagara*,³⁴ identified with *Ayathīna* in the Mergui Peninsula and with *Kunlun* of the Chinese records, and Ptolemy's *Taikkula* on the coast of Pegu. The term *Gola* is regarded by Prof. Forchhammer as the Pāli form of *Gauḍa*, and he attributes a North Bengal origin to the place; but Gerini suggests that *Gola* is a corruption of *gulā* or *kulā*, a term applicable to the 'dark people of Malabar and Coromandel', and that it was "a foundation of these Kolas or Cholas from Southern India who had established colonies all over the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, as well as a very powerful kingdom at Palembang in Sumatra which exercised a nominal suzerainty over them all." This region of *Gōḷamattikanagara* had incessant wars with the *Nanchao* kingdom in *Yūnān* in the 9th century A.D. Once the *Nanchao*³⁵ forces advanced in the *Kunlun* country and were drowned in a stream cut off by the enemy. The survivors are said to have been deprived of their right hand at the wrist before they were sent back to their country. In 885 the *Kunlun* kingdom sent a very handsome girl to the *Nanchao* king showing that they were now friends. Again, in 1103 the three kingdoms of *Mien* (Burma), *Po-sz* (a neighbour of Burma on the west), and *K'un lun* offered white elephants and perfumes to the king of *Nan-Chao*. The perfumes here alluded to included a large portion of *costus*, the best of which came from *K'un lun* according to Chinese writers. The *Taikkula*, or *Gōḷa-mattika* or '*Ayethēma*' on the coast of Pegu has multifarious waterways; and the cutting of the dams across them and their bores and tidal waves, was a common strategical device in war.

33. Rawlinson, p. 132.

34. *Golamattikanagara* is mentioned in the *Kalyāṇi* inscriptions (*Taw Sein ko*, p. 6) and as having been so called because it originally contained many mud and wattle houses, resembling those of the '*Gola* people'.

35. Gerini, p. 819.

It has been already mentioned that the Golden Khersonese has been identified with the Malay Peninsula. Gerini points out that the southern end of the Peninsula was not properly formed in Ptolemy's time. He notes the interesting fact that the traditions refer to the voyage of ships across the Peninsula when the land had not yet been formed there by the obstruction of sands; and this peninsular formation took place, he suggests, about the middle of the first century A.D. Gerini further identifies the Malay Peninsula with Śālmalidvīpa of the Purāṇas, the Purāṇic Sura Sea bounding it on the west side being another name for the *Lōhita* Sea of the Rāmāyaṇa, the *Shelaheth* of the Arab geographers, and the present *Selat* of the Malays. The term *Selat* or 'Sea of the Straits' is used in slightly different forms by the later Portuguese writers and denotes the sea to the south in Malay. The term *Sālmali* must have been applied to the place on account of the abundance of the silk cotton tree (Śālmali or *Bombax malabaricum*) in its low coastal jungles. But it is more probably, in Gerini's view, a corruption of *Suvarnamālī-giri*, if we are to believe the Siamese legend that the Buddha left his footprints on that shining mount; for *Suvarnamālī-giri* is located by him in Tenasserim which he identifies with the Kūṭa Śālmali on which the Rāmāyaṇa places the abode of Vainateya or Garuḍa. The term *Malaiyadvīpa* mentioned in Pegu records, was an alternative name of later times to Śālmali and *Suvarnamālīdvīpa* and, Gerini suggests, was probably introduced 'from the Malaya district of South India and Ceylon by the dark Negritos or descendants of the Rākshasas and their Dravidian successors' who colonised Indo-China and Malaya on account of Āryan aggression. Ptolemy, it is obvious, was very hazy in regard to the terminus of the Malay Peninsula. He shortened it by one-third, and gave it a rounded shape, making some rivers rising in unnamed mountain-ridges to the north of it unite and flow through the Peninsula, and detaching in succession the three streams which he calls Attabas, Khrysoanas and Palandas. Ptolemy's commentators carried much confusion into the subject on account of their failure to understand this haziness on the part of Ptolemy about the local orography and hydrography.

The first city with which Ptolemy begins his description of the Golden Khersonese is Bērabai. It was a place situated on Cape Bērabai (Boyce's Point), which is much more to the north of the region with which Ptolemy believes that the Golden Khersonese began. This inaccuracy is due to the fact that he did not sufficiently allow for the northward extent of the upper part of the Gulf of Siām (Lēstai). Bērabai and the Cape beyond it which, according to Ptolemy, were included in the Golden Khersonese are for this reason, further north. Bērabai has been identified with Mergui, both on geographical and philological

grounds. Mergui is a very ancient town figuring in history in much earlier times than Tenasserim, of which it became eventually the chief sea-port. Captain J. Butler, the author of the *Gazetteer* of the Mergui district, traces its name to the word *Myat* or border ; but Gerini believes that the more correct derivation is probably from the Siamese name *Marit*, which in his view represents the Sanskrit *mṛtsa* or *mṛttika*, and the Pāli *Mattika*, or earth. " There is not the slightest doubt as to this being the correct derivation of the name for Mergui ; but I shall go a step further, and suggest that the above is but its abridged form, and that it should be identified with the seaport *Rakta-mṛttikā* (red earth) mentioned in the Sanskrit inscription found in the northern part of Province Wellesley, and translated by Dr. Kern,³⁶ who fixes its date at about A.D. 400. The eminent scholar was inclined to recognise in that name the port called *Ch'ih-t'u* by the Chinese, which name also means *Red earth*, and is generally taken to denote Siām, or some ancient harbour on the Siāmesse coast. I do not contest this view, but as there are several places named in the same manner, both in the Gulf of Siām and the Malay Peninsula among which I might mention *Tānahmērah* (the Malay name for red-earth), a point on the West coast of the Peninsula a little to the north of Koh or Pulo Lantar—I hold on to my identification of *Rakta-mṛttikā* with Mergui, also because of the latter being situated on the same side of the peninsula as Province Wellesley, where the inscription was found, and not very far from it. There is, moreover, evidence of other places on the same coast having names of which the word *mṛttikā* or its pāli equivalent forms part. As an instance I might point out *Goḷa-ṃattika-nagara* (the present Ayethéma), mentioned in the Kalyāṇi inscriptions³⁷ of Pegu as having been so called because it contained 'many mud and wattle houses resembling those of the Goḷa people.' All evidence, including the red appearance of the soil, seems, therefore, to be in favour of Mergui ; hence I take the latter to be the ancient and famous harbour of *Raktamṛttikā*, or, at least, *Mṛttikā*, the origin of its present name, *Mṛit* or *Mārit*."³⁸ The island of the Mergui Archipelago opposite to Mergui is known as *Pa-ree-kywon*,³⁹ that is, *Pari* island. This name, Gerini thinks, must have arisen out of the Sanskrit name *Pari-abhaya* or *Paryabhaya*, the vulgar *Parabhaya*, corrupted into *Bērabai*. Even independently of the name of the island *Pari*, he explains Ptolemy's term as *Parābhaya*, that is, the place 'on the

36. 'Essays Relating to Indo-China', I, pp. 224-5, 234.

37. Taw Sein Ko's Edition, p. 6.

38. Ptolemy's *Geography*, p. 83.

39. 'British Burma Gazr.', II, p. 477.

other side' to which ships could go for safety from the opposite coast of India or the Mergui Archipelago itself. Gerini also suggests that *Varābhaya* of *Barābhaya* might be another plausible original form, and he sees conformation of it in the Varavāri kingdom referred to as a tributary State of Siām in the Palatine Law Code of Ayuthia (A.D. 1360), and the *Pa-lo-'pei* kingdom which sent tribute in the form of precious articles in 1274 to China. The Purāṇic *Pāribhadra* in Śālmalidvīpa probably indicates the same. The *European* name of Mergui (in its numerous corrupted forms) has been traced by Gerini to the town of Mirgira or Mergi found on the opposite coast of the Peninsula in the 16th century. The main line of communication between Mergui and that coast, he points out, was suitable for bullock carts till the end of the 19th century.

The next place mentioned by Ptolemy is Takōla beyond Cape Bēra-bai. There are several places of this name along the West coast of the Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago. One is near the present Ayetthēmā in the Sittong Sub-division of Shwegyin district. This was the Gola-mattika-nagara of the Kalyāṇi inscriptions and the Tagalla of Portuguese maps, to which reference has been already made. A second Tagala is in Tavoy district, referred to by Barros as a seaport in Malay Peninsula. This place has been identified with Thagara-myo (Sagara?), built in 751 A.D. by the Talaings on the West bank of the Tavoy river, 19 miles off the present town of Tavoy. There is a third *Tagal* on North coast of Java. But Ptolemy's Takōla is more plausibly identified with the harbour of Takōpa in the Pāk-chān inlet near the Krā Isthmus. The whole of the West coast of the Malay Peninsula south of that Isthmus, in fact, is called Takōla in Siāmesé and other early records. *Takūa* means a black metal like lead or tin, and derived from South Indian terms like *kāla*⁴⁰ and *kola* used to denote those metals. Even to-day the tin works of the Peninsula are well known in the forms of *Kālin*, *Kalien*, etc., and the Arabs use the term *alkali* or *alkalli* to denote the same. The town of Kollam is known in some late French records⁴¹ as Plumbum, and Gerini notes a possible reference in this to a kind of plumbago or lead. Ptolemy's Takōla, therefore, he concludes, signifies a mart and a district rich in tin, and most appropriately appli-

40. *Kāla* is the Sanskrit term for tin or lead. It was apparently the source of the Malayan name for the tin ore, the *galena* of the West, and the *lién* of the Chinese.

41. Gerini quotes from De Backer's *L'Extreme Orient au Moyen-Âge*, p. 99, in connection with 'the French relation of Oderic of Friuli.' See Ptolemy's *Geography*, p. 88, text and footnote.

cable to the Malay Peninsula which has been famous for tin-mining throughout history. It was further the same as Abu Zaid's *Kalah-bār* or the peninsula of *Kalah* midway between Arabia and China and forming the centre of the trade for aloes, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, alkali (tin), ebony.⁴² Abu Zaid says that *Kalah* was in his time a dependency of the kingdom of Zabedi (Malay Archipelago) ; and this indicates a possible allegiance to Palembang in Sumatra where the Śrī Bhōjas had their empire. *Takōla* has also been connected with the Malabar *Kola-vāra* from which the Arab *Kalah-bār* was derived. The region of *Kalah-bār* has been located by some (e.g., Walckenaer) in Kedah (a principality in the north-west corner of the Malay Peninsula), but Gerini places it further north, and further suggests that *Kalah-bār* denoted the whole of the West coast of Malay Peninsula, between the mouth of the Salwīn and Junkceylon Island and extending up to the Gulf of Martaban which is identified by him with the *Kālōdaka* Sea of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, next to which lay the *Lōhita* Sea (bounding the West coast of *Sālmali*). On all these grounds *Takōla* is located in the neighbourhood of the present *Ranōng* at the mouth of the *Pāk-chān* inlet which had a splendid harbour in those days, which was the terminus of a land route across the *Krā* Isthmus, rich in tin traffic. Even before Ptolemy's time it had become a great emporium ; for the *Mūlinda-Paṇhā* (Vl. 21) refers to ship-owners traversing the high seas and going to *Vaṅga*, *Takōla*, *China*, *Sovira* (*Surāt*), *Suvarṇabhūmi*, etc., Rhys Davis⁴³ identified *Takōla* with some 'Karkoṭa' on the coast of India, but Gerini infers from the very order of the seaports that it was *Takōla* in Malaya. It is clear from the same passage that *Suvarṇabhūmi* was further north in the coast of Pegu. The *Pālī* word *Kakkōla*, a plant producing a perfume, has been philologically connected with *Takōla*, but as has been already said, the more probable view is that it was derived from the place named *Tak-kāla*, the ancient name of the *Takōpa* district. The important seaport of *Takōla* which was thus well known even before the Christian era is referred to in later Chinese records ; and it is inferred from them that embassies from China to India did not traverse the southern end of the Peninsula but went in small skiffs or overland to *Chumphon*, and thence across the *Krā* Isthmus to the mouth of the *Pāk-chān*, to embark at the famous port of *Takōla* on its journey to India. "This is no doubt the usual route that was anciently followed by a great part of the trade between India and the Gulf of Siam, in order to avoid the difficulty and dangers of a long sea-navigation through the Straits." The *Krā* Isthmus was the most northern point of the

42. Reinartd, I, pp. 17, 93 and 94.

43. See Preface to his edition of the work, p. xliii.

Malay Peninsula at which the latter could be most easily and speedily crossed; hence it was chosen as the point of transit and shipment of merchandise from the Bay of Bengal to the Gulf of Siām, and *vice versa*; and the two harbours which formed the termini of the navigation on both sides, as well as the overland route that connected them, must have in consequence acquired great importance. And they must have retained their prominence for a long period until the advent of the Portuguese and the introduction of more improved methods of navigation. But notwithstanding all this, we find trade routes across the Malay Peninsula at the Krā Isthmus, and further north at Mergui, much frequented up to the middle of the eighteenth century. The causes that contributed to their being abandoned after that date were, in the first place, the stoppage of trade brought on by the continuous Siamo-Burmese wars that raged up to the beginning of the present century, having mostly for theatre the northern part of the peninsula; and secondly, the final absorption into the British dominions and loss to Siam of the province of Tenasserim, which severed the bonds between the two latter countries, and prevented any continuance of the former intercourse between them 'being renewed.'⁴⁴ The Papra Strait means the strait 'or mouth of the saint', and is suggested to have risen out of some legend of the Buddha or a statue of his having passed through it.⁴⁵

Another place mentioned by Ptolemy is Kokkonagara. This has been identified with Kākadvipa referred to in the *Mahāvaṃśa* in the account of a Ceylonese expedition against Pegu in A.D. 1180. Gerini places it to the south-east of Korbie Bay, just opposite Pulo Lantar, and suggests that it was the same as Khlong Kasei (Kasai), Cassai, or Prakāsai. Korbie stands for the Sanskrit Kapi (and the Siamese Kabi) or monkey. Apparently Korbie, which had a good harbour for ships and whence there was easy track to the opposite coast of the Peninsula, was known as the Monkey-city probably on account of the settlement of a branch of the aboriginal Vānaras from the opposite coast of India, or in some way connected with the monkeys in legends. The names *Guru*, *Kora*, etc., are corruptions of the Sanskrit *Nagara*. Kokkonagara was thus apparently an early colony of India. Ancient remains of the place show this. One of the local historical relics is a brass statue of the Buddha discovered about 1855. It bore on its back a plate with a *chakra* and the inscription *Ye dhamma* in North Indian Pāli of the third century. Ptolemy's Kokko might represent the Sanskrit *kāka* (or crow),

44. Ptolemy's *Geography*, p. 94.

45. *Ibid.*

kōka (a goose, cuckoo or the date-tree), or kukkura (dog). An impression of a dog's foot has been found in Junkceylon Island, and the dog was probably an object of worship amongst the local peoples. Apparently, Kokkonagara was so called because of its colonisation by Indians connected with *kāka*, *kōka* or *kukkura*, and it might indeed be that they were connected with the Kukkuras of the Epics.

Next to Kokkonagara Ptolemy mentions the Khrysonas River. It might be the Lungu or Trang River, but there are many other water-courses with similar names.

A place mentioned by Ptolemy among the inland towns of the Golden Khersonese is Palanda. This has been identified with the ancient capital of Pērak. It has been suggested that, if the name is of Sanskrit origin, it might stand for *Palāṇḍu*, (onion),⁴⁶ or for *Pralambha* (tin). A linguistic connection has also been traced between Pērak and *Palandos* (Palanda). It was situated on the upper part of the Pērak river, somewhere about Kwala Kangsa, the present seat of the government of the district. "The territory of Pērak was, in former times, undoubtedly more extensive than at present, and probably stretched as far as Kedah, embracing the whole of the present Province Wellesley. Ancient remains as well as Pāli and Sanskrit inscriptions were found in the latter, which attest the existence, at a very early period, of Indū settlements along its coast. The *śīmā* slab, inscribed with the *Ye dharmā* stanza and a few additional lines recording its erection by 'the great ship-owner Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamṛttikā'—already mentioned in the paragraph devoted to Bērabai as having been assigned a date not later than the fourth century—was found in the northern part of the province; while seven Pāli inscriptions on a granite rock and monograms on bricks were discovered by Captain Low near the centre of the province at Tokūn, in about lat. 5° 27', or almost directly east of Pinang town. An inscribed slate stone was found yet lower down, near Būkit Mertajam, in about lat. 5° 23'. Though I am not aware of any equally ancient remains having been discovered as yet in the present district of Pērak proper, I have not the slightest doubt that some important settlement existed here from a very early period, corresponding to Ptolemy's Palanda." Again, "according to the *Malay Annals*, Pērak, or part of it, was formerly called *Manjong* and was an ancient and great country,

46. The place of *Pālāṇḍu* or onion (*Allium capa*) and garlic in the early commercial history of India is dealt with in my 'Economic Ideas, Institutions and Reconstructions in Vedic Times' (Sir S. Subrahmanya Aiyar, Lecture, Madras University) and Mercantile Activities of South India from the Earliest Times to the 14th century' (Sankara-Parvati Lecture, Madras University), to be published shortly.

that gave Achin its first king. One of its chief cities was Gaṅga-nagara, situated on a steep hill, with a fort on the bank of the Dinding River. This city was taken by Rājā Sūran of Bijnagar in about 1030-1050 A.D." (Leyden's *Malay Annals*, p. 9).

The town Tharrha, mentioned by Ptolemy a little to the east of Palanda, has been identified with Trengan or Tringāno, from which the district east of Pērak has been named. The name has been traced to the Sanskrit *Taraṅga* or wave, or *Taraṅgini*, a river. The appropriateness of this derivation has been maintained on the ground that this name could well have applied to the stream flowing through the present Trengān valley. Other identifications have been made with places like Tarana, Trong, Trang, Drang, etc., in the Malay Peninsula and the Gulf of Siām; but these are not regarded as so plausible in the light of the data afforded by Ptolemy.

Another town which is described by Ptolemy as a mart in Golden Khersonese is Sabana. It has been identified with Selāngor, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Malay Peninsula. It has been derived from *Sembah*, the Malay word for obeisance or worship, and connected with the Sanskrit *Sevana* which has the same sense.

Ptolemy next mentions Cape Maleu Kolon. As has been already mentioned, Ptolemy had a wrong notion of the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, and made it terminate abruptly at Palanda or Pērak on the western side and Cape Meleu Kolon on the eastern side. The latter term is regarded by Gerini as of South Indian extraction. He connects it with the Tamil terms *Malai* and *Kola*, or *Kāla*, and he sees in it a proof of the transplantation of South Indian names by the dark Negritos whom he regards as the descendants of the so-called Rākshasas of old, and by their Dravidian successors who were displaced by the Āryan invaders. The Chinese name for the people of Malaya and the Archipelago, *Kū-lun* or *Kun-lun*, indicates the same. The numerous South Indian place names connected with *Kolam*, *Kola*, *Cola*, *Malai*, etc., thus obviously indicate pre-Aryan, South Indian, Negrito and Dravidian elements; and in Ptolemy's Maleu Kolon Gerini sees a term similar to *Malai-kūrṇam* on the Coromandel coast, and he assumes that Ptolemy really meant the head-land of Tanjong Kuantan a few miles north of the present termination of the Peninsula of which Ptolemy was, in his opinion, not aware.

The town of Koli referred to by Ptolemy in this region has been identified with Kelantan or Kalantan. Gerini suggests that the name was probably introduced from North India and connected with a local dialectical form like *Thana* or *Anta* (boundary), giving rise thereby to the com-

bined form of *Kalanta*. He further suggests that it was the country of *Ko-lo* or *Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo* of the Chinese records of the Tang era (618—907) and earlier annals. The latter Chinese name is traced by him to the combination of *Koli* and *Badara*, the Pāli and Sanskrit designations for the Jujube tree with which Kōli in North India is legendarily associated. That *Ko-lo* was known to the Chinese from the time of the Han dynasty (B.C. 206—A.D. 221) is clear from Ma Tuan lin's statement to that effect. *Kalantan* was a powerful kingdom in Malaya, apparently with abundant natural resources and minerals, and therefore a principal seat of trade on this coast.

The next place, *Perimula*,⁴⁷ has been plausibly identified with *Ligor* (100° E. and 8° 23'). The old city has been suggested to have been further south, however, than the present one, and have had the two other towns of *P'hattalung* and *Singora*, that is, *Sankhala* or *Śunkhalā*, in its neighbourhood. It was formerly accessible from the sea, and connected by overland route with the marts on the West coast of the Peninsula like the other two towns; but all have now lost their importance as accessible ports owing to the silting of the harbours and the formation of sand-bars blocking them. *Ligor* is an inland town accessible only to small boats by a tidal creek; *P'hattalung* is reached by light vessels through a land-locked inland sea encompassed by the island of *Pulo Tantalum*; and *Singora* is situated at the outlet of the same inland sea, and is still a maritime town though running the danger of becoming an inland city in the near future. The Siamese records make mention of the two latter places only in the 13th century; but they existed with *Ligor* as Hindu settlements, observes Gerini, prior to that period. As regards *Ligor* it is mentioned as an independent kingdom under the name of *Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja* in a Pāli chronicle of *Lamp'hun* (*Labong*) about 924. Its king is said to have moved with a fleet to attack *Lophaburi* or *Lavapura*. It is next mentioned in a *Sukhothai* (*Sukhadaya*) inscription dated in S. 1214 (A.D. 1292), now preserved in the royal temple *Wat Phrah Keu* in *Bāngkōk*. The foundation of *Ligor* is ascribed by tradition to Prince *Dantakumāra* who, with Princess *Hēmamālā*, emigrated from *Dantapura* on the Indian coast near the mouth of the *Gōdāvari* in 310 with the tooth-relic of the Buddha, and was wrecked on the 'Diamond⁴⁸ sands' of the Malay Peninsula where *Ligor* is now situated. The tooth-relic is said to be enshrined in a *Chaitya* called *Varadhātu*⁴⁹ in the centre of the city. Were this the case, it would be

47. See Gerini, pp. 106 ff.

48. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 27.

49. Known as *Wat Na Phrah Thāt*.

one of the most ancient relics in Siām. Vulgarly the story is told that a descendant of Dharmāsōka, driven by pestilence from Magadha, set sail with a few people in a golden junk, and was wrecked on 'the Diamond Sand' or the plain on which Ligor now stands. The natives, therefore, call the place even now *Vajra-vāluka* (Saiphet). "A large body of Brahmans," says Gerini, "still live in the city remaining distinct from the Siamese, and yearly performing the Swing Festival and other propitiatory ceremonies. They are commonly reputed to be the descendants of those that came with the founder of the city. The above is nothing more than one of the many Buddhist traditions transplanted on Siamese soil from India; traditions which, when their origin remains undetected, may lead astray searcher after the ancient history of this country. It is well known that the 'Diamond Sands' of this legend are to be found not at Ligor, but on the coast of India, at or near Dharanikōṭa, in the neighbourhood of the present Masulipatam. In that country, inhabited by Nāgas, a relic casket containing one of the original eight divisions of Buddhist remains existed enshrined in a costly stūpa. It was according to Mahāvamśa, carried off thence to Ceylon in the fifth year of the reign of Dutthagāmani, i.e., B.C. 157, and enclosed in a great stūpa at Ruanwelli. But, according to other accounts, in A.D. 310, when prince Dantakumāra fled from Dantapura, and was wrecked on the Diamond Sands of Majerika, these same relics were still preserved there, being removed to Ceylon three years later, that is, in A.D. 313, which date Général Cunningham thinks more correct. A gorgeous, magnificent stupa existed, in fact, on the sands of Majerika between the Gōdāvāri and Kṛṣṇā, as ascertained by General Cunningham; and there stood also the city of Vengī-pura, the capital of the country, which we find recorded in Ptolemy under the name of Malanga." Gerini points out that there were early relations between Vengi and the Malay peninsula and Siam, as evidenced by the Vengi character of the inscriptions of the Phrah Prathom stūpa in Lower Siām. The legend of the relics was transplanted into Siam after the introduction of Buddhism there. In the eighth or ninth century Ligor was given the name of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja. This was popularly curtailed into Nagara and pronounced in Siamese as *Nakhon*. From this, *Lakhon* and modern *Ligor* have been derived in course of time. Sometime in the 10th century Perimula changed its name to Ligor. "A few centuries later on we find Ligor referred to in Japanese accounts as *Rikkon*, *Rokkon*, in imitation of its vulgar Siamese name, *Lakhon*."⁵⁰

50. Gerini criticises Prof. Keane in his view that Ligor was founded four centuries ago by the king of Ayuthia (in his *Geography of the Malay Peninsula, Indo-*

Another town mentioned by Ptolemy along with Kokkonagara, Tharrha and Palanda as an inland town of the Golden Khersonese is Balongka. Gerini locates it on the Krā Isthmus of the Malay Peninsula. In fact he identifies it with Chumphon, the eastern terminus of the ancient overland route across the Peninsula at that point. Chumphon is the same as *Jumbara*, corrupted from the Sanskrit *Udumbara*; but it became well known only later on, the port of Krā being better known in earlier times. The term *Kura* means land-tortoise in Malay, and it is well known how this neighbourhood was famous for tortoise-hunting from the earliest times to the present day. The natives even to-day keep trained dogs for the purpose, and they pursue the tortoises, and capture them after throwing them belly upwards. The Sanskrit name for tortoise is *Palāṅga*, and so Ptolemy's Balonga has been identified with a probable port and district of the name of Palanga in the Isthmus of Krā. It was apparently the same as the Prong of Siamese records, and *Lang kia*, *Lang-chia-hsu*, or *Lang-ya-hsiu*, of the Chinese writers of the Liang and Sui dynasties in the sixth century A.D. These writers say that an embassy from this region visited the Chinese court in 515 with a letter, in the course of which it was stated that the precious Sanskrit was generally known in this land. This letter refers to the establishment of the kingdom 400 years previously, thus indicating that *Palāṅga* existed in Ptolemy's time. Gerini further believes that, after the sacred relics from Dantapura were localised to Ligor, the name *Palāṅga* was vulgarised into Balanga and Malāṅga or Veṅgipura, the capital of the Nāgas of Majerika, and that, together with the word *Krā*, it came to be called *Kamaḷāṅga* or *Kamalāṅka* referred to by Hieun tsang (about 638 A.D.) under the name of *Kia-mo-lang-kia* to the south-east of Śrī Kshētra or Prome (*Shih-li-Cha-ta-lo*). This kingdom of Kamalāṅka or Kamalāṅga, it has been pointed out, originally occupied the region of the Malay Peninsula above the Pāk Chan inlet and the Krā Isthmus and

China, etc., p. 17). He points out how the Kata Mandirapala (Kot Monthieraban) or the Palatine Law of A.D. 1360, enacted by the king who founded Ayūthia, already enumerates Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja (Ligor) among the states which paid allegiance to him. Further, as shown above, Siamese records show that it existed in 924. Gerini further points out that this is not identical with Samarade as McCrindle thought on the score of the resemblance of the name with Dharmarāja. He believes that the latter is the Sāmarattha (Siām) in the 7th case. From an examination of the nature of the soil in this region he points out there must have been a canal across the Malay peninsula between Kontani, the chief town of the Trang district, and Ligor, and that through this canal, which has been obstructed through sands in later times, ships must have passed in olden days in the course of the trade between India and this part of the country. The traffic in slaves in this period is referred to in my *Mercantile Activities of South India* in detail.

conterminous with the district of Takōla on the south. Northwards it extended as far as the Salwīn. It is called *Kun-lang* in a Chinese encyclopædia, and it was probably the Kalah-bar of the Arabs and Camelan of the later Portuguese writers. It might be also the kingdom of Kam-malani (present Kamanlay on the Salwīn to the north of Martaban), referred to in a chronicle of Pegu (preserved in Siām) as a conquest of Warēru, the chief of Martaban, in the end of the 13th century. The name of this chronicle is *Rājīdhirāja*. Kamalāṅga was thus a very extensive kingdom. Gerini further points out that, according to a Peguan work, the Buddha and his disciple Gavampati Thera travelled through Indo-China and Malaya, visited Achin in Sumatra, crossed over to the Malay Peninsula and sat on a stone bench or *Pallanka*, and that this place came to be known as Palanka. Gerini identifies Balongka with this place, and a holy footprint traditionally existed on the Suvannamāli mountain. The talented writer also points out that trade passed from Pak Chan across the Krā Pass to Chumphon particularly after the disappearance of the sea passage between Trang and Ligor about the beginning of the Christian era. It was this that made the kingdom of Kamalāṅga important. Remains of ancient temples and ramparts in the vicinity of Kra show this. Adjoining Kra district on the north was a province named Lan-ya in Siamese records, and this was probably another linguistic relic of the old kingdom of Palaṅga, Lang-kia or Kamalāṅga. It was in its bay that the seaport of Lang-ya-hsiu visited by Chinese traders existed.

Such was the geographical configuration of the Suvarṇadvīpa or Malay Peninsula which was one of the most flourishing colonies and trade centres of Indians in the early history of South India.

South India and the Eastern Archipelago A Study of Culture Migration

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I. SUMATRA AND THE ŚAILENDRAS

It has now been generally accepted that both Java and Sumatra had been Hinduised even before the end of the third century A.D. Sumatra was less accessible to invaders from the West than the more distant Java. The appellation, Svarṇabhūmi or Svarṇadvīpa, has been deemed to be more applicable to Sumatra than to Java; and the name Svarṇa-kāramaṇḍita, has been deemed to be applicable to Sumatra. It is also, perhaps, the Zabadieu of Ptolemy, the Zabaj and the Zabej of later Arabic writers.¹ Owing to its inaccessible coast and impenetrable jungles, as well as its unhealthy climate, Sumatra has been singular in its isolation, among the great islands of the Archipelago; and neither the Hindus, nor the Arabs nor the Europeans have established their influence therein in the same thorough manner as in the case of Java. Its archaeological monuments are neither numerous nor prominent and are relatively not of great worth.

It is presumed that Hindu colonists might have settled in the island probably even before the beginning of the Christian era; and according to Chinese annals, the kingdom of Palembang which was a Hinduised one, flourished in the island in the fifth century A.D. When Fa-Hien visited Sumatra in 414 A.D., he did not find therein any traces of Buddhism.²

1. The term Yavadvīpa which occurs in the Rāmāyana and the Zabadieu of Ptolemy are supposed to refer either to Sumatra or to both Java and Sumatra. The Rāmāyana does not clearly distinguish between the two islands. Sugriva's direction to his troops, in the search for Sita, describes the isle with the wall of gold, and Yavadvīpa "adorned with seven kingdoms, the isle of gold and silver, adorned with mines of gold; then beyond the isle of Yava is the mountain Shishira." Ptolemy put between India and Zabadieu, a series of islands inhabited by cannibals, which included certainly the Nicobars.

2. "After proceeding in this way for rather more than ninety days, they arrived at a country called Ya-ba-di, where various forms of error and Brahmanism are

According to G. Ferrand, writing on the history of the Sumatran Empire of Śrī Vijaya, Yavadvīpa sent tribute to the Chinese court in 132 B.C.; and the Zabadieu of Ptolemy and the Yavadvīpa of the Rāmāyaṇa, which may be attributed to approximately the same epoch, and the *Sobok* and *Jāvaka* of the Chinese ambassador who visited it in 245-250 A.D., all refer to the same region, i.e., the Kingdom of Śrī Vijaya lying on the direct sea-route from India to China. Ferrand, it may be pointed out, is also of the opinion that the already Hinduised Malays of Sumatra colonised Madagascar on the other side of Indian Ocean early in the Christian era.

In the seventh century A.D., the Kingdom of Śrī Vijaya was known after its capital Palembang, a very important place on the sea-route between India and China, and quite naturally suited for being the capital of a great maritime empire. The kingdom comprehended the middle and southern portions of Sumatra and the neighbouring island of Bangka. It was ruled by the royal family of Śailēndra which, in the next century, extended its dominions over Java and a good portion of the Malay Peninsula. The Śailēndra monarchs built, in honour of Tārā, a deity of the Mahāyānist pantheon, the shrine of Kalasan, near Prām̐baṇam in Central Java, in 771 A.D. Prām̐baṇam might have then virtually served as a capital of the extended Śailēndra empire. About this time the Śailēndras invaded the coast of Annam, and penetrated into the heart of Cambodia.

Several missions were sent by Śrī Vijaya to the Chinese empire in the century between 640 and 740 A.D. I'tsing found in the fortified capital of the kingdom more than 1,000 Buddhist priests who were intent on sacred learning and on good practices, and whose subjects and methods of study followed those of India. The form of Buddhism prevalent was, for the most part, the Mūlasarvāstivāda School, besides the Sammitīya.^{2-a} He used the name Bhōja or Śrī Bhōja indiscriminately for the kingdom, and called it the Chin-Chou (Gold Isle). The capital (Palembang) was the chief trading port with China; and a regular service of ships was conducted between it and Kwangtung (*in China*) by a Persian merchant, the distance being covered in a month, or within twenty days if the winds were favourable. The capital was fifteen days' sail from the town of Malayu, on the southern shore of the Straits of Malacca, where the pilgrim stayed two months, and from which he went

flourishing, while Buddhism in it is not worth speaking of." Legge—*Fa Hien's Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* (1886)—p. 113.

2-a. In the kingdom there were a few who belonged to the Mahāyāna.

to Ka-cha, near modern Achin—the country of the Naked People (*Insulae Nudorum*) being about ten days' sail north from the last mentioned place.³ There were very many dependent states on Palembang; and Dr. Takakusu holds that there are several points which show that the people were of Hindu origin.

The Indian monk, Vajrabōdhi, visited Śrī Vijaya on his way to China in 717 A.D. The merchant, Sulaimān, an Arab traveller of the 9th century, who wrote an account of his travels in 851 A.D., described at length the kingdom of Zabaj, as well as the kingdom of Khmer. It was in Śrī Vijaya that Ātissa, the famous Buddhist teacher of Bengal, met Āchārya Chandrakīrti, about the beginning of the eleventh century; and, in the opinion of the former, Śrī Vijaya was the chief centre of Buddhism in the East. Dharmapāla, the head of the famous University of Nalanda, was born in the South Indian city of Kānchīpura, as the son of a high official of that place. He rose to be the greatest of the scholars of his age and is said to have spent the last years of his life in Sumatra. Dharmapāla's headship of the Nalanda University has been attempted to be fixed during the early years of the seventh century A.D.; for when Hiuen Tsiang visited Nalanda about 635 A.D., Śīlabhadra was the then head of the University and, consequently, Dharmapāla who had become the abbot of the monastery when Śīlabhadra came to Nalanda, was probably then dead or had retired⁴ As we saw above, I'tsing, in a later generation, took the southern sea-route from Canton in 671 A.D. to Śrī Vijaya where he stayed a few months and learned Sanskrit; he reached Tāmralipti, the port of Bengal, in 673 and visited Nalanda, Gaya and various other important places where he studied the Buddhist Vinaya. He left India from Tāmralipti in 685 A.D.; came back to Śrī Vijaya in 689, worked

3. These isles were certainly the Nicobars, the Lanjabalus or the Lankhabalus of the Arab navigators of the 9th century, and the Nākvāram of Rashidu'ddin, which, according to Yule, may be connected with Nāga. Marco Polo calls one of these islands, situated about 150 miles north of Java the Less (=Sumatra) as Necuveran or Necouran. The group of the Nicobar Islands was called the Land of the Rākshasas in the history of Fang (618-906)—pp. xxviii-xxxix of J. Takakusu's *A Record of the Buddhist Religion, etc.*, by I'tsing—1896.

4. According to Tāmanātha, Dharmapāla became the Pandita at Nalanda after the excellent Chandrakīrti, and his tenure of office was very short; he being succeeded by Jayadēva. The generally accepted version is that Śīlabhadra succeeded Dharmapāla, having already refuted a heretic of South India who had dared to raise his head against the great master himself. (Watters—*Yuan-Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 228—Hwui li's *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*—tr. by S. Beal; and Sankalia's *University of Nalanda*, p. 109.

for several years in Ceylon, and returned to China in 695. It was in Śrī Vijaya that I'tsing found the most favourable land for his literary activities and for his getting the help of Sanskrit scholars. Among his other literary activities, it may be mentioned that I'tsing translated into Chinese, the *Suḥṛllēkha* (Letter to an Intimate Friend) of Nāgārjuna, which was dedicated to his old Dānapati, Jētaka Sātavāhana, a king of South India, probably an Āndhra ruler.⁵

Śrī Vijaya was in close touch with Magadha and Bengal, and must have derived most of its Mahāyanism from those regions; and the same blend of Buddhist and Tantric doctrines is found in Sumatra and Java as in Bengal. The earliest Mahāyana inscriptions of the Śrī Vijayan kings are written, not in the South Indian Grantha characters, as is the case with the earlier Javanese epigraphs, but in a North Indian script almost exactly like that of the 9th century inscriptions discovered at Nalanda.

A great landmark in the history of the Śailēndras is the Leyden Grant, engraved in the Chōla-Grantha characters. Part of it is in Sanskrit; this grant is to be distinguished from the smaller one of the same name, of *circa* 1084 A.D. It records the grant of the village of Ānaimaṅgalam in the Kshatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaṇanādu, by Rājarāja the Great of Tanjore, in the 23rd year of his reign (1007-8 A.D.) to the Chūdāmaṇi-padma vihāra at Negapatam built by Śrīmāra Vijayōttuṅga-varmaṇi, King of Kaṭāha, and of Śrī Vijaya of the Śailēndra line, who was probably his feudatory. The script is similar to that of the Tiruppuvaṇam grant. The first five plates are in Sanskrit, and the remaining sixteen are in Tamil. The former portion is very important as containing the *vaṃśāvali* of the Chōla dynasty. Śrī Vijaya is written as Sri Vishaya. Śrīmāra Vijayōttuṅga-varmaṇi, was the son of Chūdāmaṇi-varmaṇi, who by virtue of his own wisdom, was "a Guru to the gods, and a Sun to the lotus-groves of the wise, and a *kalpavriksha* to the needy." Dr. L. Finot who asserts the identity of these rulers with the kings of Palembang, writes that, "should any doubt still remain, it would disappear in view of the following facts:—The History of the Song gives as kings of San-fo-tsi (Palembang) in A.D. 1003-08, Sse-li-cu-lo-wu-ni-fo-ma-tiao-hua, (Śrī Chūdāmaṇi Varma Dēva) and Sse-li-ma-lo-pi (Śrī Māra Vijayōttuṅgavarman)."⁶

5. See P. K. Mukherji's *Indian Literature in China and the Far East*, pp. 273-4; Wenzel has given the entire translation of the Letter from the Tibetan version in J.P.T.S. of 1886.

6. *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I (1925)—p. 621—in the course of L. Finot's paper on 'The Hindu Kingdoms in Indo-China.'

Rājendra Chōla, the son and successor of Rājarāja, warred against the Śailendra king, Saṅgrāma Vijayōttuṅgavarman, and annexed a part of his territories, as a sort of supplement to his own victorious expeditions in the country of Orissa, Bihār and the Lower Gangetic basin. This overseas Chōla expedition is dated 1025 A.D.; and the details given of it in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Plates and other records of the reign are believed to show that the actual starting point of the naval expedition should have probably been in the coast region of Kalinga, and that the conquests include, among other places, Mānakkavaram (the Great Nicobar) and Takopa in the Malay Peninsula set over against Sumatra and the Nicobars. The Chinese annals mention a mission from the Chōla monarch to China in 1015 which was followed by others in 1033 and in 1077. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Plates do not give the name of the Sumatran ruler; but the Kaṭāha of the Leyden Grant (*Chart of Leide*) has been equated with Kaḍāram; and its ruler described as the king of Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijaya. Virarājendra Chōla is said to have achieved the conquest of Kaḍāram, and to have generously restored the conquered realm to its defeated king. This was possibly the expedition with which Kulōttuṅga was as prince associated. References from the Chinese annals, ranging from 1077 to 1106 A.D.—all of which fall within the reign of Kulōttuṅga Chōla I—indicate that the Chōla realm became “tributary to Śrī Vijaya.” The probable inference to be made is that the outlying imperial possessions of the Chōlas which lay in the region of the Malay Peninsula fell off from allegiance some time in the reign of Kulōttuṅga. His reign was, indeed, a period of great internal prosperity in the Chōla kingdom proper; and it even witnessed the conquest of Kalinga. But except for the conquest of Kaḍāram which was, likely enough, an achievement of Kulōttuṅga, as prince, there is no positive evidence available to show that his empire expanded overseas either to the islands round Sumatra or to the region of the Malay Archipelago. The references to the Chōla in the Chinese records were probably only references to their overseas possessions; and the statements contained in them probably mean that the Chōla possessions in the Archipelago came to be transferred to the ruler of Śrī Vijaya.

The Smaller Leyden Grant of the twentieth year of Kulōttuṅga Chōla (1090 A.D.) issued an edict to “the crest-jewel of the assembly of the earth-rulers” that some lands at Ānaimangalam, Munjikkudī, etc., were given to the temple by being transferred from the old owners, and that various taxes were remitted, and refers to a grant made with the sanction of the Chōla monarch by the ruler of Kaḍāram, whose name is not mentioned, but who is specifically stated to have built or repaired two *vihāras*, one of them called after Rājarāja and the other after Rājendra Gaṅgaikoṇḍa. The former *vihāra*, *Rājarājapperumballī*

appears from the record itself to be but another name for the old vihāra, built in the reign of Rājārāja and called formally Śrī Śailēndra Chūḍa-maṇi vihāra ; and this renaming of it after the Chōḷa sovereign should clearly indicate the recognised continuation of the subordination of the ruler of Kaḍāram. Two of the ambassadors of the latter ruler are named in the grant itself as Rāja Vidyādhara and Abhimānōttuṅga. It was on their application and with the approval of the Chōḷa Foreign Minister, Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyan, that the grant of the required piece of land was ordered to be made.

It is clear, from the above references, that the Great Chōḷas enjoyed a reality of control over the overseas adjuncts to their empire which were brought back into allegiance, after their probable defection, apparently as a fruit of the victorious expedition of Rājēndra Chōḷa ; and they seem to have continued in that allegiance till some date in the reign of Kulōttunga Chōḷa ; and it is also obvious that the Śailēndra monarchs were able, in course of time, to reabsorb these Chōḷa possessions into their own kingdom, while the Chōḷa power neglected or was unable to reassert its authority. From this it appears that "the expedition of Rājēndra Chōḷa across the seas was a warlike act and not a peaceful mission sent out towards the east."^{11-a}

According to the high authority of Dr. N. J. Krom, Central Java asserted its independence of Śrī Vijaya, under Hindu princes from East Java, early in the tenth century, and completely vindicated it only after Śrī Vijaya had to yield to an invasion from South India in the time of Rājēndra Chōḷa. But the new Javanese kingdom could only expand eastward over Bali and other islands. Java and Śrī Vijaya were the two great important commercial regions of the Archipelago in the twelfth century.

Al Masudi wrote of Serandib (Ceylon) as being a dependency of Zabaj (Śrī Vijaya) in his "Meadows of Gold" which describes the

6a. *Journal of Indian History* ; Vol. II, p. 356—Rājendra Gangaikonda by S. K. Aiyangar. According to Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami (*Indian and Indonesian Art*), "these evidences, supplemented by others in the *Mahāvamśa*, would prove a comparatively late survival of Buddhism in Southern India ; and the occurrence, at Conjeevaram, of Buddha images of a late type is significant as it shows 'the flame-like projection above the uṣṇisa, an iconographic peculiarity of Farther Indian origin.'"

state of the nations of the east and the west as they were in his age (cir. 950 A.D.) Chau Ju Kua, a Chinese customs officer, who wrote on the Chinese-Arab trade in the thirteenth century, and whose book was translated in 1912 by Hirth and Rockhill, devoted one full chapter to an account of Śrī Vijaya and its kings who were perhaps of Nāga origin, and to the Arab settlers in the kingdom. According to him there were fifteen dependencies of Śrī Vijaya including Kedah, Pahang and other places in Malaya as well as Sunda (Western Java) ; and, curiously enough, with Al' Masudi, Ceylon was included among the dependencies of the Sumatran realm.

Towards the end of the 13th century a Javanese expedition conquered Jambi in Sumatra, and established Javan supremacy in the heart of the island. By 1377 Śrī Vijaya had fallen finally under the Majapahit power of Java. The new conquerors did not settle in sufficient numbers in Sumatra, but entrusted the administration to the Chinese settlers who were attracted to Palembang in large numbers. The Chinese colony at Palembang made " piracy and plunder their chief business." The land was uncultivated, and the country fell into general decay. Central Java had flourished under Sumatran rule which was responsible for the construction of the beautiful Chandi Kalasan and other noble shrines, in the latter part of the eighth century. Shortly afterwards, was built *Barabudur*, " the most wonderful stupa in the world," in whose ascending galleries orthodox Mahāyana legends are depicted in bas-reliefs in a harmonious whole. These reliefs are based on the *Lalita-Vistāra*, the *Jātaka-Māla* of Aryasura and the *Gandavyūha*, though the artists have given a local touch. According to Professor Krom, the stupa form of architecture was introduced into Java by Sumatran architects, and it is represented only by *Barabudur*, whereas in Sumatra several stupas are found even in ancient monuments. It has also been held that Kashmir, whose prince, Guṇavarman, was presumably the source of Sumatran Mahāyana Buddhism, also gave the Archipelago the idea of pyramidal structures.

From Śrī Vijaya Hindu and Indian influences penetrated even to Funan in the 8th century. Shortly afterwards, there was a reaction in the latter land—Kambojadēśa ; but Chau Ju Kua mentions, among the dependencies of Śrī Vijaya in the thirteenth century, Kia-lo-hi, lying alongside the southern border of Cambodia. In a later century the Thais, coming from the interior, captured the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, while even before that time Ligor had passed into the hands of the kings of Sukhodaya. In the fifteenth century the Siamese contrived to get hold of the whole of the Malay Peninsula as far as the Straits of Malacca.

Professor Kern has drawn attention, in connection with Indian influences in Sumatra, to an interesting paper⁷ on certain funeral ceremonies of the Merga Symbiring (Black Tribe), one of the five tribes of the Karo-Bataks who are settled round Lake Tobo in the west. The sub-divisions of the Symbiring tribe are Chōliya, Pandiya, Meliyāla, Depari and Pelāvi (Mēlawi, i.e., Malay?). The first three names are well-known ethnic ones in South India and clearly point to the Dravidian origin of the tribe in question. The name Meliyala is evidently identical with Malayalam; and "it would be extremely interesting if Pelawi could be identified with the name Pallava."^{7a}

II—THE KOETEI INSCRIPTIONS OF BORNEO

These consist of four inscribed stones, the inscriptions being in Sanskrit, discovered in the native state of Koetei in East Borneo. The inscription on the fourth stone has been almost completely obliterated. Professor Kern, who edited the three other inscriptions, gave special attention to their chronology, as it could be determined from palæographic evidences; they were further studied by Professor Vogel. The first furnishes the names of three rulers Mūlavarman, his father Aśvarman and his grand father Kuṇḍunga, the first two of these names being evidently of Indian origin. Indian civilisation was, according to Kern, introduced in Eastern Borneo under Kuṇḍunga. He was, perhaps, only a Hinduised native, and not an immigrant from India; and he and his successors were, therefore, Hinduised, rather than Hindu, princes. Mūlavarman was evidently named after an asterism, like the Suṅga-Pushyamitra. The stones of the records represent sacrificial posts and were erected in the place of wooden posts on the spot where sacrifice had been performed. The record tells us that their erection was due to the assembled priests to whom Mūlavarman had given rich presents. The second record mentions *Vapraḥśvara*, perhaps the proper name for the sacred place or sanctuary which witnessed Mūlavarman's gifts, and probably a Śaiva shrine, as several other images of the Śaiva pantheon have been secured in several localities in the island. The name *Vapraḥśvara* is also met with in old Javanese records.

The sacrifice performed by Mūlavarman^{7b} was called *Bahu Swarṇaka*, which, perhaps, was a special form of Sōma sacrifice. The

7. *Dravidische Volksnamen op Sumatra* of H. Kern (Verspreide Geschriften—Vol. VII).

7-a. Among the other tribes of the Karo-Bataks, the Kling (Kalinga) origin of the Simbirings is a recognised fact.

7-b. Attention is drawn to the title of *Varman* which marked*but few of the earlier North Indian kings and the wonder-tree (*kalpa-vṛksha*) noted in the records.

form of the lettering of the Kœtei records bears a certain resemblance to that of the cave inscriptions of Mahēndravarman Pallava found at Mahēndravāḍi and at Daḷavānūr. The verses are arranged on the stones in such a manner that each *pāda* occupies one line ; while the usual practice in India is to arrange the lines without any reference to the verses. According to both Kern and Vogel, they disclose a fair acquaintance with Sanskrit and a considerable prevalence of Hindu culture. The alphabet employed in the early records of the Pallava rulers, shows, according to Vogel, the nearest approach to that of the Kœtei and other contemporaneous Javanese epigraphs, which used to be called the Vēngi Alphabet. Dr. Burnell was the first to hold that the source of the primitive Hindu culture in Java must be looked for in the northern Tamil coast, rather than in Kalinga proper or in the Telugu littoral, and that it was not at all possible to seek it in Bengal and in Western India. Dr. Bühler would hold that the earliest Pallava Sanskrit inscriptions down to the time of Narasimhavarman I marked the first stage in the development of the ancient *Grantha*, the literary alphabet of the South of India, and that this first archaic stage is also met with in the rock-inscription from Jambu in Java. No stone record, contemporaneous with the Kœtei epigraphs, has been found on the Coromandel coast in India.⁸ They are said to fill up a gap in the epigraphical history of South India. Dr. Vogel has finally concluded that these inscriptions are perhaps the earliest specimens of *grantha* used in stone records, and the archaic type of the *grantha* alphabet used by the early Pallava rulers seems to be very closely related to them. As there is a close affinity between the Kœtei inscriptions and those of Bhadravarman of Champā (first half of the fifth century A.D.), the latter perhaps representing a somewhat earlier stage of writing, while the Tjaroeten rock-inscription of Pūrṇavarman of Western Java exhibits a more advanced style of writing, so that we arrive at "the chronological succession—Bhadravarman, Mūlavarman, Pūrṇavarman,"^{8a} the intervening period in each

8. "On the other hand, the absence of stone inscriptions of so early an epoch in Coromandel imparts the Koetei inscriptions with a peculiar interest for the history of South Indian epigraphy. It is in the distant islands of the Indian Archipelago and on the coasts of Indo-China that we thus find the prototypes of that remarkable group of lithic records which Coromandel owes to the Pallava kings of the seventh century. We may see that the Archipelago and Champā have preserved the earliest examples of archaic *Grantha*, carved in stone, of which no specimens are now extant in the mother-country." (J. Ph. Vogel—*The Yūpa Inscriptions of King Mūlavarman, from Koetei (East Borneo)*, p. 222.

8-a. Three records found in West Java describe in Sanskrit the glories of Prince Pūrṇavarman, a follower of Viṣṇu, who had his capital at Tarumā. One of them calls the king the Lord of Tarumanagar and tells us of the construction of two canals,

case to be roughly estimated at half a century, and the Kœtei records being datable *cir.* 400 A.D.

III. JAVA—THE AGASTYA CULT AND SOUTH INDIAN INFLUENCES

Ever since Sir Stamford Raffles brought pointed attention to bear on Javanese antiquities and history as early as 1817, research has been very actively extending the field of knowledge; and the labours of scholars like Dr. Kern and Dr. Krom have shown that Indian civilisation was in obvious evidence in the island even in the fifth century A.D. As already remarked, the term, *Javadvīpa*, occurring in the most ancient texts, might have been either Sumatra or both Sumatra and Java. Guṇavarman of Kashmir is supposed to have preached Buddhism in Java in 423 A.D. Professor S. Levi finds mention of Java in a Chinese Buddhist work of 392 A.D. as *Cho-yi*. Āryabhaṭṭa, the famous astronomer of Ujjayani, wrote of Java thus, at the close of the fifth century. "When the sun rises in Ceylon, it is mid-day in Yavakōṭi (Java) and mid-night in the land of the Romans."⁹ In the Tamil work, *Maṇimēkalai*, the town of Nagapuram in Chāvakanāḍu is mentioned, as well as two rulers of that place, Bhūmichandra and Puṇyarāja who claimed descent from Indra. Fa Hien is said to have touched Java in the present district of Rembang, where, according to native tradition, the first Hindu settlement arose. Chinese annals notice the kingdom of Lan-ga-su, one of whose princes was exiled to India and returned to occupy the throne with an Indian queen. The annals of the Tang dynasty speak definitely of the kingdom of Kaling in Central Java, the inhabitants of which had some knowledge of letters and astronomy, of several embassies which proceeded to China from this kingdom and from Bali in the period 637—649 A.D., and of the presence of Arab traders in it.¹⁰

An inscription of S. 654 (A.D. 732) found in Kedoe, in Central Java, praises king Sañjaya, son of king Sanna, and contains an account

Chandrabhāga and Gōmati. On two of these, the foot-prints of Pūrṇavarman himself were evidently carved.

9. In the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* (which can be dated in the 6th century), we read: "At a quarter of the circumference of the earth eastwards, in the land of Bhadrāśva, the eastern division of the earth, is the famous Nagari Yavakōṭi, with golden walls and gates." Fa Hien's *Ya-ba-di* has been noted above, as containing many heretics and Brahmins, but marked by very little prevalence of the Law of the Buddha.

10. In 674 A.D. the people of Kaling took as their ruler a queen named Seema, whose administration was so just that even things dropped on the road were not picked up; and an Arab left a bag of gold at a particular spot which remained intact for three years. It was then inadvertently stepped over by the Crown Prince for which offence his toes which had touched the bag were cut off.

of the dedication of a linga, as well as invocations to Śiva, Brahma and Viṣṇu. The script is Pallava-Grantha, and the language is Sanskrit; and both closely resemble the corresponding features of the Han-Chey inscription of Bhavavarman of kambhōja (cir. middle of the sixth century A.D.). The record refers to the reconstruction of a Śiva temple, on the model of a celebrated shrine in the holy land of Kuñjara-kuñja which has been equated with the Kunjara-Kōṇa, a Sanskrit rendering of the Kannaḍa name. Ānegondi, situated to the north of Hampi, on the other side of the Tuṅgabhadra in the Dominions of H. E. H. the Nizam. The cult of an Agastya migration from the north to the extreme south of India and across the Bay of Bengal to the Malayan Archipelago has been gaining increasing support. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa* Agastya paid visits to Barhinadvīpa (perhaps Borneo), Kuśadvīpa, Varāhadvīpa, Sankhyadvīpa, and Maṭayadvīpa as well as to Java; an Agastya is said to have lived on a hill called Mahāmalayaparvata in Malayadvīpa, as distinct from the Malaya-parvata of South India. There is an important mountain in Sumatra still known as Malayu. It is argued that the legend of Agastya's visit to the Archipelago was perhaps a relic of the earliest wave of Brahmanical culture from South India that preceded and prepared the ground for the later Indian cultural migrations. We have evidence of a Śiva temple supposed to have been built by Agastya in Java,¹² and of the descendants of the Agastya-gōtra a clan¹³ of South India which had a settlement of their own in the island. Agastya should have developed into "a culture-hero, if not an Heros Eponymos, of the Brahmanic civilisation in Indonesia." The figures and icons of Agastya in Java were first made of sandalwood and then of stone and were actually worshipped and made the subject

11. According to Dr. Kern's reading, the sanctuary of Śiva at Kuñjara Dhari (Kuñjarakona) was the prototype of the first temple in Java, *vide* O. C. Ganguli, in the *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XVII; No. 3 (January 1927). He thinks that there are sufficient reasons for this identification; and Kuñjara Kōṇa was one of the homes of Agastya who had erected at the place a temple; and a clan from the Kuñjara Kōṇadēśa migrated to Java and built a temple in the island on the model of the original temple on the banks of the Tungabhadra. Varāha Mihira's *Brihat Samhita* mentions Kuñjara as being in the far south of India.

12. An inscription in the shrine says:—"Kalasaja (Agastya) having founded the God's house called *Vadralōka*, may all his descendants obtain in this house a resting place. May they achieve their wishes!"

13. The *Āśvalāyana-Grihyasūtra* includes the Agastya-Gōtra amongst the forty-nine Brāhman Gōtras. Māmūlanār, the Tamil Saṅgam poet, claims to belong to the Agastya-gōtra; while Ailāpabhaṭṭa who built a Śaiva temple on the Tunga-bhadra was also of that Gōtra, according to a Tamil record of 1524.

of a cult. Even at the present day Agastya's name is actually used in all formulas pronounced by persons put on their oath. Only, Agastya is known by the Malayasian name of Valaing. The form of the oath is as follows :—"So long as the Sun and the Moon last in our heavens, so long as the earth remains girt by the four seas, so long as the wind runs to the ten quarters, so long will reverence, last to the name of Valaing."

An old record in the Kawi language reads :—"Hail to you, Hari-chandana Agastya Maharishi!" It is known that earlier images of the saint were made of sandalwood, from an inscription of Dinaya in Eastern Java, dated Ś 682, which refers to a ruler who replaced the old sandalwood image of the hero by a new figure carved in wonderful black stone. Thus the worship of Agastya, who was essentially a South Indian culture-hero, had become an established cult in Java before the seventh century A.D. The images of Agastya are found equipped with his usual marks, *jaṭāmakuṭa* (matted locks), a corpulent waist, the *kamaṇḍala* (pitcher) and the *akṣhamālā* (rosary of beads). He was known as the Siva-guru or the Bhaṭṭāraka-Guru, and looked on as the source of the cult of Siva; and members of the *Agastya-gōtra* were the spiritual preceptors of many rulers. A mythical king, named Aji Jaya Baya, dictated the poem, *Bharata Yuddha*, (i.e., the Mahābhārata) by order of Deva Bhaṭṭāra Guru (Agastya) who was thus "the transmitter and dictator of the great Indian culture saga which became the national epic of Java."

We also find, in association with Agastya, sage Triṇavindu, the son of Jamadagni Maharshi, who is known in South Indian tradition as the collaborator of Agastya in the spreading of Āryan culture, and is also identified with the great Tamil grammarian Tolkāppiaṇār. There are a few Javanese stone-sculptures in which the two *Rshis*, Agastya and Triṇavindu, are in close association.¹¹ The recent find of a number of

14. Traditionally, Agastya has been looked on as the President of the First Sangam at Madura and as having had 12 disciples, the chief of whom was Tolkāppiaṇār. He is supposed to be eternal, invisible to mortal eyes, in the Podiyil Hill, near Cape Comorin, and shines in his new form, as the Star Canopus in the Southern Sea. He drank off the sea, i.e., carried on Hindu culture across the ocean to the eastern lands. He carried on his old hobby of temple-building to Java and Champā, and is reputed to have founded a royal dynasty in Cambodia apparently after marrying a local princess, Yaśōmati. An Angkor Vat inscription says :—"The Brahman Agastya, born in the land of the Aryans, devoted to the worship of Śiva, having come by his psychic powers to the land of the Cambodians, for the purpose of worshipping the Śiva-līṅga known as Bhadrēśvara, and having worshipped the

Pañchalōka images of the South Indian type, some actually carrying on them Tamil inscriptions, in Siam makes it obvious that these must have been the actual handiwork of Tamil *sthapatis* of South India and must have been carried to Siam or Cambodia from South India "when the cult of Siva formed a connecting link between these two regions." A detail is noticed in the *Skanda Purāṇa*, which is significant in this connection that the Pāṇḍyan prince who defiled the shrine at the Sona Hill rode on a *Kambuḥa-haya*, a Cambodian horse.¹⁵

Local legends of Java indicate that numerous families and princes must have gone in successive waves from Kalinga to Java; and one legend tells us that Bhaṭṭara Guru—Agastya is even considered superior to the Trimūrtis in Java—sent one Gutaka from the mountain Sawila Acala in Kling, to become the ruler of Giling Vesi, at the foot of Mount Sumera, the highest peak in Java. Agastya thus, "is not only the Āryaniser of Drāvīda Dēsa; but also the titanic architect, the great builder, of a Greater India, beyond the seas."

Near the earliest Śiva temple of Java, built in the Dieng Plateau of Central Java and referred to in the inscription of Sanjaya, there are stone images of Gaṇeśa and Durgā, which savour of a South Indian origin. Among the Hindu remains at Prāmbanān, there occur a few fine statues of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahma and the Trimūrti, which are said to recall the style and iconography of South Indian images of the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries. In his book on *South Indian Bronzes*, Mr. O. C. Gangoly traces the undoubted evidence of the actual transport of a South Indian icon of the Umā-Mahēśvara type. According to him the

god for a long time, attained to beatitude." (Bergaigne: *Sanskrit Inscriptions of Champā and Cambodia*, 1893, lxx, p. 380).

Another inscription from Cambodia, dated Saka 811, attributes to Agastya the ancestry of King Yaśovarman (889-910 A.D.) who founded Angkor Thom and built the great Śiva temple of Bayon, and whose inscriptions are both in the South Indian and North Indian scripts. It tells us that "the Brahman, famous as Agastya, versed in the Vedas, who came from the land of the Aryans, married Yaśomati of the Mahāsiddha family and begat a son who came to be known as Narēndravarman." According to Dr. B. R. Chatterji, there might have been a common origin for the Agastya cult of Java and the cult of Bhṛgu Rishi and the cult of Hiraṇya-dama in Camboja.

15. V. Chockalingam Pillai, in his work—*The Origin of the Indo-European Races and Peoples*, Vol. I (1935)—says that what he calls 'the Vēlan epic' is the nucleus of the Sanskrit *Skandapurāṇa* and that it originated from the Tamils. According to him the *Skādam* is a highly mixed product, unlike the 'genuine' Vēlan epic. (pp. 73-75).

Hindu-Javanese pantheon does not reflect the later elaboration of the South Indian pantheon; and "both in the state of their iconographic development and their simple and dignified types, they are related to the early South Indian sculptures or Pallava or early Chalukyan style of the Eastern school." But the Buddha images "certainly recall similar images in the Pallava temples." The style and iconography of the images at Prāmbaṇam recall, in the details of the ornaments and dress, in facial types and coronets, the style of the South Indian school; and for these it is "impossible to claim any Javanese contribution from the land of native local genius." Generally speaking, it may be said that the art of Prāmbaṇam, though not very closely related to the art of the Pallavas, bears "singular affinities to it

Similarly, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*), points out that the antiquities of the Deing plateau, dating from the 7th or 8th century, indicates that the spot was a place of pilgrimage like the Jain temple-cities of Palitana and Gīrnār, and show clear analogies with those of the Gupta, Pallava and Early Chalukya models. The Chandi Bhīma has a definitely pyramidal roof which resembles that of the Paraśurāmēśvara temple at Bhuvanēśvara in Orissa.

Barabudur, built between 760 and 847 A.D. and, most likely, in the latter part of the 8th century is "a monument of Sailendra culture, rather than of Buddhist devotion." It is like "a ripe fruit matured in breathless air; the fulness of its form is an expression of static wealth, rather than the volume that denotes the outward radiation of power." Dr. Coomaraswami would not admit that the whole building should be regarded as a *stūpa*, no other *stūpa* having been found in Java, or in Cambodia before the epochs of Siamese domination. He cites Kashmir parallels for terraced pyramids supporting temples as in Barabudur.

In the Śaiva temple of Chandi Bānōn are found fine images of Agastya and of Viṣṇu, while the Buddhistic and Tantric metal images exhibit a relationship with those of Magadha and Ceylon. Chandi Loro Jongrang is the greatest Hindu monument in Java, and consists of eight temples situated on a walled terrace surrounded by smaller chapels. The reliefs of the balustrades surrounding the temples illustrate the earlier part of the Rāmāyana and the cycle of Kṛṣṇa legends. The reliefs are deemed to be superior to those of Barabudur and to be more dramatically conceived; and the whole place which served as a royal mausoleum as well as a temple, is marked by a more masculine aspect.

The great Javanese ruler Ērlangga (1010 to 1042 A.D.), has not left any great monument. His rule witnessed the development of a

national Javanese culture, "based indeed on the old Indian tradition, but Indonesian in essence, idiomatic in expression, and, in the truest sense of the word, original." Kawi now became a fitting vehicle of classical epic literature; and the first shadow-play of *Arjuna Vivāha* dates from Ērlangga's reign. The accession to rule of the dynasty of Singasari and of the Majapahit, towards the close of the 13th century, marks the advent of a new age of art in which the purely Indian tradition becomes submerged and the Indonesian strain becomes prominent.

The island of Bali was originally Hinduised, directly, without the intervention of Java whose influence and political domination came only after the twelfth century. It is only in Bali that there still survives "that mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism which we have so often observed in classic and post-classic Further Indian and Indonesian art."

In the island of Bali which was javanised in the 8th and 9th centuries and consequently received its Hinduisation second-hand there were even evidences of the transportation of direct influences from India, like the South Indian Pallava-Grantha script which a modified form was in use (See Stutterheim—*Indian Influences in Old Balinese Art*—1935, p. 13. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra in his work—*Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule*, p. 57) would hold that the culture of Further India and Indonesia bears an unmistakable stamp of Pallava influence and would justify even the assumption that the Pallavas might have extended their authority even over those far off countries and built up an extensive colonial empire of which they formed the centre and the nucléus, though the Pallava records do not contain the slightest indication of such a state of affairs.

The technique of the typical Javanese textile, the cotton *batik*; is held to be of South Indian origin.

APPENDIX

A Chronological Bibliography of the Writings of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar

1900. May. Mysore under the Wodeyars. (Thesis for the M.A. Degree) Madras Review. (1900.)
1901. April. The Chola Ascendancy in South India. (1901.)
1902. January. The Chola Administration. (1902.)
1902. July. The Third Tamil Śāṅgam. (MCCM. 20; 26-30.)
1902. September. Kamban and Jayamkondān. (MCCM. 20; 138-43.)
1903. December. India and Imperial Protection. (IR. 3; 760-2.)
1904. Ramanuja, His Life and Times, Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly. (Republished in book form by Messrs. G. A. Natesan.)
1904. April. The Age of Nāṁālvār. (MCCM 558-62.)
1904. The Age of the Last Seven Patrons of Tamil Literature. (Madras Review)
1904. December. The Making of Mysore. (S. I. A. Lecture.)
1905. November. The Agnikula; The Fire-Race. (IA 34; 261.)
1906. May-Sept. Historical Connection between South India and Ceylon. (S.T. 4, 346-54, 388-96, 476-83; 522-31.)
1906. June Self-Immolation which is not Sati (IA 35; 129-31.)
1906. July. Brhat Katha. (JRAS 1906; 689-92)
1906. August. Tirumangai Ālvār and His Date (IA 35; 288-33.)
1907. November. Lessons from Ancient India. (IR 8; 809-22.)
1908. May. Yātrājavabhavam of Āndhrapūrṇa (IA 38; 129.)
1908. August. Celebrities in Tamil Literature. (IA 38; 227-43.)
1909. The Augustan Age of Tamil Literature. (T.A 5; 23-54.)
1909. Aug.-Dec. Ancient India in Tamil. (ST 6; 471-518 7; 42-92.)
1909. October. History of South India. (QJMS 1; 3-9.)
1910. The Chola Empire in South India. (JSIA 1; 30-117.)
1910. January. India at the Dawn of the Christian Era. (JSIA 1; 30-117.)
1910. April. Gold Mining in Ancient India (QJMS 1; 111-3.)
1910. October. Fire-Walking Ceremony at the Dharmarāja Festival. (QJMS 2; 29-31.)
1911. Ancient India, containing a selection of the more important of the above.
1911. April. The History and Commerce of the Indian Ocean. (QJMS 2; 71-82.)
1914. Jan.-Feb. A note on the Diamonds in South India. (QJMS 3; 129-40.)
1914. The Mahāvamsa and South Indian History. (IR. 15-20; 114-9. QJMS 4; 127-40.)
1914. Oct.-Dec. The Chank in Ancient India. (QJMS 4; 160-2.)
1914. June-Dec. Landmarks in South Indian History. (JSIA 5-85-99.)
1915. Feb.-March. The Ālvārs, and their Times. (QJMS 4; 169-72.)
1915. April. The Dynasties of the Kali Age. (IR. 15-297-9.)
1915. October. Social Legislation under Hindu Governments. (Reprinted as a book.) (IR 6; 47-7 and QJMS.)
1915. A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History. (Reprinted as a book.) (QJMS 6-61-109.)
1915. September. Research in South Indian History. Educational Review. (Presidency College Union Society, Inaugural.)
1916. The Age of the Śāṅgam Literature, (Pachaiyappa's Historical and Tamil Societies.) Inaugural (Pamphlet.)
1916. Agniskandha and The Fourth Rock Edict of Asoka. (JRAS 1915; 521-7. IA 44-203.)
1917. The Yet-Remembered Ruler of a Long-Forgotten Empire; Krishnadēvarāya. Lecture to the Maharaja's College Union Society, Mysore. (Hindustan Review. 1917.)
- 1917 May-April. The Antiquities of Mahābalipur. (IA-46; 49-57, 65-73.) (Revised and reprinted in Notes on the Seven Pagodas by Sir R. C. Temple and others; Issued as a separate reprint. IA 1929.)
1917. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil's Dravidian Architecture. (English Edn.)
- Virūpāksha II of Vijayanagar Com-Ess. Presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Memorial Volume. (255-64.)
1918. The Beginnings of South Indian History.
1919. Sources of Vijayanagar History. (Edited.)
- Asoka's Satyaputras and Satyavratākshētra. (JRAS 1919; 581-4.)

- A mediæval Kēraḷa Ruler, Ravi Varman Kulasēkhara. (Erna-kulam College Magazine, July 1919.)
1919. May. The Hun-Problem in Indian History, (IA 48; 65-76. Christian College Union Society Inaugural.)
1920. The Origin and the Early History of the Pallavas of Kāñchi. (JIH 2-20-66.)
1920. Contributions of South India to Indian Culture (Readership Lectures, Calcutta University.)
1920. October. The Foundation of Vijayanagar. Part of a Course of Lectures to the Mysore University. (QJMS 11-13-32.)
1921. South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders. Lectures to Madras and Mysore Universities. (Oxford University Press.)
1921. October. Greater India; Expansion of India Beyond the Seas. (QJMS 1210-44.)
- 1921-22. (1) A Scholar King of Tanjore, Raghunātha Nāyaka.
(2) Jatāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya.
(3) Educational Foundations in Mediæval India. (Everyman's Review.)
- Hindu India from Original Sources. (Parts 1 and 2.)
A Short History of Hindu India.
1922. January. The Age of Perundēvanar. (ABI 3; 57-65.)
1922. April. Tirumangai Ālvār and Dantidurga. (QJMS 2; 261-7.)
1922. The Sātvatas, an important Folk-Movement. (Proceedings of the Indian Oriental Conference, Calcutta.)
- Glimpses of Mauryan Invasions in Classical Tamil Literature (I.O.C., Calcutta 1922 and ST 319; 33.)
- The Early History of Vaiṣṇavism in South India. (Paper presented to First Indian Oriental Conference, 1919, published as a book, Oxford University Press.)
1923. Apl.-July. Mysore and the Decline of the Vijayanagar Empire. (QJMS 13-621-7, 742-54.)
- Tirumangai Alvar and Dantidurga. (QJMS 13-695-8.)
1923. September. Rajendra, the Gangaikonda Chola, 1925 (Calcutta University Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume III, 2-541-88). (JIH 2; 317-69.)
1923. October. The Kōsar of Tamil Literature and the Satyaputra of the Asoka Edicts. (JRAS 609; 13.)
1923. December. Samudragupta. (Mysore University Magazine.)
1923. December. Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture. (Publication by the Calcutta University.)
- Introduction to R. Satyanathan's History of the Nāyaks of Madura. (Madras University Historical Series.)
1923. December. Foreword to Mr. A. Madhavayya's English version of Manimēkhalai.
1924. Madurai-Talavaralāru (An Account of the Temple of Madura.) (IHRCP 6-104-16.)
- The Vakātakas and their Place in the History of India. (ABI 5; 31-54.)
1925. February. The Konkani and the Konkani Language. (IA 54; 37-8.)
- Penugonda. (Written specially for presentation to H.E. Lord Willingdon on the occasion of his visit to the place.)
1925. April-May. Introduction to Gopala Aiyar's Edn. of Perundēvanar's Bharata-Venbā.
- The Bakhair of Rāmarāja. (IHR C.P. 7-54-63.)
1926. January. The Vakātakas in Gupta History. (QJMS. 15-153.)
1926. December. Forgotten Episodes in the History of Mediæval India. (JIH 5; 313-30.)
- Introduction to Rasanāyagam's Ancient Jaffna.
1926. December. Vyāgra, the Feudatory of Vakāṭaka Prithivisēna. (IA 55; 223-7.)
- 1926-28. Vikramāditya (Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, 143-163, Patna University.)
- The Buddhism of Manimēkhalai. (Contribution to Dr. B. C. Law's Buddhistic Studies.)
1927. April. The Gūrjara Empire in North India. (JIH 6; 1-14.)
- A Tamil Treatise on Buddhist Logic. Bk. xxix of Manimēkhalai. Vasanta Silver Jubilee Volume in honour of Principal A. B. Dhruva.
1927. August. Studies in Gupta History. (JIH 6; 1-14.)
1927. November. Mailārpū (Mylapore). (IA 56; 197-8.)

- Panchamahāśabda. (J.Bo. Br. R.A.S.)
1928. A School of South Indian Buddhism in Kāñchi. IOC, 4th Session, 807-30.)
1928. Introduction to R. Gopalan's The Pallavas of Kāñchi.
1928. Bappabhaṭṭi-Charita. (J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.)
1928. Maṇimēkhalai in its Historical Setting.
1929. An Incident in the relation of the Governor of Poonamallee with Fort St. George. (IHRCP 92-99.)
- Introduction to V. R. R. Dikshitar's Hindu Administrative Institutions.
1929. Nov.-Dec. Kaḷabhra Interregnum: what it means in Indian History. XVII International Congress, Oxford. Published in J.A.S.B., (Vol. I, 1935, No. 3. pp. 361-76.)
1930. August. Mahābhārata (Book Notice.) (IA.)
1930. The Pandyan Kingdom by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. (Book Notice.) (IA 188.)
1930. Raja Desing of Gingee. (IHRCP, Gwalior, and JIH, Vol. IX, part i.)
1930. The Rise of the Mahratta Power in the South. (JIH, Vol. IX, p. 173.)
1930. Gollapalle Diamond Mines. (IHRCP, Patna, and JIH Vol. IX, p. 361.)
- Notes on the Term "Daināti" in a Mackenzie MS. (JIH Vol. IX, ii, VII.)
1930. December. Sir Streynsham Master's account of the Gollapalle Diamond Mines. (IHRCP, Vol. XIII, p. 43.)
1931. April. In Memoriam (R. C. Temple.) (JIH Vol. X, part i, pp. 77-81.)
1931. July. Pai-a-Saddha Mahannava (Prakṛita Śabdha Mahārṇava) (Book Notice; Vol. LX, 140.)
1931. August. Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and his Ministers, Mādanna and Akkanna. (JIH, page 43.)
1931. The Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India (Sir William Meyer Lectures to the Madras University.)
1931. Presidential Address to the First Historical Congress, Bombay.
1931. Introduction to two parts of the Best short stories of India Messrs. Taraporewala Sons, Bombay.
1932. May. Panchavāravāriyam. XVIII International Congress of Orientalists, Leiden, (IA Vol. LXI, p. 81.)
1932. June. The Mahābhārata (Book Notice. IA Vol. LXI, 119.)
1932. A Note on the term "King of Vellore" by Travellers in India. (JIH. XI. i. 114-21.)
1932. Edition of Sewell's Historical Inscriptions of South India.
1932. Pāñcharātra in Tamil Literature (Contribution to Winternitz Memorial Volume.)
1932. Two Uttaramallūr Inscriptions of Parāntaka I—A New Study. (JIH. XI, Appendix.)
1933. Some Rajput Traditions in South India (Ojha Commemoration Volume.)
1933. March. The Tamil Śāngam in a Pāṇḍyan Charter of the early Tenth Century A.D. (IHQ. Vol. IX, pp. 63-75.)
1934. June. Nāgara, Vēsara, Drāviḍa, etc. (JISOA, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 23-27.)
1934. June. A Class-book of Indian History. (Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co.)
1935. June. Opening Address to the Historical Exhibition, Modern History Congress, Poona
1935. July-Aug. History of South India. (H.R., Vol. LXVII, pp. 1-6 and 86-94.)
1935. December. Presidential Address to the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore (to be published in their proceedings.)
1936. February. Current Trends in Indian Religious Thought. P.B. Feb., 1936, pp. 194-201.)
1936. February. South Indian Culture, Its Contribution to Indian Civilisation and Religion (in course of publication by the Ramakrishna Mission authorities.)
1936. February. Jainism in South India (in course of publication in the Jain Commemoration Volume by Motilal Banarsi Das, the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore.)
1936. February. The Nārāyaṇiya in Tamil Literature (Dr. Ganganath Jha Commemoration Volume in course of publication.)

